

PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT

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To
JOGESH CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.
Registrar, Calcutta University,
In token of grateful regard and
esteem for his deep erudition
and high administrative
ability

PREFACE TO THE SIXTH EDITION

The second World War has made a profound change both in the theory and in the practice of Government of States. Some of these changes have affected fundamentally the relation of citizens to the State, of groups within the State and between State and State. I have tried my level best to emphasise the recent change in the angle of vision in Politics and to indicate the actual changes which have taken place during the last war. As the League of Nations has ceased to function, the eleventh chapter of the last edition dealing with the subject has been omitted ; but a chapter (Chapter XXXVIII) on the World Order has been added towards the end of the book. In this chapter a fairly comprehensive and critical account of the United Nations Organisation has been given. The other notable additions in this edition are accounts of the working of the party system in India, federal and provincial finance, proposals of the Cabinet Mission regarding constitutional development of India, and schemes for improvement in the machinery of administration. The Constitutions of France, Germany and Italy are in a state of flux and as such an accurate description of the latest constitutional development in these countries cannot be given.

The unprecedented calamities which have fallen one after another on the City from which the book is published have stood in the way of timely publication of this edition. On behalf of the publishers I offer an apology for the delay to all those who have suffered inconvenience on account of lack of supply of this book in the market.

The Index has been prepared by my son, Professor Bhakat Prasad Majumdar M.A. of the Bihar National College, Patna.

B. B. Majumdar

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In the age of absolutism Politics was the almost exclusive concern of princes alone. Now that the political power has been transferred fully or partially to the people, our college students do occupy the position, once filled up by the princes. As the princes of ancient India learnt Politics assiduously with a view to ensuring good government to the people, so should our college students, on whom rests the responsibility of creating enlightened public opinion, study the cardinal principles of the science of government.

There is no dearth of excellent text books on the subject in the English language. But they have been all written for the use of students of the western world. Indian students do require books which give illustration from facts known to them. They also want a thorough discussion of the political problems which are peculiar to our country. I have written this book with the object of making Political Science interesting and useful to the students of Indian Universities. There is not much that is original in it, except its distinctly Indian outlook.

Bankipore.

Biman Behari Majumdar

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE ✓

PAGE

1. Scope of Political Science. 2. Utility of Studying Political Science.
3. Is 'Political Science' really a Science ? 4. Methods of Political Science.
5. Relation of Political Science to allied Sciences.

CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE STATE ✓

1. Essential characteristics of the State. 2. Influence of Geographical factors.
3. State and Government. ✓ 4. State, Community, Society, Association and Institution. ✓ 5. State, People, Nation and Nationality.
6. Organic or Organismic Theory of the State. 7. Idea and concept of the State. 8. The Basis of the State. 12

CHAPTER II

THEORIES OF ORIGIN OF STATE ✓

1. Speculations about the Origin of the State. 2. The theory of Divine Origin. ✓ 3. The Contract Theory. ✓ 4. Application of the theory by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. ✓ 5. Criticism of the Contract Theory) ✓ 6. Influence of Social Contract Theory) ✓ 7. The Patriarchal and Matriarchial Theory. 8. The Force Theory. 9. Evolutionary Theory of the State. 18

CHAPTER III

NATIONALISM AND NATION-STATES ✓

1. Origin of Nation-States. 2. Marks of Nationality. 3. Merits and defects of Nationalism. 4. The Right of Self-determination. 5. Principle of one Nationality, one State. 6. Crisis in the theory of Nation-State. 7. Indian Nationalism. 45

CHAPTER IV

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATE ✓

1. Meaning and different uses of the term 'Sovereignty'. 2. The Juristic or Monistic view of Sovereignty. 3. (a) History of the Theory of Sovereignty and (b) Austin's contribution to it. 4. Popular Sovereignty. 5. Theory of Limited Sovereignty. 6. Four ideas of Juristic Sovereignty. 7. Location of Sovereignty in Federal states. 8. Pluralistic view of sovereignty. 62

CHAPTER V

LAW ✓

1. Nature of Law. 2. Law of Nature. 3. Divisions of Law. 4. The Rule of Law vs. Administrative Law. 5. The sources of Law and stages

in its evolution. 6. Development of Law in the West. 7. Law and Morality. 8. Is the Law above the State? 9. International Law. ...	81
--	----

CHAPTER VI

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENS ✓✓

1. Citizens in the modern State. ✓ 2. Principles governing the acquisition of Citizenship. ✓ 3. Modes of acquiring Citizenship. ✓ 4. Citizenship in a Federal State. ✓ 5. Loss of Citizenship. 6. Grounds of Political obedience. 7. Duties of Citizenship. 8. Hindrances to good Citizenship. 9. Natural Rights. 10. The Theory of Rights. 11. Content of Civil Liberty. 12. The Positive use of Liberty. 13. Limits of Liberty. 14. Liberty in the Modern State. 15. Guarantee of Civil Liberty. 16. Relation of Civil Liberty to Law and Sovereignty. 17. Liberty and equality. 18. Public opinion. ...	90
--	----

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE ✓✓

1. Definition of a Constitution. 2. Classification of Constitutions. 3. Written and Unwritten Constitutions. 4. Flexible and Rigid Constitutions. 5. Amendment of Constitution. ...	121
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII

FORMS OF THE STATE AND OF GOVERNMENT

1. Forms of the State. 2. The so called Mixed States. 3. Other classifications of Governments. ✓ 4. Parliamentary and Presidential Governments. 5. Bureaucratic form of Government. 6. Merits and demerits of Monarchical Government. 7. Merits and demerits of Aristocracy. ...	131
--	-----

CHAPTER IX

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

1. Democracy in Ancient India 2. Greek and Roman Democracy. 3. Difference between Ancient and Modern Democracy. 4. Essential Conditions of Success of Democracy. 5. The Democratic ideal. 6. The attack on Democracy 7. The Defence of Democracy. ...	141
---	-----

CHAPTER X

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ✓✓

✓ 1. Nature of the Federal Government. ✓ 2. Essential conditions of Federation. ✓ 3. Federation contrasted with complete Union and Confederation. ✓ 4. Principles and methods of distribution of powers in a Federal Government 5. The United States of America. 6. The Swiss Confederation. 7. Contrast between the Federation of Canada, Australia and the U.S.A. ✓ 8. Strength and weakness of Federal Government. 9. Modern tendencies in Federalism. ...	151
---	-----

CHAPTER XI

THE SEPARATION OF POWERS ✓

1. Three-fold divisions of governmental functions and organs.	
2. Theory of Separation of Powers. 3. Influence of the theory in America and France. 4. Criticism of the theory. 5. Extent of application of the theory in existing Governments. 6. Division of powers in modern Democratic Governments.	169

CHAPTER XII

THE LEGISLATURE

1. Functions of Legislature. 2. Structure of Legislature. 3. Bicameral Legislature—its merits and demerits. 4. Composition and functions of Upper Houses. 5. How are deadlocks avoided? 6. Composition of Lower Houses. 7. Procedure in Legislature. 8. Direct Legislation by the people. 9. Merits and defects of Direct Legislation. ...	176
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII

PROBLEMS OF REPRESENTATION AND OF MINORITIES

1. Universal Adult Suffrage. 2. Franchise for women. 3. Plural voting and weighted voting. 4. Size of Electoral Districts. 5. Direct vs. Indirect election. 6. Territorial vs. Functional Representation. 7. Relation of the member to his constituents. 8. The Problem of minorities. 9. Methods of minority representation. 10. Proportional representation. 11. Nature of Minority Problem in India. 12. Merits and defects of communal electorate.	194
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV

THE EXECUTIVE—POLITICAL

1. Principles of Organisation of the Executive. 2. Classification of the Executive. 3. Types of Parliamentary Executive. 4. Contrast between the American and the French President. 5. Comparison between the American President and the English Premier. 6. The Swiss Executive—a type by itself. 7. The Executive Powers. 8. Relation between the Executive and the Legislature. 9. Veto power and its utility. 10. Increase in the power of the Executive in Modern Democratic States. 11. Executive authority in Dictatorial States.	218
---	-----

CHAPTER XV

ADMINISTRATION ✓

1. Politics and Administration. 2. Principles of Organization of Administration. 3. Theory of general Administration. 4. Elementary constituents of Bureaucracy. 5. Development of professional Civil Service. 6. Administrative Machinery in Indian provinces.	282
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI THE JUDICIARY

1. Functions of the Judiciary. 2. Independence of Judiciary. 3. Organization of the Judiciary. 4. Comparison between the English and the French Judicial Systems. 5. Comparison between the English and the American Judiciary. 6. Comparison between the Judicial Systems of the U.S.A. and Switzerland. 7. Relation of the Legislature to the Judiciary. 8. Relation of the Executive to the Judiciary. ...	244
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Bases of Party Division. 2. Functions of Political Parties. 3. Merits and demerits of the Party System. 4. Double Party vs. Multiple Party System. 5. Political Parties in England. 6. Parties in the United States of America. 7. Party System in France. 8. Rise of one Party System. 9. Political Parties in India. ...	251
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. Distinction between Local and Central Government. 2. The Relation between the Central and Local Government. 3. Functions of Local Government. 4. Relation between Central and Local Finance. 5. Sources of Income of local bodies. 6. Local Government in England. 7. Local Government in the U.S.A. 8. Comparison and Contrast between the English and American methods of Local Government. 9. Local Government in France. 10. Centralised vs. Decentralised Systems of Local Administration. ...	269
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX COLONIAL AND DOMINION GOVERNMENT

1. Meaning of the term 'Colony' and the old Colonial Policy. 2. Motives of Colonization. 3. Evolution of the British Colonial Policy. 4. Character of the British Empire. 5. The Dominion Status. 6. The Abdication Crisis and the Dominions. ...	282
---	-----

CHAPTER XX POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

1. Is the State only a means to an end or an end in itself? 2. The ends or purposes of the State. 3. Limits of Political control. 4. The functions of Government. 5. The Laissez-faire Theory. 6. Break-down of the Laissez-faire Theory. 7. State regulation under Capitalism. 8. Socialistic or Collectivist Theory of functions of the State. 9. Collectivist activities in Modern States. 10. Functions of Government in War-time. ...	292
--	-----

CHAPTER XXI

MODERN TRENDS IN POLITICAL
THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT

1. The State in Socialist and Fascist Theories.	2. Dictatorship.	
3. The Totalitarian State.	4. Syndicalism.	
5. Guild Socialism.	6. Marxist criticism of Capitalism.	
7. Communism.	8. Fascism.	309

CHAPTER XXII

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

1. Nature of the English Constitution.	2. Elements of the English Constitution.	
3. Conventions of the Constitution.	4. The form of Government in Great Britain.	
5. The King and the Crown.	6. Position and functions of the King.	
7. History of the Cabinet System.	8. Development of the Cabinet since 1914.	
9. Principles of Cabinet System.	10. Nature and functions of the Cabinet.	
11. The Process of forming the Cabinet.	12. The position and functions of the Prime Minister.	
13. The Privy Council.	14. His Majesty's Government and Executive Departments.	
15. His Majesty's Opposition.	16. The permanent Civil Service.	332

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION (Contd.)

LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY

1. The Sovereignty of Parliament.	2. Composition and functions of the House of Lords.	
3. Strength and weakness of the House of Lords.	4. Reform of the House of Lords.	
5. Composition and functions of the House of Commons.	6. Committees of the House of Commons.	
7. Speaker of the House of Commons.	8. Privileges of the House of Commons.	
9. Duties and responsibilities of a Member of Parliament.	10. Procedure of making Laws.	
11. Money bills.	12. Extent of Parliamentary control over Finance.	
13. Judicial system of Great Britain.		365

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION (Contd.)

MODERN TRENDS IN THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

1. "The Decline of Parliament."	2. Parliament in War-time.	
3. "Cabinet Dictatorship."	4. Tendency towards Bureaucratic Government.	
5. Delegated legislation and Judicial power of departments.	6. Reform of Parliament.	
7. Parties and Policies since 1918.		388

CHAPTER XXV

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

1. The evolution of the Dominion of Canada.	2. Characteristics of the Canadian Constitution.	
3. Distribution of Legislative powers between the Centre and the Provinces.	4. The Crown and the Governor-General	

	PAGE
5. The Cabinet, 6. The House of Commons. 7. The Senate. 8. The Judiciary. 9. Provincial Government. 10. The Problem of federal finance in Canada.	408

CHAPTER XXVI

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

1. The country and its constitution. 2. Executive. 3. The Commonwealth Parliament. 4. Judiciary. 5. Relation between the Commonwealth and the States. 6. Party System in Australia.	425
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVII

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. The constitution. 2. Relation between the Union and Provinces. 3. The Union Executive 4. The Union Legislature. 5. Judiciary 6. The native problem in the Union	432
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONSTITUTION OF EIRE (Ireland)

1. A free Sovereign State 2. The Executive. 3. The Legislature. 4. The Constitution	437
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION

1. Characteristics of the French Constitution 2. The French President. 3. The French Ministry. 4. Causes of Ministerial instability in France. 5. The Senate. 6. The Chamber of Deputies 7. Parliamentary Procedure in France. 8. The French Judicial System. 9. The Party System. 10. The Pétain Government.	441
--	-----

CHAPTER XXX

CONSTITUTION OF SWITZERLAND

1. Characteristic of the Swiss Constitution. 2. Structure of the Federal Constitution. 3. The Federal Legislature. 4. The Federal Executive. 5. The Federal Judiciary. 6. Political Parties in Switzerland. 7. The Swiss Civil Service. 8. Direct Democracy and the causes of its success in Switzerland.	460
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S. A.

1. Its character. 2. Checks and balances in the Constitution. 3. Changes in the spirit of the Constitution. 4. The President. 5. The Cabinet. 6. The Legislature. 7. The Judiciary. 8. Government of the States. 9. The Supreme Court issue and the Constitution.	469
--	-----

GOVERNMENTS IN GERMANY AND ITALY

1. Traditions of German Government.	2. Characteristics of the Imperial Constitution (1871-1918).	3. The rise of a Unitary State (1918-1938).	4. Features of the Weimer Constitution.	5. Executive and Legislature under the Weimer constitution.	6. Government of the Third Reich.	7. Judicial system and liberty of subjects.	8. The Civil Service.	9. Local Government in Germany.	10. The organisation of labour.	11. Characteristics of the Italian Constitution.	12. Rise of the Fascist Government.	13. The Corporative State.	14. Structure of the Fascist Government.	15. Local Government.	16. Judicial system in Italy.	17. Present tendency in Italian Politics.	488
-------------------------------------	--	---	---	---	-----------------------------------	---	-----------------------	---------------------------------	---------------------------------	--	-------------------------------------	----------------------------	--	-----------------------	-------------------------------	---	-----	-----	-----	-----

CHAPTER XXXIII

CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN

1. Introduction.	2. The Constitution.	3. The Emperor.	4. The Privy Council.	5. The Cabinet.	6. The Imperial Diet.	7. Party System.	8. Present tendency of Japanese Constitution.	509
------------------	----------------------	-----------------	-----------------------	-----------------	-----------------------	------------------	---	-----	-----	-----	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV

CONSTITUTION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

1. Origin of the Soviet Constitution.	2. The structure of Society and rights of individuals.	3. Political structure of the U. S. S. R.	4. The U. S. S. R. Legislature.	5. Electoral system.	6. The Executive authority.	7. Judicial Organisation.	8. Position of the Communist Party.	9. Problems of Nationalities in the U. S. S. R.	10. Decentralization in U. S. S. R. in 1944.	515
---------------------------------------	--	---	---------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------------------	---	--	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

CHAPTER XXXV

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

1. Development of the Indian Constitution up to 1858.	2. Growth of the Legislative Councils in India (1833-1919).	3. Dyarchy in the Provinces.	4. Present position of the Central Government of India.	5. The Central Executive before 1939.	6. Powers and functions of the Governor-General.	7. The Indian Legislature.	8. The control exercised by British Parliament before 1935.	9. Control exercised by the Secretary of State for India after 1935.	10. The High Commissioner for India.	11. Changes in the Central Government during the present war.	...	528
---	---	------------------------------	---	---------------------------------------	--	----------------------------	---	--	--------------------------------------	---	-----	-----

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA, AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

1. History of the making of the Constitution of 1950.	2. Lines of advance on the Constitution of 1919.	3. Characteristics of the Indian
---	--	----------------------------------

Constitution. 4. Provincial Autonomy. 5. Further restrictions of Provincial Autonomy during the War. 6. The Provincial Executive. 7. Powers and functions of the Governor. 8. The Position and Powers of Ministers. 9. Relation between Governor and Ministers. 10. Position of the Services. 11. The Public Services Commission. 12. Provincial Legislatures. 13. Party system in Provincial Assemblies. 14. The Electorate. 15. Provincial Finance. 16. Work of Popular Ministers in the Provinces
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PROPOSED FEDERATION AND THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

1. Position of the Indian States at present. 2. Genesis of the Federal Scheme. 3. Position and Function of the Governor-General. 4. The Federal Legislature. 6. The division of Legislative Power. 7. Federal Finance. 8. Grounds of objection to the Federal Scheme. 9. Federal Railway Authority. 10. The Federal Court. 11. Amendments to the Government of India Act, 1935. 12. The Cabinet Mission Plan. 13. A critical examination of the Cabinet Mission Plan. 14. Place of India in the future world order.	601
---	-----	-----

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE WORLD ORDER

1. Origin of the League. 2. Constitution of the League of Nations. 3. The Permanent Court of International Justice. 4. Arrangements for settlement of International disputes. 5. Failure of the League to prevent War and its causes. 6. League's efforts to reduce National armaments. 7. The Mandates. 8. Non-political work of the League. 9. Genesis of the United Nations Organisation. 10. Constitution of the United Nations Organisation. 11. A critical estimate of U.N.O. ...	...	689
Appendix I ...	...	656
List of authorities and selected works ...	...	658
Subjects for Essays ...	...	662
Index ...	...	688

POLITICAL SCIENCE

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

1. Scope of Political Science

Political Science is a study of society viewed from a special standpoint. Mankind is regarded in it as organised political units. Aristotle, the father of Political Science, truly observed, that "man is by nature a political animal." The gregarious nature of man, the economic advantages of co-operation as well as necessity for defence or attack brought the State into existence. "The State originated in the bare needs of life", says Aristotle, "and continued in existence for the sake of a good life." Burke in his "Reflections on the French Revolution" observes that the State "is to be looked on with reverence ; because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science ; a partnership in all art ; a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born."

The State
and its
nature

The first object of Political Science, is, therefore, to investigate into the nature of the state as the highest political agency for the realization of the common ends of society and to formulate the fundamental principles of state life. As such, it must analyse the nature of the state, its organization, its relation to the individuals that compose it, and its relation to other states. These fundamental concepts of State can be determined only from a consideration of the actual world of states. Wherever there is a community, there must be some form of government which would exercise control and to which the bulk of the community would render obedience. The character of the controlling authority, its form and organization, has varied from age to age, from country to country.

A study of
what the
State is

The second object of Political Science is, therefore, to enquire

into the origin and development of political forms. The varying forms of human organisation in which the element of social control is embodied are to be examined and analysed. Hence the brilliant German writer, Treitschke, says, "First, it (Political Science) should aim to determine from a consideration of the actual world of states the fundamental concepts of state ; second, it should consider historically what the people have chosen, what they have created and what they have attained in political life, and the reasons thereof." Our study should be comparative and political. "The investigation of political science", observes Dr. Leacock, "must be of a dynamic and not of a static character." It should not confine itself to a catalogue of the various forms of state which have existed, or to a description of the manner in which political institutions work. Political Science does not accept the existing order as a finality. It does not regard the present condition as static or stationary. It can never reach final conclusions, because the environment in which we live is constantly being changed.

From a consideration of historical facts regarding the origin and development of the state and descriptive analysis of the existing political forms, Political Science should deduce, as far as possible, the laws of political growth and development. It should also undertake the politico-ethical discussion of what the state should be. It should determine historical laws and moral imperatives. It formulates the principles which should control the administration of political affairs and determine the proper province and functions of government.

Political Science consists, therefore, of three main subdivisions : (1) it is an analytical study of what the state is, (2) it is a historical investigation of what the state has been and (3) it is an ethical discussion of what the state should be. Corresponding to these three subdivisions, are the three great topics with which Political Science is concerned ; state, government and law. As our concept of the State is changing with the assumption of ever-increasing functions by it, the scope of Political Science is also being widened. It is now agreed that the subject-matter of Political Science is not only the State, but all forms of association in which men unite to avert common perils and serve collective needs.

II. Utility of Studying Political Science

Political Science, being a part of the study of man, throws important light on the nature of man, acting in co-operation with his fellowmen within a community. The object of all knowledge is to know Man. As political science reveals the

nature of man living in political society, it leads to the knowledge of the Self.

The discussions regarding the nature of the state, principles of political obligation, comparative merits of different forms of government etc., are highly useful for training the intellect.

But the highest object of studying Political Science is neither to acquire metaphysical knowledge, nor to train a man in intellectual jugglery. Its aim is to better the lot of man by helping him to realise his political rights and obligations, by training the politicians into the art of statesmanship and by indicating the signs of transition of the national country-state into the world-state.

Realisation
of better
life

Another great object of the study of Political Science is to formulate a system of ideas which will warn people against the danger of bad doctrines. It is necessary to remember constantly that institutions, whether political, economic or religious, exist for men and not men for institutions. If any set of doctrines declare that slavery is good for civilization, it is to be regarded as more dangerous than deadly poison. "It is of the nature of states, as of men," writes R. H. Tawney, "to yield to the temptation to oppress, rob, and murder. It is not the mere commission of these crimes which is the symptom of the approach of spiritual death; it is the assertion that, when committed for the advantage of the British Empire, the Nordic Race, the Catholic Church, or the International Proletariat, they are not crimes but virtues. In the collective affairs of mankind, bad doctrines are always and everywhere more deadly than bad actions. The latter are the sins of the wicked, the former of the good. The latter destroy life; the former make it not worth while to live. In that sense, knowledge is virtue, and the Scriptural admonition, 'Fear not them that kill the body, but them that kill the soul', is profound political wisdom."

A safeguard
of liberty

III. Is 'Political Science' really a Science ?

The claim of Political Science to the rank of science has been questioned by some scholars. One writer has gone so far as to observe that "the term 'Political Science' is a misnomer, because it cannot be a science and it deals with subjects other than political". The word 'political' is derived from the Greek word 'Polis' meaning a city; and literally it means 'pertaining to the problems of the city'. In a wider sense, the term 'political' refers to matter concerning the state. But at present, Political Science does not confine itself merely to a discussion of the problems of city-life, nor even to the affairs relating to the state. Its scope is be-

Is the term
'Political
Science' a
misnomer ?

coming wider day by day. It has to deal with problems which fall within the jurisdiction of Biology, Psychology, Ethics, Religion, Jurisprudence, Economics and Anthropology. Thus, the question of evolution of the State has to be studied with the help of History and Anthropology ; the nature of the state can be explained in the light of the knowledge of Biology and Psychology ; the political institutions of the present day are largely due to the economic forces. We have to take recourse to Ethics and Philosophy in order to understand the end or purpose of the State. The mere fact that one branch of learning has to borrow from the co-related branches does not make its claim to be regarded as a separate science invalid. Higher Physics can not be studied without the help of Mathematics, nor can investigations in Geology be carried without a knowledge of Chemistry. Nobody, however, would deny the claims of Physics or Geology to be regarded as separate subjects. The reason why Political Science has to deal with subjects, not strictly pertaining to the State, is that the Social Sciences are inter-connected and one of its branches impinges on others.

✓ The phenomena of the state are so vast and complex that it is difficult to apply to them the rigorous scientific methods of investigation. It is not at all easy to formulate general laws with regard to the complex actions and motives of men. The French savant, Auguste Comte, in his 'Positive Philosophy' denied the claim of 'Politics' to be ranked as a science on three grounds, viz., (i) that its writers differ as to its methods of principles and conclusions ; (ii) that there is no continuity in its development ; and (iii) that it fails to supply materials out of which hypotheses may be built up. The exactness of physical sciences can not be expected in a social science. A physical science like Physics, Chemistry or Astronomy deals with matter, which has no independent will of its own. A chemical element is exactly the same all the world over ; but a man differs from another on account of his heredity and environment. Natural processes and human efforts are constantly changing the environment which furnishes the background of Political Science. In this changing world there can hardly exist any political theory which may be true for all time, under all circumstances.

7 ' Then again, experiments cannot be carried out in the field of Politics in the same way as it can be done with Physics and Chemistry in the laboratories. We cannot, for example, introduce elected Judiciary in one Province and nominated Judiciary in another with a view to finding out which of these systems gives better result. We can not set up a Dictator over a country merely for the sake of

Experiments
cannot be
carried out

satisfying our intellectual curiosity as to whether this form of government would suit Indians. In spite of these difficulties, Political Science can claim to be a science, in the same sense that there is a science of morals or a science of Economics. All these subjects claim the rank of science because investigations with regard to their relevant facts are carried on with a scientific frame of mind. Facts are observed systematically, and then these are co-ordinated, systematized and classified. General laws can be deduced from these ~~facts~~. This is why there is a consensus of opinion that "the phenomena of the state present a certain connection or sequence which is the result of fixed laws, though less immutable, to be sure, than those of the physical world; that these phenomena form proper subjects of scientific investigation; and that the laws and principles deducible therefrom are susceptible of application to the solution of concrete problems of the state."

But the subject can be studied scientifically

All the students of Political Science are denied the privilege of making experiments in their own laboratories, they have got the facility for studying the thousands of experiments, which are being carried out in the great laboratory of History.) This is the laboratory which is referred to by Prof. Gilchrist when he says that "though the experimental method as applied in Physics and Chemistry is inapplicable, nevertheless there is a wide field of experimentation of a definite kind in Political Science.) Aristotle is said to have studied the working of 158 different constitutions which prevailed in the then known civilised world and, from these, deduced certain general conclusions regarding the causes of revolution and the best of means of preventing it. A modern student of Political Science may study the history of the English Revolution of 1688, the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 and deduce from it the general laws which give rise to a revolution. He may enquire into the merits and defects of Dictatorship from the fate of the countries which had adopted this particular form of government in the past. He may form general laws with reference to the conditions giving rise to an impartial and efficient judiciary from a study of the evil effects of elected Judiciary in the American states. Some times conscious experiments are made in history with the help of the knowledge of Political Science. Lord Durham recommended the introduction of responsible government in Canada as a remedy for the discontent and rebellion in that country. He adduced reasons from the well-known principles of Political Science and was able to persuade the governing class in England to concede self-government to Canada. The experiment has proved a great success. Liberal-minded Englishmen will do well if they make a similar experiment in the case of India.

History furnishes examples of experiments

If a science is the product of a system of observations made on a given order of phenomena, Politics can rank as a science. In Politics we have got a body of knowledge which admits of statement in general laws. Such laws are capable of empirical verification through historical studies. Bernard Shaw has rightly called political science as "the science by which alone civilization can be saved."

IV. The Methods of Political Science

Regarding the methods of enquiry in Political Science an eminent writer has observed that the investigations of Political Science must be of a dynamic and not of a static character. The static character of investigation is content with analysing the status and structure of the state as it is at any given point of time. But such an analysis cannot warrant us any safe conclusion regarding the basis of Political life of the future. The state is the product of social, cultural and economic environment. It is undergoing an unceasing change in accordance with the alterations in environment. A student of Political Science, therefore, should attempt at the proper interpretation of these alterations ; he should notice the changes and their effects ; analyse the existing institutions , and observe the tendencies of the movements. He should not only deal with the state as it is, but as it has been in the past, and as it should be in the future. That is what is meant by the dynamic character of investigation.

Such an investigation can be undertaken mainly with the help of methods, known as comparative and historical. The comparative method has been used by Aristotle, who is said to have collected information about 158 constitutions from which to draw his theories ; by Montesquieu, who applied himself to the study of political institutions belonging to societies of different historical types, and by Maine, the author of 'Ancient Law.' The comparative method comprehends the six following logical processes : accumulation, arrangement, classification, co-ordination, elimination and deduction. By using these processes we sift out what is common, and try to find out common causes and consequences. If we find that under certain circumstances, a certain institution occurs in the history of a large number of societies, we may expect that under similar circumstances it will probably occur in others also, though we may not have direct evidence of its actual occurrence.

The comparative method, however, is to be used with great caution. In our effort to discover general principles we must

take into account the difference in moral, social, intellectual and economic condition of the two entities compared. Comparison between two communities having different economic backgrounds cannot give any satisfactory and scientific conclusion.

**Limitations
of the
method**

The historical method is really a particular form of comparative method. We can use historical facts only when we subject them to the processes of comparative method. Historical facts, taken at random, cannot lead to any conclusion. According to Pollock, the historical method "seeks an explanation of what institutions are and are tending to be, more in the knowledge of what they have been and how they came to be what they are, then in the analysis of them as they stand."

**Historical
method**

It is neither expedient nor always possible to adopt the experimental method in Political Science. New condition can not be arranged for introducing new laws and institutions for the sake of satisfying the speculative curiosity of learned academicians. But as a matter of fact, every government is making new experiments when it is adopting a new policy and enacting a new law. Students of political science may draw their own conclusions by watching the good or bad effects of these new laws. This process, thus becomes akin to the historical method.

**Difficulties
of experi-
menting**

The comparative and historical methods are methods of induction. But in Political Science the inductive method is to be used in conjunction with the deductive method. The Deductive or Philosophical method has been used by Rousseau, Mill, Sidgwick and Bluntschli. A student of this method starts from some abstract original idea about human nature, and deduces from that idea the nature of the state, its aims, functions and possibilities. These theories are then harmonised and verified in the light of facts of history. The right method in Political Science, is then, a blending of Comparative and Philosophical Methods.

**Deductive
method**

**Combina-
tion of
methods**

Mill discussed four methods of investigation viz., the chemical or experimental, the geometrical or abstract, the physical or concrete deductive, and the historical. He rejected the experimental method on the ground that the ideal conditions of the laboratory can never be obtained in Political enquiry. As circumstances can never be repeated, we can only judge of what has actually happened, and not venture into the region of "what might have been." The geometric or abstract method draws inferences from some supposed axioms and does not care to verify them

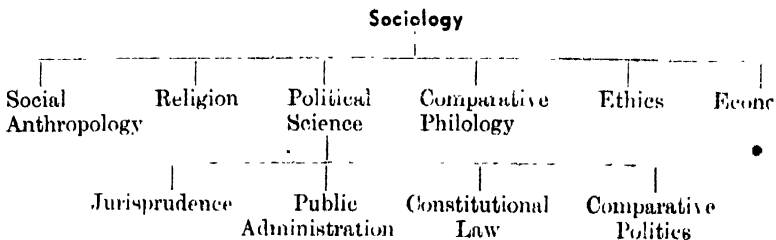
**Different
points of
view in
studying
Political
Science**

with historical facts. So this is of little value to a student of Political Science. Mill advises the use of the concrete deductive (which is almost the same as Philosophic) and the historical methods.

Many modern writers have undertaken the scientific study of the state from different points of view—such as Sociological, Biological, Psychological, Anthropological and Juridical. These writers do not employ new methods of investigation, but try to explain Political phenomena from the standpoint of their respective sciences and apply the laws and theories of these sciences to the interpretation of the state. So it is a mistake to say that there is sociological method or biological method of studying Political Science.

V. The Relation of Political Science to Allied Sciences

Political Science being the study of society from a particular standpoint, is closely related to other social sciences. Sociology is the name given to the study of all forms, civilised and uncivilised, of human association. As such it may be said to be the root of all social sciences such as Political Science, Economics, Social Anthropology, Religion, Ethics and Comparative Philology. Political Science again, is the parent of the sciences of Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law, Public Administration and Comparative Politics. This inter-relation of subjects may be shown by the following diagram :



Sociology or the science of society deals with man in all his social relations. Its scope is so wide as to include legal and coercive relationship of man with his fellows, as well as the evolution and status of customs, manners, religion and economic life. Political Science is only that part of Social Science which treats of the foundations of the state and of the principles of Government. .

Political Science is much narrower in scope than Sociology. The social relations with which Sociology is concerned may be religious and commercial and as such world-wide in scope,

Political Science regards mankind as divided into organised political societies, each with its own Government. Prof. Dunning points out that the entire field of primitive institutions, which do not manifest a political consciousness should be left to Sociology, while those institutions and theories which are closely associated with manifestations of political consciousness should fall within the scope of Political Science. Thus Political Science "begins much later with the life of the race than does Sociology." Sociology and Political Science are contributory to each other. Political Science draws its knowledge of the origin of political authority and the laws of social control from Sociology; while the latter derives its knowledge of organization and activities of the state from the former.

Political
Science
begins much
later than
Sociology

A large part of the groundwork of Political Science is to be found in History. History of political institutions is a main branch of Political Science. History also furnishes to a large extent the materials for comparison and induction to a student of Political Science. Hence Lord Acton said: "The science of politics is the one science that is deposited by the stream of history like the grains of gold in the sands of a river." Political Science, in its turn, has much to give to History. With the help of Political Science History arrives at abstractions and laws. History would, therefore, lose much of its significance without at least an unconscious political science. History and Political Science are mutually contributory and complementary, "Politics are vulgar", said Seeley, "when not liberalised by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to politics." The relation between the two subjects is expressed in the famous couplet---

History
furnishes
materials to
Political
Science

- History without political science bears no fruit,
Political science without history has no root.

But not all history is past politics. Though history and politics are mutually interdependent, yet it would be wrong to say with Prof. Freeman that history is past politics or that politics is present history. History is a record of past events and movements and their causes and interrelations. We have "histories of everything from civilisation to coinage—histories of church doctrines, military tactics, language, painting, prostitution, and even of the devil." It would be absurd to maintain that such "history" is "past politics."

Points of
difference

As all history is not past politics, so all politics is not present history. Political Science is based not only on history but

also on ethical and psychological foundations. The abstract speculations regarding the nature of the state cannot be regarded as History. Using the logical terminology of Prof. Leacock, we conclude, therefore, that "some of history is part of political science, the circles of their contents overlapping an area enclosed by each."

Political Science is both narrower and wider than History

Some writers are of opinion that the principal problem of Political Science is to determine what ought to be so far as the constitution and functions of government are concerned, while history is concerned with what has been.

The earlier writers of Economics considered their subject as a branch of the general science of the state. The modern writers, however, think that economics and politics are two independent but auxiliary social sciences. The fundamental bases of the two sciences stand in close relation to one another. Economics is concerned with the man's social activity in production, distribution and consumption of wealth. But production and distribution are largely conditioned by the existing form of government.

Influence of Politics on Economics

The system of production and distribution in Russia is fundamentally different from that prevailing in England, because in England government protects and sanctions private property, while the Soviet Government does not. Conversely, political institutions are greatly affected by economic circumstances. The transition from monarchy to aristocracy or oligarchy is largely due to the growth of wealth amongst the nobles. The destruction of oligarchy and the growth of proletarian democracy may be traced to the Industrial Revolution and the appearance of the artisan class. Besides this similarity in fundamental bases, there are some specific subjects of inquiry which are common to both, such as taxation, currency, tariff, municipal or government ownership of public utilities etc.

Ethics deals with individual morality while Political Science deals with political morality or rights and obligations having political sanction. But both took their origin from custom and religion when men lived in groups. Later on, when civilisation developed, Ethics depended on social sanction, and Politics on

Close relation with Ethics

political sanction. But even now the relation between the two sciences is very close. "Moral ideas", observes Gettell, "when they become widespread and powerful, tend inevitably to be crystallized into law, since the same individuals that form social standards are those that comprise the state." Moreover, so far as Political Science deals with government, as it ought to be, it depends on Ethics to a large extent. The ultimate justification of the State lies in the fact that it promotes good life, and what is good life is to be judged from the ethical stand-point.

Social Psychology "is the science of the behaviour of the human animal in his social relationships." As Politics is concerned with the play of individual minds, whether of the rulers or of the ruled, it is partly psychological. Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law and Public Administration are but sub-divisions of Political Science, because the scope of the subjects fall within the jurisdiction of the science that attempts a complete explanation of state existence and activities.

**Relation
with Social
Psychology
and Law**

There is some difference of opinion regarding the relation of International Law to Political Science. One school of writers regards International Law as a branch of Jurisprudence, which is itself a subdivision of Political Science. Another school thinks that as it deals with the relation of states with one another, it should be regarded as a kindred subject. Leacock opines that "in measure as international relations develop in the fixity of a true international law,—a code enforced by a recognised authority—so does international law become merged in the domain of political science."

**International
Law is
not yet
merged in
Political
Science**

CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE STATE

I. Essential Characteristics of the State

Political Science, being the science of the State, must offer a clear and precise definition of the term 'State'. It is all the more necessary because the term is popularly used with considerable latitude. In phrases like "state aid to the poor", "state control of railroads or education" the idea of collective action of society through some special machinery as contra-distinguished from individual action is implied. In states having federal system of government, the term 'State' is used to designate both the federal union and its component parts.

The state must be composed of the following factors :

Four essential constituents of State	Physical bases	{	I. Territory
		{	II. Population
	Political and	{	III. Government
	Spiritual bases	{	IV. Sovereignty

Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty—these four are "the essential constituent elements, political, physical, and spiritual of the Modern State."

Without territory there can be no state, in the modern sense of the term. In the primitive age, the pastoral tribes, having some kind of unity and organisation moved from place to place. These can be hardly called states, because the idea of territorial sovereignty is firmly imbedded in present political thought. The Jews, under the influence of the recent Zionist movement, have got some sort of unity and organisation, but as they are scattered all over the world, they cannot be said to have formed a state. There is no fixed limit, however, to the area over which the state should extend.

Population is the first essential requisite of a state. An uninhabited portion of earth cannot by itself constitute a state. No limit can be laid down regarding the number of people a state should have.

A people settled on a definite portion of earth's surface cannot form a State without some political organisation to which they render habitual obedience. The Government is that agency through which collective will of the State

is expressed and enforced. Prof. Gidings has rightly observed that the State is the "chief progressive organisation of civil society." Government is the outward manifestation of the State and as such is the organisation for the common purposes of the people.

It is the element of Sovereignty which differentiates the State from all other social organisations. Sovereignty means supremacy. The State is supreme both externally and internally. It does not admit the right of any other body or association to exercise the power of sovereignty within its territory or even to share with it the exercise of that power.

Sovereignty

The state may be now defined. President Wilson offers the briefest possible definition : "A state is a people organised for law within a definite territory." This definition implies all the four essential elements of the state. Population, territory and organisation are explicitly mentioned and the term law implies sovereignty. The best definition, however, is that offered by Prof. Garner, because his definition clearly brings forth the physical, political and spiritual bases of the state.

Definition of State

Prof. Garner says : "The State, as a concept of Political Science and public law, is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so of external control, and possessing an organised Government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience." From this definition the constituent elements of the state appear to be following : First, a group of persons acting together for common purpose ; second, the permanent occupation of a definite portion of earth's surface which constitute the home of the Population ; third, complete or almost complete independence of foreign control. This third element requires some elucidation. We have shown above that complete independence of foreign authority is an essential characteristic of the state. But the League of Nations has recognised the British Dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa as states, though the British Parliament is legally sovereign over each of them. The measure of control, exercised by the British Parliament is so small that the Dominions are nearly independent. So Prof. Garner has widened his definition of State in order to make it tally with the decision of the League of Nations. The fourth element, noticed by him is a common supreme authority or agency through which the collective will is expressed and enforced.

A comprehensive Definition

Territory and population constitute the Physical bases of the

state. Independence and common supreme authority form its Political basis. The presence of a common purpose amongst the population and the expression and enforcement of collective will through the common supreme authority supplies the spiritual or ethical basis of the state.

**Spiritual
basis of the
State**

✓ The term 'State' is employed loosely to designate individual members of federal unions, non-autonomous provinces, and also the areas ruled by the Indian princes. The English, the French and the German languages have not invented any political terminology for such subordinate bodies. The lack of proper terminology creates confusion.

**Loose
employment
of the term
'State'**

(Students of political science should do well to bear in mind the fact that the component units of federation are not states in the scientific sense of the term. Thus the so-called states of New York, California, Nevada etc. are not really states, because they do not possess sovereignty. They are autonomous no doubt, but they cannot declare war or conclude peace as separate entities ; nor do they possess the rights of controlling the banking and monetary policies. Garner would allow them to call themselves as States. But Burgess prefers to designate the individual members of federal unions as "commonwealths", and restricts the use of the term 'state', to the federation as a whole. The 'Indian States' like Hyderabad, Kashmir, Baroda, Indore etc. are called states by courtesy. They do not possess sovereignty in as much as their foreign policy is entirely under the control of the British Indian Government. The interference of the Viceroy in the internal administration of the Indian States is also not unusual. International law does not recognise any of the Indian States as a sovereign body.

II. Influence of Geographical Factors

The greater portion of this book will be devoted to the explanation of political and ethical bases of the state. Now we take this opportunity to discuss the physical basis of the state. Territory and population, Nature and Man, constitute the physical basis of the State. For the sake of convenience we shall take up in this section the consideration of the influence of territory on the origin and development of political institutions. The word territory is used here in the sense of physical environment.

The physical environment may be subdivided into (1) the contour of the earth's surface ; (2) climate ; (3) natural resources ; and (4) general aspect of nature. Each of these exercises tremendous influence on the social and political institutions of man. But man has also power to resist and overcome these influences.

**Physical
environment**

The physical features of the world have marked off certain areas definitely as political units. The sea gives this political unity to Great Britain, the Alps to Italy, the Pyrenees to the Spanish Peninsula, the Himalayas to India. Contour of the earth's surface Where there is no such natural frontier, there we notice a continual source of war and unrest. The age-long rivalry between France and Germany regarding the Rhine frontier is a case to the point. The size of the state too depends largely on geographical condition. Nature intended Greece and Switzerland to be seats of small states, while the Russian plain, the Chinese river valleys and the basin of the Mississippi are seats of states of vast extent. The outward expansion of state is sometimes influenced by the contour of the territory of the state. Thus Greece, with good harbours and numerous islands in the east, first came in conflict with Persia and ultimately expanded towards the east.

Extreme cold or extreme heat is not favourable to the growth of a state. All great states have arisen in areas where a temperate climate and moderate Climate amount of moisture are to be found.

The areas where the horse, the cow and the sheep were found in plenty, became seats of pastoral people. Only where the soil and climate were adapted to agriculture, men gave up the nomadic or semi-nomadic life and settled Resources down permanently in one place. With the fixity of habitation began the organisation of political life. The transition from agricultural to industrial conditions has been largely due to the presence of minerals, and especially coal and iron. The modern political predominance of England, Germany and the United States has been made possible by the presence of mineral wealth.

The violent and terrible aspect of nature makes man depend more on imagination than on reason ; lacking self-reliance he turns for protection to a powerful man. Thus despotism is said to be a normal feature of a country, General aspects of nature where great mountains, mighty rivers, earthquakes volcanoes form the back-ground of human life. Where there is no such awful phenomenon, moderation, reason, individualism are said to be developed and men adopt democratic form of government.

But the claims of geographic influence are not certain and absolute. Awful aspect of Nature is said to contribute to despotism ; but Wordsworth voices the popular belief Limitations of the influence that love of freedom is associated with the sea and the mountains.

"Two voices are there, one is of the sea,
One of the mountains, each a mighty voice
In each from age to age thou did'st rejoice,
They were thy chosen music, Liberty !"

Nothing succeeds like success. To-day the people of Europe and the United States of America have acquired ascendancy in almost every sphere of life, and they are eager to prove that nature intended them to be supreme. Similarly, twenty-three hundred years ago the Greeks thought that they were the only people whom nature had intended to make supreme over others. Thus wrote Aristotle : "Those who live in a cold climate and in Northern Europe, are full of spirit, but wanting in intelligence and skill ; and therefore they keep their freedom, but have no political organisation, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and inventive ; but they are wanting in spirit, and therefore they are always in a state of subjection and slavery. But the Hellenic race, which is situated between them, is likewise intermediate in character, being high-spirited and also intelligent. Hence it continues free, and is the best preserved of any nation.")

The famous English writer, G. K. Chesterton, has shown that the influence of geographic environment may be pushed to absurdity. He writes : "Thus Spaniards (it was said) are passionate because their country is hot ; Scandinavians adventurous because their country is cold ; Englishmen naval because they are islanders ; Switzers free because they are mountainous. It is all very nice in its way. Only unfortunately I am quite certain that I could make up quite as long a list exactly contrary in argument, point-blank against the influence of their geographical environment. Thus, Spaniards have discovered more continents than Scandinavians, because their hot climate discouraged them from exertion. Thus, Dutchmen have fought for their freedom quite as bravely as Switzers, because the Dutch have no mountains. Thus, pagan Greece and Rome and many Mediterranean peoples have specially hated the sea, because they had the nicest sea to deal with, the easiest sea to manage." We may add to this that modern science is making rapid conquest over nature and so the influence of geography may be counteracted to a large extent.

**Chesterton's
criticism**

III. State and Government

We have discussed the essential attributes of the state. Now it is necessary to define and discuss some concepts, without an understanding of which the activities of the state cannot be described.

In order to understand some of the most fundamental questions of Political Science, it is first of all necessary to distinguish the State from Government. Failure to recognise this distinction has led to grave errors in the past. The term 'State' is an abstract one and it is possible to conceive of it apart from the existence of any particular state, because all states are alike in essence. But the term 'Government' is a concrete one and its forms vary according to the political conditions prevailing in each state. The State is the sovereign community, politically organised, while Government is the agency or organisation through which the Will of the state is expressed and realised. The State possesses sovereignty, while Government enjoys derivative power delegated to it by the state through its constitution. The term 'Government' is narrower than the term 'State'. All the citizens of a political community constitute the state but not the government. Territoriality is an essential attribute of the state, but the term 'Government' has no reference to it. The state possesses quality of permanence but government is not immortal. Changes in the form of government from monarchy to oligarchy or democracy either by revolution or constitutional evolution do not put an end to the state. But without some kind of government no state can exist even for a short time. It is the government which carries out the function of the state. The state is, in its daily administration, simply the government. As there are different classes and economic interests in the state, the government may lie at the disposal of some one class or interest. Frequent struggle goes on between one section and another for the capture of governmental power.

Distinction
between
State and
Government

In popular signification, Government means a special body of ministers in England, or in the provinces in India. But in the wider sense, Government means the sum total of all the legislative, executive and judicial bodies in the central, provincial, local or colonial field. It must have, therefore, military power, or the control of armed force; legislative power or the means of making law; financial power or the ability to extract sufficient money from the community to defray the cost of defending the state and enforcing the law it makes. In its widest signification the term 'Government' must include the electorate too. "When the electorate, through the suffrage, chooses Governing officials, it is exercising the executive power of appointment; by means of the Initiative and Referendum it shares in legislation; and by jury service it becomes a part of the Judiciary" (Gettell). It must also include the group of officials known as the administration and the special organs, which are entrusted in some states with the task of amending the constitution.

Connotation
of the term
Government

We may now define Government, in the language of Dealey
 { **Definition** as "the sum total of those organisation that exer-
 of Govern- cise or may exercise the sovereign powers of the
 ment state."

IV. State, Community, Society, Association and Institution

According to scientific terminology, Community is the widest of the terms used in the heading of this section. Every developed Community gives rise to an organised society. Within an organised society there exists a vast complex of Associations, Institutions and Social Customs. The state is a particular form of Association.

The term 'Community' has been defined by G. D. H. Cole as "a complex of social life, a complex including a number of human beings living together under conditions of social relationship, bound together by a common, however constantly changing, stock of conventions, customs and traditions, and conscious to some extent of common social objects and interests." MacIver understands by a community an area of common life. This common life develops in some kind or degree distinctive common characteristics, manners, traditions, modes of speech etc. Members of a community may have common customs, common sentiments and common religion. The area of a community may be small like a clan, family or village, or it may spread over the whole world like the Christian or Moslem communities. There may be communities within a community. The Hindus form a community, but within it there is the community of the Bramhanas; and again, amongst the Bramhanas the Bhumihaar Bramhana community. Similarly, the Christians form one community, but the various Christian sects form communities by themselves. A community is not an institution or formal association but a centre of feeling. The feeling of unity makes it easy for the members of a community to associate themselves together for the various purposes which they have in common.

Society may be defined as "the complex of organised associations and institutions within a Community." But MacIver uses the term 'Society' in the most general sense. According to him it includes every kind of willed relationship of man to man; and as such community and associations are but special aspects of social life. Deliberateness and conscious activity form the essence of Society. A large number of men travelling by the same road or by the same train do not constitute a society, because they have no common plan or common will; but a few students meeting once a month to hold

State and Society

a debate may form a Debating Society. Society may be big or small. A society has no reference to ~~territorial~~ occupation ; while territoriality is an essential mark of state. The term 'society' suggests not only the political relations by which men are bound together, but the whole range of human relations and collective activities. Society may be organised or un-organised ; but the state must have an organisation, namely, government. There existed and even now exist among the extremely backward parts of the world social groups which did not or do not know anything of the state. But a well-ordered society cannot exist without the state ; because it is the state which binds individuals to certain rules of outward conduct. But it should be clearly recognised that the state cannot regulate every form of social conduct. "There are social forms", observes MacIver, "like the family or the church or the club, which owe neither their origin nor their inspiration to the state ; and social forces like custom or competition, which the state may protect or modify, but certainly does not create ; and social motives like friendship or jealousy which establish relationships too intimate and personal to be controlled by the great engine of the state."

The basis of association is the consciousness of a want requiring co-operative action for its satisfaction. An association may be defined in the words of Cole as "any group of persons pursuing a common purpose or system or aggregation **Association** of purposes by a course of co-operative action extending beyond a single act, and for this purpose, agreeing together upon certain methods of procedure and laying down, in however rudimentary a form, rules for common action."

A University, a Trade Union, a Church is as much an association as the State. But there are points of fundamental difference between the state and these other forms of association. A man is born in a state ; he cannot choose the state to which he is to belong just after his birth. But he can make a choice of the Universities, Trade Unions or Churches to which he would like to be a member. He can become a member of many associations e.g., of two or three Universities or Trade Unions, but he must be a member of a single state. The area of a state is confined to a particular locality, but an association like the Roman Catholic Church or the Third Internationale covers the whole world. Other associations are not as permanent in character as the state. The utmost punishment which other associations can inflict is expulsion, but the state can even forfeit the life of a member. Voluntary associations thus lack the legal power of coercion—the power to command and enforce obedience—in short the power of Sovereignty. This is the most fundamental distinction. The

Distinction between State and other forms of Association

purpose of a voluntary association is limited to the pursuit of one or at most a few particular interests, whereas the state is concerned with a great and ever-increasing variety of interests. In short, it is charged with the care of general rather than particular interests.

An association like a University is created by the state. A Trade Union grows up without the agency of Government indeed, but it can be dissolved by the state. A church may be prior in origin to the state, but it must be tacitly or explicitly recognised by the state. A church whose activity is detrimental to the interest of the state may be forcibly expelled from a state. Thus the state is an all-pervasive, compulsory, permanent and theoretically an omnipotent association, while other associations are limited in their scope, procedure and function. It is the state which upholds and enforces order amongst other associations within its boundary.

{ The State is compulsory, permanent and omnipotent association

According to legal theory the State is the sovereign association, normally supreme within a definite territory and over a complex of activities. But the juristic conception of the State is vague and abstract. It does not take into account the different kinds of social and individual forces which struggle to control the government vested with supreme legitimate power. Political scientists of the present day regard the state simply as an order in which there is superordination and subordination of individuals and groups to each other, and think of this order as obtained and maintained by social power, operating in the name and with the title of supreme authority.

The State in legal theory and in practice

An Institution has been defined as "a recognised custom or form of social tradition or idea, manifested in and through human beings either in their personal conduct and relationship or through organised groups or associations." Marriage, Monogamy, Monarchy, Peerage, Caste etc. are examples of Institution. They are, therefore, long established forms of social traditions. Their importance or usefulness lies in the fact that they maintain social stability by ensuring the continuance of social ideas or ideals. Except in the event of extreme idealism getting the upper hand, on account of the social institutions, social life flows easily. In course of ages and generations again, new institutions come into existence with the changing social order. In short, institutions though changeable have a long lease of life to run.

Institutions

V. State, People, Nation and Nationality

The concept of state is purely legal and political. A state has

a legal authority to enforce the people and a political organization through which that authority is expressed. A people, on the other hand, is mainly a racial or ethnological concept. Common traditions, common origin and a consciousness of common interests are the basic considerations which go to make a people. A number of families happening to live together somewhere and developing some measure of friendship do not form a people. It is when they become welded together in a unity of culture and traditions that they constitute a people.

Distinction
between
State and
People

According to Burgess, a people is defined as "a population having a common language and literature, a common tradition and history, common customs and a common consciousness of rights and wrongs, inhabiting a territory of a geographic unity." In the opinion of Gumpłowicz also the test of a people is "community of civilization." Similarly, Bluntschli defines a people as "a union of masses of men of different occupations and social strata in a hereditary society of common spirit, feeling and race, bound together, especially by language and customs, in a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners, quite apart from the bonds of the state."

Distinction
between
People and
Nation

A nation, on the other hand, is defined as an association of people of ethnic unity inhabiting a territory of a geographical unity. The German word 'Volk' is usually translated into English as 'people', but it has got the same political significance as the English word Nation. This similarity in meaning between the German word 'Volk' and the English concept 'Nation' is due to the respective interpretations of the two terms. Bluntschli observes that the chief point which distinguishes a nation from a people is that in it the community of rights is developed in a more marked degree and is raised to the point of participation in the conduct of the state. So a nation is usually accompanied by statehood, whereas a people is not.

Nation

But every nation is not invariably state, for there are states which comprise many nations and nationalities. In a state again, there may be many peoples. Sometimes, again, a people may be identical with a nation; but in most cases a nation consists of many people.

The distinction between 'nationality' and 'nation', has been drawn by Lord Bryce as follows: "A nationality is a population held together by certain ties, as for example, language and literature, ideas and customs and traditions, in such a wise as to feel itself a coherent unity distinct from other populations similarly held together by like ties of their own; a nation is a nationality which has organized itself

Distinction
between
Nation and
Nationality

into a political body either independent or desiring to be independent." The distinction between nation and nationality, therefore, rests on the attainment of political organization. When a nationality attains political organization, i.e., becomes endowed with statehood, it emerges into a nation. (A nationality is thus a nation in making—a developing nation.)

Nationality is a concept of purely subjective character. It is a spiritual sentiment arising among a group of persons who speak a common language, who cherish common historical traditions, and who think that they constitute a distinct cultural society. The sentiment of nationality is responsible for the desire in the group to control their own social life in religion, law and politics. "It implies", observes Prof. Laski, "the sense of a special unity which marks off those who share in it from the rest of mankind. That unity is the outcome of a common history, of victories won and traditions created by a corporate effort. There grows up a sense of kinship which binds men into oneness. They recognise their likeness, and emphasize their difference from other men."

Subjective
nature of
Nationality

IV. Organic or Organismic Theory of the State

We have shown before that unity is the essential characteristic of the state. But different theories have been started regarding the nature and degree of this unity. One school of writers, known as the monistic school, holds that the individuals composing the state are so completely merged in it that they have no separate existence at all. There is another opinion, known as the monadistic theory, which says that the individual is a self-contained unit and that the only bond of unity between state and individual is that of geography. Still another school, the dualistic, considers the relation of the individual to society to be one of partial dependence. Finally, there is the organic theory of the state, which has found advocates from the earliest times.

Different
theories
regarding
nature of the
state

The theory which regards society as analogous in structure to a biological organism, and thinks that the relation of the individual to the whole mass is similar to that which exists between the cell and organism of a living being, is known as the Organic theory. The tendency of Greek political thought was to insist on the subordination of the individual to the state. In this sense, the political theory of Aristotle may be called organic. In the middle ages too various writers advocated this theory to show that there cannot be two heads in a body politic and as such either the Emperor or the Pope must be the head. But the elaboration of the theory and its express application to the problem of Government interference

History and
statement of
the organis-
mic theory

ould be made only after the establishment of the evolutionary theory of the biological world in the nineteenth century. Amongst the notable advocates of this theory we may mention Herbert Spencer (English), Bluntschli (German), Auguste Comte (French) and Gumpłowicz (Polish).

These writers hold that there is a striking resemblance in origin, structure and function between social body and animal organism. (1) Origin—Both the animal and social bodies begin as germs and develop complex structures naturally in course of time. (2) Structure—In both here exist the sustaining system, the distributory system and the regulating system. “Just as the foreign substances which sustain the animal determine the alimentary canal, so the different minerals, animals and vegetables determine the form industrialism will take in a given community.” As here is the circulatory system in the Organic body, so there is transportation in body politic. The nervous and nervomotor system in the animal finds its parallel in the governmental military system in the body politic. Bluntschli goes so far as to attribute sexual qualities to the state which is masculine, while the Church is feminine. (3) Function—The most important and fruitful parallel between the two is to be found in function. As hands and feet are parts of the body, so the individual is the part of society. “As it is impossible to consider that the hand has separate existence from that of the body, so it is impossible to divorce the individual from society.” The individual exists in state, and the State exists in the individual.

Points of similarity between the State and Human organism

The Organic theory about the nature of the State serves a valuable purpose by emphasising the essential unity of the State. The individual is not an isolated entity but a social unit; and the state also depends on the individuals composing it. The Organic theory thus clearly brings before us the inter-dependence of the State and the individual.

Criticism of the theory

But Herbert Spencer has built up his individualistic political philosophy on the basis of the dissimilarity which he finds between society and the animal organism. He observes that consciousness in the animal is concentrated in a small part of the aggregate; while in social organism it is diffused throughout the aggregate. Hence he concludes that society exists for the benefit of its members, and not its members for the benefit of the society. This conclusion denies the intrinsic relation of the individual to society, and thus deprives the Organic theory of whatever merits it possesses. The other effects of the theory may be pointed out as follows.

Spencer's Individualism

(a) It points out only an analogy, and analogy does not mean

identity. In the animal organism hands, feet or eyes cannot have separate will, but the will of the State is influenced and largely determined by volitions of the individuals composing the state. (b) The activity of the members of an animal organism is wholly confined to the organism itself, but the existence and activities of the members of the state are not exhausted in the life and activity of the state. (c) The state can control action only but not motives. (c) The constituents of the body politic move freely from place to place and their number may be arbitrarily added to or lessened ; but the members of an animal organism are permanently fixed. (d) Animal organism derive their life from pre-existing living beings, but the State does not and cannot obtain vitality from other political powers. (e) There is a danger too in following the organic analogy in the case of the State. In animal organism the laws of development are blindly and intuitively followed. If we do not make efforts to better the organism of the State and depend on natural growth there will be no improvement. The growth of the state is, to a considerable extent at least, consciously felt, and the form of its organisation self-directed. (f) The Organic theory may prove to be positively mischievous either by emphasising on the entire subordination of the individual to the State, or by giving too much stress on the independence of the individual of the State. Hence it is better to reject the analogy of the State to animal organism.

Defects of the theory

In the state there is deliberate growth

Dangerous conclusions from the theory

VII. Idea and Concept of the State

German writers make a distinction between the concept and the idea of the state. They maintain that the concept of the State at any historical period is found in the common attributes of the states actually existent. The idea of the state is the ideal of perfect form of which any actual state is only an approximate realisation. Burgess further elucidates the distinction by observing that, "the idea of the state is the state perfect and complete ; the concept of the state is the state developing and approaching perfection.....With the progress of mankind and the development of the world the two will tend to become identical."

Different ages have got different ideals of the state. The Greeks thought the perfected form of city-state to be the ideal. The nineteenth century was inspired by the ideal of national state. The greatest thinkers of the present century aspire for a world-state, organised on federal principles. The ideal of a world-state is not a new one. Alexander the Great, the Roman Emperors, the Holy Roman Emperors, and Napoleon were all

haunted by this ideal. But they thought of realising this ideal by imposing their own will on the rest of the world. This gave rise to discontent amongst the subject peoples and brought about the ruin of their scheme. If the nation-states of the modern world can, by any means, be federated together, each retaining its distinctive culture and civilisation, much of the misery of the world, due to war and economic rivalry, would come to an end. The League of Nations stood for this ideal ; but the European statesmen failed to show their sincerity of purpose in their attempts to realise it.

R VIII. The Basis of the State

There are two schools of thought regarding the basis or foundation of the State. (Hobbes, Bentham and Comte hold that the State has originated in force, has been developed through force and maintains itself by force.) (Green, ^{Two conflicting opinions} the Idealist philosopher of England, maintains, on the other hand, that 'will and not force is the basis of the State.' As the subject is of fundamental importance, it is necessary to discuss it at some length.

The French philosopher, Auguste Comte states that "force is the basis of every human society". He pleads for a frank recognition of this fact, because, in his opinion, "Social science would remain for ever in the cloudland of metaphysics if we hesitated to adopt the principle of force as the basis of government." He tries to prove his contention by drawing upon History. He shows that in the early stage of human civilization social relations are determined by force. A powerful military leader places himself at the head of his own tribe and conquers other tribes. Conquest is the guiding aim of society. Production is undertaken to satisfy the bare needs of physical life and the status of producers is slavery. In the next stage industries become diversified but they are pursued to promote military ends. The producers are no longer slaves, but they still remain politically unfree serfs. In the scientific and industrial stage the serfs become the factory workers, who are kept under subjection by the richer classes. Fear of being punished keeps men submissive to the authority of the state.

The German writers and the Italian Fascists believe in force. Treitschke identified the state with power and moralized power by the assumption that it is the condition of upholding and spreading a national culture. The ^{Views of the Fascists and Socialists} Socialists also hold that 'the State is essentially a contrivance of the master class to keep the lower classes in subjection'.

The upholders of the theory of Force have exaggerated the claims of Force ; but there is some truth underlying their claims. Force has played a large part in bringing territories under the domination of particular states. It has enabled a class of conquerors to superimpose their will upon a conquered population. (Force has got to be used in maintaining order within the state. There are people with anti-social tendencies in every country and the State has to check them by means of force.) In the existing State of international affairs, a State has to maintain army, navy, and air-force to repel foreign aggressions. Even Green admits that force was a necessary factor in the process by which states have been formed and transformed. He points out 'the acquisition of military power by a tribal chieftain, the conquest of one tribe by another, the suppression of the independent prerogatives of families by a tyrant which was the antecedent condition of the formation of states in the ancient world, and the suppression of feudal prerogatives by the royal authority' which gave rise to the modern State. As a matter of fact, the outward visible sign of a State is the presence of supreme coercive power.

But this does not mean that force is the basis of the state. Force may have contributed to the formation of states but it alone can not sustain a state for any length of time. No State can exist over the whole of its territory on a basis of pure coercion. "No State could maintain itself unless there were somewhere consent to its maintenance, at least among a section of the population, and some positive will to sustain it against attack."

The State exercises force indeed, but that force is, according to Green, the moral force. The State uses force against its members to further the freedom of its members. The object of the State is to remove certain hindrances to freedom. In carrying out this object it may use force against the rebel, force against the anarchist, force against the parent who does not send his children to school, or force against the employer who overworks employees in his factory or mine. Such a use of force is made with a view to furthering the freedom of the victims of force. The state exists to serve the common interest of all its members. The individual obeys the State because without an authority embodied in civil institutions he would have no right at all. The State defines and harmonises the rights of men, already existing in families and tribes.

Will or consent is the basis of the state, because in the idealist view, the state represents an idea of common good. It is only as members of the state, which recognises common

interests and objects, that individuals come to have rights. "A state", says Green, "presupposes other forms of community, with the rights that arise out of them and only exists as sustaining, securing, and completing them. In order to make a state there must have been families of which the members recognised rights in each other (recognised in each other powers capable of direction by reference to a common good); there must further have been intercourse between families, or between tribes that have grown out of families, of which each in the same sense recognised rights in the other....The rights recognised need definition and recognition in a general law. When such a general law has been arrived at, regulating the position of members of a family towards each other and the dealings of families or tribes with each other; when it is voluntarily recognised by a community of families or tribes, and maintained by a power strong enough at once to enforce it within the community and to defend the integrity of the community against attacks from without, then the elementary state has been formed."

The Idealist
view of the
basis of the
State }

CHAPTER II

THEORIES OF ORIGIN OF STATE

I. Speculations about the Origin of the State

The origin of the state is obscure, though the modern sciences of Biology, Ethnology and Anthropology have thrown much light on it (It is not possible to point out any definite period when the state might be said to have come into existence Manifestation of political consciousness and evolution of political organisation are the two essential factors of the state) But the circumstances under which primitive men secured for the first time these two essentials of state-life are veiled largely in the mists of obscurity. Hence various theories were started in different ages to explain the origin of the state. Some theorists held that the State originated from the divine will, some maintained that it was created by a contract, some argued that it was brought into existence by force or cunning, and others traced its beginning in the patriarchal or matriarchal family. All these speculations are based on inferences and generalisations. None of these is accepted now as valid. Yet a discussion about these theories serves some very important purposes. First, these theories indicate the conditions and spirit of the age in which they flourished. Political theories are the outcome of actual political conditions and as such their study is indispensable to historical political science. Secondly, these theories had immensely influenced political development. The Social Contract theory of Rousseau strengthened the belief in democratic government. Thirdly, discussions of these theories throw light on the general concepts and problems of political science.

Necessity of studying the different theories

II. The Theory of Divine Origin

The earliest theory regarding the origin of the state is that which attributes the establishment of the state to God. According to this theory, God made his will known to certain persons, who were his vicegerents on earth. These vicegerents communicated the will of God to the people and exacted obedience from them. With the enforcement of order and obedience originated the state.

Statement of the theory

In the Santi Parvam of the Mahabharata we find that the people found anarchy intolerable and approached God for relief. God appointed Manu to rule over them. Other passages of the great epic show that obedience to the king was

inculcated on the ground that the king has in him the higher essence of divinity. But at the same time the Santi Parvan (Ch. 92) lays down that it is the duty of the people to kill a tyrant who transgresses Dharma. This proves that the Divine Right of kingship was not accepted by all schools of thought. But the Divine Origin of State is not the same as the Divine Right of kings. In ancient India some thinkers, though not all, attributed the origin of state to the divine will or active intervention of God. The ancient Egyptians, Persians, Chinese and Japanese believed in the Divine Origin of State and in the divine right of kings. The Greeks regarded the state as natural and thus may be said to have believed it as a divine institution: Christianity strengthened the belief in the theory of Divine Origin. The following saying of St. Paul found favour with the Church Fathers—"Let every soul be subject unto the highest powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

Popular
belief in the
ancient
period

In the middle ages a great controversy arose between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. Both the Pope and the Emperor claimed to be the vicegerent of God in temporal matters and both defended the divine nature of the State. During the Reformation, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin reiterated the divine origin of civil authority and the necessity of the citizen's obedience thereto. The divine origin theory has practically become obsolete to-day, though its relic can still be traced in such expressions as: "By the Grace of God George VI King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India."

In the
Middle ages

The theory of Divine Origin of State gave rise to the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings. If God created the state and invested the king with royal power, all persons succeeding to the office of the king may claim to govern wrong by right divine. James I of England was a stout defender of the divine right of Kings. He wrote a book entitled "True Law of Free Monarchy" and in it he claimed,—"It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." Filmer in his "Patriarcha," written in 1681, held almost similar views. The French writer Bousset also asserted that the king is an image of the Majesty of God himself. The theory was discredited during the French Revolution, but after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, the sovereigns of Austria, Russia and Prussia solemnly asserted in the famous treaty of the Holy Alliance that they looked upon themselves as being delegated by Providence to govern their

Theory of
Divine
Right of
Kings

peoples. (The belief in the divinity of the King still persists among the simple folks of India and especially amongst the Nepalis.)

It is true that the primitive peoples believed and still believe in the supernatural power of the king. The king was very often the highest priest amongst primitive peoples. Meta-physically, it may be true that all power ultimately comes from God and that by Him is implanted in the nature of man the need and demand for the state. But the theory of divine origin of state fails to explain why in a particular community a definite set of individuals should arrogate to themselves the right to rule. It becomes also difficult to explain the position of an elected president of a State with the help of the theory of divine origin. Moreover, the laws of God and the rules of morality have their authority upon intentions rather than on outward acts. But the state deals with external action only. The theory makes the king all-powerful and unaccountable to anybody and hence it is liable to prove dangerous sometimes. Monarchy and not any other form of government is possible under this theory of divine origin.

The separation of Church and State contributed to the decline of the theory of divine origin of the state. The state came to be looked upon as a secular organisation. But the chief enemy of the Divine theory was the Social Contract theory.

The Divine origin theory states that the state is ordained from above, and the people have no other function than to render implicit obedience to the authority of the state. The Social Contract theory, on the other hand, emphasised the element of consent as the basis of the state. It showed the state to be a human contrivance, designed to maintain some vaguely defined pre-existing rights of man. The social contract theory, in its turn, has also been discarded as illogical and unhistorical, but no body now-a-days believes in the theory of divine origin.

III. The Contract Theory

The term 'contract' has been used in political theory in a double sense. First, it has been used as description of an agreement between rulers and subjects, according to which the power of ruling is placed in particular hands. The agreement may be called the 'governmental compact' and by it the legitimacy of the existing governments is determined. Secondly, contract means an agreement between individuals of a particular community, according to which such community first becomes politically organised. In this agreement to be politically organised, there is no necessary

Criticism of the theory

Causes of decline of the theory

Governmental contract and Social contract

reference to the manner in which, or the person by whom, the political power is to be exercised. This may be called the Social Contract or Political Contract. By it the origin of the State, that is, of the political power itself, is explained. Logically, the Social Contract must precede the governmental contract, because, unless a community is politically organised there cannot be any agreement regarding its form of government. But in the history of political theory we find that the governmental compact was enunciated before the Social Compact.

The essential ideas of all contract theories may be stated as follows. In the period antecedent to the institution of government, man is found in the 'state of nature', un-controlled by any laws of human imposition. Man is guided by such regulations as are supposed to be prescribed to him by nature itself. These regulations are, of course, unwritten, and their spirit is spoken of as the law of nature. Different theorists have expressed different ideas regarding the condition of man in the state of nature. Some hold that it was too idyllic to last, others think that it was too inconvenient to be tolerated, whatever might be the case, man is led to substitute for it a union with his fellowmen. Each individual gives up now his isolation as 'natural individual, and secures in return the protection of all against the possible rapacity of each. Human law, now takes the place of natural law. (The process by which political authority is instituted is, according to this theory, the deliberate and voluntary agreement of the members of the community who, through the instrumentality of a covenant, organise themselves into a body politic

Essential
ideas of
Contract
theory

The idea of basing the authority of rulers upon an original compact with their subjects is of very ancient origin. We find a suggestion of it in Plato, the Epicureans developed it. The Roman jurists universally held that the power of the Emperor rested with an original explicit or implicit consent of the populace. Feudalism is also based upon the contract between the tenant and his overlord. The mediæval and early modern writers generally took this view

Early
history of
the theory

Up to the end of the XVIIth century, society was held to be the product of instinctive sociability of man. So the theory of social compact did not attract much attention. The first writer to make the idea of an original social compact a necessary antecedent to the governmental compact was Althusias, who wrote at the beginning of the XVIIth century. The theory was developed by Grotius and Wendorf. But the greatest application which the theory received was from Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

History of
social
compact

Application of the theory by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau

Three different interpretations of the theory

“With Rousseau”, observes Leacock, “the doctrine of Social Contract, which in the hands of Hobbes was made a weapon of defence for absolutism and with Locke a shield for constitutional limited monarchy, becomes the basis of popular sovereignty.” This observation clearly brings forth the different uses to which the theory may be put. Hobbes, private tutor of Charles II, published his *Leviathan* in 1651, in order to defend monarchical absolutism. Locke, another Englishman, published his *Two Treatises of Civil Government* in 1690 in order to defend the Revolution settlement of 1689. Rousseau, a citizen of Geneva, published his *Social Contract* in 1762 in order to promulgate the theory of popular sovereignty. Each of these illustrious writers imagined a state of nature and explained the need and character of the contract in a way, most suitable to arrive at the conclusion he wanted to maintain.

The interpretation of Hobbes

According to Hobbes, the state of nature is one of unceasing strife. The competition between man and man for the means to gratify identical appetites; the fear in each lest another surpasses him in power; and the craving for recognition as superior are the causes of strife. It is a state of “continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.” Finding this condition of life unbearable, man is driven by evident necessity to join himself with his fellows under some common authority. Each individual makes a Covenant with his fellows under the following terms: (1) “I authorise, and give up my right of governing myself to this man or to this assembly of men, on this condition that thou give up thy right to him and authorise all his actions in like manner.” The consequences of this Covenant are that (1) no breach of the original pact by the sovereign can be set up as a ground for its violation by the subject, for the sovereign is no party to the compact. (2) Every act of disobedience by a subject is unjust, whatever might be the ground alleged for the act. (3) There is no justification for resistance by the minority on the ground that it did not choose the sovereign elected by the majority. Sovereignty, therefore, implies an absolute exemption from any resistance or interference on the part of subjects. According to the theory of Hobbes the subjects can enjoy only those rights which the sovereign has permitted and those which have not been expressly forbidden by law. From the legal point of view he may be right; but such a political doctrine gives rise to tyranny. The people, by their

own admission, surrendered all their natural rights because of their desire to preserve themselves from violent death and to enjoy such things as are necessary for commodious living. But if the sovereign has absolutely no check on his authority, he may unnecessarily take away the life and property of his subjects. In spite of this defect in his theory, Hobbes holds an eminent position in the domain of political philosophy because he was the first English philosopher to recognise the value of social order and discipline.

Hobbes's theory is also attacked on the ground that he failed to make a distinction between the will of the ruler and the will of the State. Hobbes feared that rebellion against a particular ruler would lead to the destruction of the State. "He did not realise that the form of government may be changed without destroying the State and the existence of sovereign power does not necessarily mean the absolute authority of the particular persons who exercise it."

Criticism

(To Locke the state of nature is not a state in which men live in brutish reciprocal hostility, but one in which peace and reason prevail). It is not a lawless state. Under the law of nature men enjoy then natural rights of life, liberty and property. But in the state of nature there is no

The interpretation of Locke

common organ for the interpretation and execution of the law of nature. Though this law is imprinted in the hearts of all men yet differences of intelligence and conflicts of interest will cause disputes. So the necessity for organising civil society arises. According to Locke each individual contracts with each to unite into and constitute a community for the purpose of preserving life, liberty and property. The contract involves an agreement by each of the individuals to give up his natural right of executing the law of nature and punishing offences against that law, but not all his natural rights, as Hobbes has described "There and there only", says Locke, "is political society where every one of the members hath quitted the natural power, assigned it up into the hands of the community in all cases that exclude him not from appealing for protection to the law established by it." This is the original social contract, but it is supplemented by another contract, which may be termed the governmental compact. The second contract is not expressly stated as such by Locke, but is implied by him. The people having been organised into a civil society or commonwealth can to have made another contract with the king (but according to the interpretation of Ritchie, the king was not a party to the covenant described by Locke). The nature of the second or the implied contract can be inferred from the following observations of Locke — "The legislative power, constituted by the

consent of the people, becomes the supreme power in the commonwealth, but is not arbitrary. It must be exercised as it is given, for the good of the subjects. Government is in the nature of a trust and embraces only such powers as are transferred at the time of the change from a state of nature. The Legislature must dispense Justice by standing laws and authorized judges; no man can be deprived of his property without his consent, nor can taxes be levied without the consent of the people or their representatives." At another place he observes: "The community perpetually retains a supreme power of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of anybody, even of their legislators, whenever they shall be so foolish or so wicked as to lay and carry designs against the liberties and properties of the subject."

Locke's merit lies in rendering his theory a basis for revolution and democracy. He limited the powers of the government and recognised the value of the consent of the people. **Criticism** Locke however did not appreciate fully the significance of legal sovereignty and failed to see that revolution, however desirable, is never legal

Rousseau conceives the state of nature to be one of idyllic felicity. Primitive man was unfettered by the shackles of authority and free to live his life without being bound by artificial bonds of human laws. But, as the members of the race increase, this primitive condition is found to be disadvantageous in many respects. "So the men of the community "contracted" themselves out of the natural state into a civil state. The formula on which civil society rests is, according to Rousseau, this -- "Each of us puts into a single mass his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will; and we receive as a body each member as, an indivisible part of the whole." His exposition of the spirit and effect of the contract is not at all logical. Thus he argues:—"Since each gives himself up to all, he gives himself up to no one; and as there is acquired over every associate the same right that is given up by himself, there is gained the equivalent of what is lost, with greater power to preserve what is left." If a man gives up his all, how can he preserve "what is left"?

The interpretation of Rousseau Rousseau adopted the method of Hobbes, but curiously enough arrived at the conclusions of Locke. He borrowed from Hobbes the conception of sovereignty and from Locke the conception of the ultimate seat of authority. He combined the two and made the great image of the sovereign people. "Strike the crowned head", observes Morley, "from that monstrous figure which is the front-piece of the Leviathan, and you have a frontpiece that will do exactly well for the 'Social Contract'". Like Hobbes,

Rousseau believes in one contract only, and to this contract, Government was not a party. Again, like Hobbes, Rousseau imagines that the people surrendered by this contract all of their rights without any reservation. But whereas the surrender of rights is to the government in the theory of Hobbes, the people in Rousseau's theory make an absolute surrender of their rights to the community itself. Both the philosophers make the sovereign power absolute, indivisible and inalienable. Hobbes, however, confuses the State with the government and vests absolute power in the latter. Rousseau makes a clear distinction between the two and places the sovereign authority in the people. Rousseau believes that there can be no conflict between authority vested in the people as a whole and their liberty as individuals. Like Hobbes, Rousseau holds that the motive which impels men to make the contract is to secure the ends of preservation and security. But there are certain important points of difference between Hobbes and Rousseau. (Hobbes looks on man as essentially bad by nature, Rousseau thinks them to be good. Rousseau describes the state of nature as a state of peace, while to Hobbes it is a state of war. Rousseau believes that laws and institutions have depraved men, while Hobbes holds that these have improved them.

Locke inspired Rousseau with the theory of popular sovereignty. "It was Locke", writes Morley, "whose Essay on Civil Government haunts us throughout the Social Contract, who had taught him that men are born free, equal and independent." But Locke considered the sovereign power to have been held in reserve by the people, whereas Rousseau held that sovereignty is continually and constantly exercised by them. Rousseau holds that a collective body is created by the contract. This body is called *the State*, when it is passive; it is called *Sovereign*, when it is active; and it is designated *Power*, when it is compared with others like itself. Rousseau made the State absolute by cutting off the idea of governmental compact from the contract theory.

To Rousseau the General Will appeared to be the will of the community as a whole, and as such absolutely disinterested in all cases of conflict between one section and another, or between one person and another. This may be true in theory, but in every day life we often notice that the unrestricted power of the General Will does prove arbitrary and tyrannical to some sections of the community.

V. Criticism of the Contract Theory

The contract theory of the origin of State helped to usher in

the era of democracy by emphasizing the elements of 'consent and will' as the basis of government. It inspired men to think that they themselves of their own free will can choose the form of government under which they want to live. The supreme value of the theory lies in showing that will and not force is the moral basis of political obligation.

✓ But the theory is not only unhistorical and illogical, but also positively dangerous. (We do not know of any group of savages without any knowledge of political organisation suddenly forming themselves by agreement into a body politic.) It is unhistorical Life in primitive society was communal in character. People were born to a particular status or condition and had to spend his life in that very station. The refined idea of contract could not have entered the mind of the primitive people. ✓ Maine has shown that the progress of civilization has been from status to contract. The primitive people, therefore, could not have formed themselves into a body politic by the exercise of their free choice. The State has not been deliberately formed by a formal resolution in an assembly. It has grown from tiny beginnings in course of time. Moreover, contract implies equality of status between the different persons who took part in the contract. But inequality in physical prowess and moral authority was more marked in primitive society than what it is to-day.

✓ Secondly, the theory does not stand the test of logic. If there was no body politic before the agreement was concluded, how could the contracting parties create a political organisation? It is illogical We know, indeed, that the Puritan emigrants of the *Mayflower* created a state by contract, but they had the experience of political organisation before their emigration. They formed a particular state, but not the state for the first time in history. (The upholders of the contract theory state that there was liberty in the state of nature.) But "liberty implies rights, and rights arise not from physical force but from the common consciousness of common well-being." But there can be no common consciousness if there had been no common organisation. Moreover, no contract can be made when there is no organisation charged with the duty of enforcing the terms of contract. (Such an organisation could not have existed in the state of nature, and therefore, there could not have been any kind of contract in the state of nature.)

✓ Bluntschli has pointed out that the social contract theory is, in the highest degree dangerous, since it makes the state and its institutions the product of individual caprice'. It is dangerous Such a theory may lead to anarchy. The state is not a mechanical contrivance, manufactured by the caprice

of the people, who took it into their head to create it by a contract. It is wrong to say that the supposed state of nature alone is natural and civil society is artificial. The activities of man which led to the formation of the state are as natural as his life.

✓ Kant tried to give a new orientation to the social contract theory. According to him, the theory is not to be assumed as a historical fact, but is to be regarded as an ideal of social relations. But even in this sense, the theory is not tenable. The relation between the state and the individual is not based on voluntary agreement, but on an indissoluble and compulsory bond. Our social duties can not be measured exactly by the extent of benefit we receive from society.

The new
orientation
by Kant

Causes of disappearance of the theory

The chief cause of disappearance of the Social Contract theory was the realisation of its general unsoundness. It was recognised in the nineteenth century that the social contract theory is unhistorical, illogical, and even dangerous.

The rise of the historical school of Political Science gave a death blow to the theory, which was a figment of imagination of ingenuous upholders of different political creeds. Montesquieu discarded the assumption of a state of nature and of social contract and drew conclusions from observations and recorded history. The publication of his "Spirit of the Laws" in 1748 marked a change in political thinking. Burke and Austin followed the historical method in England. In the second half of the last century Biology came to the aid of Political Science. Darwin in his "Origin of Species" applied the theory of evolution. At the present moment every department of knowledge, including Political Science, is studied from the evolutionary standpoint. Growth of knowledge and a clear perception of the evolutionary process of Society have contributed to the disappearance of the Social Contract theory

Evolutionary
theory

In spite of so many defects, the contract theory has rendered a valuable service by emphasising the element of consent as the basis of civil society. It was a powerful instrument in deriving out the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings and the theory of class privileges from practical politics. The theory clearly brings before us the idea that the relation between rulers and subjects is one of reciprocal rights and obligations, and of protection and obedience. "Out of it there developed the doctrine that kings who derived their authority from the people, were responsible to them, and could be deposed for breaking the pact which they were assumed to have entered into at the time of their coronation."

Its value

VI. Influence of Social Contract Theory

The social contract theory has exerted great influence on actual political development. It was invented for establishing the right of resistance on the part of subjects to sovereigns, who proved extremely despotic. It sought to emphasise the obligations of monarchs to protect the life and property of subjects and to promote their happiness. In the modern world it was first held by the Huguenots in France and the Netherlanders under the Spanish yoke. They sought, in this theory, their justification of the destruction of despotism. The English people made an important application of this theory in the Convention of 1689, which dethroned James II. A resolution of the Convention asserted that James II "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people...has abdicated the government and the throne is thereby vacant."

Inspires
opposition
to despots

The French
and the
American
Revolutions

Rousseau's 'Social Contract' was probably the most epoch-making book ever written, not so much in itself as in its influence upon the constitution-making which followed it. It was the literary fore-runner of the French and American Revolutions. In 1776 the Americans issued the Declaration of Independence which states—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.....that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government."

The French National Assembly of 1789 drew up the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen" and it was saturated with the dogmas of the contractual origin of state, of popular sovereignty and of individual rights. The influence of the French Revolution was spread to the Netherlands, Italy and Spain and led to the deposition of legitimate rulers of these countries. Thus we find that the three great political revolutions of the world had been inspired by the Social Contract theory.

Leads to
recognition
of rights of
the people

Implications of the theory in the modern federal constitutions

The social contract theory exerted some influence on the formation of federal states like the United States of America. Independent units surrendered their sovereignty to the newly created Federal State with a view to promote greater happiness and to secure better defence. All functions essential to the very existence of the federal government and all matters of common

interest were assigned to the federal government. The component units retained those functions which were of local interest and importance. But the analogy between the social contract theory and the process of formation of federal states must not be carried too far. No new state can be created by a compact among states. "By a contract", observes Garner, "it is impossible to create an authority superior to the contracting parties; hence a union formed on this basis could be nothing more than a confederation of states."

VII. The Patriarchal and Matriarchal Theory

"The patriarchal theory of society", observes Maine, "is the theory of its origin in separate families, held together by the authority and protection of the eldest valid male ascendant." From an examination of the ancient laws of the Romans, Hindus and Slavonians, Maine found out ^{The Patriarchal theory} that the eldest male parent exercised absolutely supreme power, extending to life and death, over his children as well as his slaves. Through the marriage of children new families are founded, but the authority of the father of the first family is acknowledged by all his descendants. On his death, authority passes to the eldest male ascendant. The tie that bound the members of a primitive community together was a consciousness of kinship and common descent. In some cases adoption had been taken recourse to, but adoption was a legal fiction to give the colouring of kinship.

The conclusion to which Maine arrives is as follows:—"The elementary group is the family connected by common subjection to the highest male ascendant. The aggregation of families forms the Gens or House. The aggregation of ^{Idea of representation} houses makes the tribe. The aggregation of tribes constitutes the commonwealth." He further asserts that the independent group formed by the development of the patriarchal family was normally governed by the "eldest male of the oldest line" representing the "common ancestor of all the free kinsmen." Sidgwick points out that the idea of representation is too artificial to be grasped by early societies. The fittest member of the clan must have been elected to rule.

The French jurist Duguit has lent his support to this theory in recent times. He says:—"He (the male parent) is the natural chief, the governor of the little state of ^{Character of ancient city} which the members of the family are the governed. The ancient city was merely a union of families in which political power belonged to the father."

McLennan, Morgan and Jenks have made researches into

primitive society and have come to the conclusion that Maine's theory lacks historical proof to substantiate it. The patriarchal family existed in early Rome indeed, but no evidence of *Patria Potestas* (unlimited power of the father over every member of his household) can be found in the primitive Hebrew family, in Greece or amongst the early Germans.

Matriarchal Theory

McLennan has found evidence of the existence of matriarchal family founded on kinship through females, and he thinks that it was the matriarchal family which later on developed into the patriarchal state. Jenks holds that the process of development of society is just the reverse of what Maine conceived it to be. According to him "the tribe is the oldest as it is the primary group; in time it breaks up into clans; these in turn break up into households and ultimately these are dissolved, leaving the individual members to constitute the units of society."

Both the matriarchal and the patriarchal theories lack historical proof of their being universally prevalent. Moreover, it is impossible to believe that the state developed through the enlargement and expansion of either the matriarchal or the patriarchal type of family. Prof. Garner wisely remarks: "The family and the state are totally different in essence, organisation, functions and purpose, and there is little reason to suppose that one should have developed out of the other or that there should have been any connection between them. In the family the location of authority is natural but in the state it is one of choice. Again, subordination is the principle of the family, equality that of the state. So the patriarchal or matriarchal theory does not help us much in unravelling the true genesis of the state."

VIII The Force Theory

(Some writers have used the theory of force both as a historical interpretation of the origin and development of the state and as a rational justification of its being.) Historically it traces the beginning of the state to compulsion and aggression, to the capture and enslavement of the weak by the strong. When a victorious war-leader continued to maintain his influence and power even during peace, the state came into existence. The stronger tribe then subjugated the weaker; the tribe expanded into kingdom, and the kingdom ultimately expanded into the empire by the same process.

The theory of force as the origin and basis of the state was held by theologians of the Middle Ages, who were bent upon

proving the moral superiority of the Church over the state, based upon mere brute force. Karl Marx, Engels and other writers of the German socialistic group hold essentially the force theory, in a slightly different form. Socialists believe in Force theory } They assert that the growth of the state has been marked by the process of aggressive exploitation, by means of which a part of the community has succeeded in defrauding their fellows of the just reward of their labour. According to Lenin, the State is the product of the irreconcilability of antagonism between the different classes in society. It is the instrument of exploitation in the hands of the capitalists who rule over the majority of the population. "It is", as Lenin puts it in a quotation from Engels, "a product of society at a certain stage of development ; it is an admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power apparently standing above society became necessary for the purpose of moderating the conflict and keeping it within the bounds of 'order' ; and this power, arising out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the State." The theory of force has also been used as a moral justification of the state. General Von Bernhardt says : "Might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision, since its decisions rest on the very nature of things."

Bluntschli points out that the theory of force has "a residuum of truth since it makes prominent one element which is indispensable to the state, namely force, and has a certain justification as against the opposed theory (that of contract) which bases the state upon the arbitrary will of individuals and leads logically to political impotence." We have no Criticism of the theory } hesitation in admitting that force is indispensable to the state, that force has given rise to many kingdoms and empires, but to point out force to be the sole controlling factor in the creation of the state is palpably wrong. The great English philosopher, T. H. Green, maintains that it is not coercive power as such but coercive power exercised according to law, written or unwritten, for a maintenance of the existing rights of the citizens from external and internal invasion that makes a state. The power of the State can be 'tamed' by investing the common citizen with the right to vote and to participate in the affairs of government.

The True Theory of Origin of the State— The Historical or Evolutionary Theory

Having discussed the various theories of the origin of the state,

Prof. Garner comes to the conclusion that (the state is neither the handiwork of God, nor the result of superior physical force,

nor the creation of resolution or convention, nor a mere expansion of the family.") In the criticism of the theories referred to above, we have already shown the truth of this observation. Here we shall simply quote a remark of John Morley to indicate the true origin of the state. ("The ground and origin of society is not a compact ; that never existed in any known case, and never was a condition of obligation either in primitive or developed societies, either between subjects and sovereign, or between the equal members of a sovereign body. The true ground is the acceptance of conditions which came into existence by the sociability inherent in man, and were developed by man's spontaneous search after convenience."

The origin of the state, then, is to be traced to the instinct and reasoning faculty of man. The state is based on the gregarious instinct, but in its later history, there is the superaddition of reason. As Dr. Woodrow Wilson observes,—“Although no system of law or of social order was ever made out of hand by any one man, government was not at all a mere spontaneous growth.” Deliberate choice has always played a part in its development. It was not, on the one hand, given to man ready-made by God, nor was it, on the other hand, a human contrivance. In its origin it was spontaneous, natural, twin-born with man and the family. Aristotle was simply stating a fact when he said, “Man is by nature a political animal. But, once having arisen, government was affected, and profoundly affected, by man's choice ; only that choice entered, not to originate, but to modify government.”)

The fundamental elements of state are organisation and authority—command and obedience. These elements can be first traced in the bond of kinship. There is good deal of controversy as to whether tribe, group or family came first, and as to whether family was patriarchal or matriarchal, but we may safely assert that the state originated in the groups which were formed by the instinct and economic needs of primitive men. The group was bound together by the ties of kinship, real or fictitious. Members of the group were held together by habitual and instinctive respect for authority ; that authority again rested upon mutual subordination. The government of the group was carried on generally, though not invariably, by a council of elders.

Magic and religion often transcended the mere tie of kinship and brought various families together. They have played an enormously important part in political movement. Primitive men are easily moved by fear ; they are terrified

by various natural objects. The most cunning and intelligent among them give out that by magical incantations they can propitiate the evil spirits or injure others. Thus taking advantage of the fear, ignorance and superstition of their fellowmen, the magicians establish their ascendancy.

Sooner or later magic gives way to religion—fear to worship and prayer. Meanwhile the community had grown by conquest, migration and amalgamation, both in population and wealth. An intellectual revolution, replacing magic by religion, accompanies this growth. The magician is consequently replaced by the priest. As religion and politics are inextricably mixed up in early society, the priest assumes the power of king. The priest-king appeals to the gods by prayer to preserve and improve the community. He himself is often looked upon as a god because of the possession of his nature by a powerful spirit.

We may cite certain historical examples of the influence of religion in welding up political communities. The worship of Jehovah was the strongest force uniting the tribes of Israel. The Greek and Roman city-states grew up round the citadel on which stood the temple of the god or goddess worshipped by a number of families. The custom of ancestor-worship was widely prevalent in primitive communities and it proved to be an unifying force. But at the same time it should be pointed out that the exclusive worship of a god by a tribe inevitably operated against union amongst different tribes.

✓ Force played a very important part in the origin and development of state. Might has often proved to be right. Huntsmen and herdsmen had some rude kind of organisation, but no fixed territory in the primitive age. They were able by virtue of their superior physical prowess to subjugate the peasants, who were forced to yield tribute to their conquerors in the shape of surplus produce. Then several communities having some common features were assimilated to one another in course of time. Such a community made arrangement for keeping a levy of young warriors to ward off external aggression and to maintain internal order. The tribe which was better organised under a mighty leader conquered the neighbouring tribes and annexed their territory. The history of every state shows how it has grown in wealth, territory and population by means of conquests. In the opinion of German philosophers like Nietzsche and Treitschke, the motive that supplies the impulse to the forming of state is not, as Marxists claim, economic—the craving for material possessions and pleasures, nor is it as the Greeks and the Idealists held, the aspiration of man to develop

his higher spiritual and rational faculties ; nor is it as the liberal democrat considers it to be, the desire to protect the unfortunate and maintain just relations among all members of the community. According to them the chief motive has been love of power and passion for self-assertion. But it has already been pointed out that force alone can never be the basis of the State. There must be the willing consent and co-operation of the people behind it.

The fourth factor which contributed to the growth and development of the state was the slow rise of political consciousness.

(Political consciousness, the manifestation of reason) Political consciousness implies the recognition of certain ends to be attained through political organisation. At first there was no recognition of unity of interest. Gradually it appeared in the minds of a few of the natural leaders, then it spread by degrees throughout the mass of the population and finally became general. "At first the state came into existence merely as an idea, that is, it appeared in a subjective form, without being a physical fact." In course of time the supreme importance of maintaining order and defending the community against aggression, both internal and external, dawned upon the minds of the people. They came to realise also the dependence of economic improvement on political organisation. All these factors led to some kind of law. Law is at first nothing but isolated judgments laid down by chiefs and the custom of the people.

Statement of the historical theory The theory which traces the origin of the state, not to a single movement or plan, not to any single point of time, but to the result of a gradual process running throughout the known history of man, is called the historical or evolutionary view of the state. "The proposition that the state is a product of history", says Prof. Burgess, "means that it is a gradual and continuous development of human society out of a grossly imperfect beginning through crude but improving forms of manifestation toward a perfect and universal organisation of mankind." we have shown above, many elements were involved in this process of development. Kinship, religion, force and political consciousness, each played an important part in it. But it is impossible to state in what kind of combinations these four elements operated in a particular community. Prof. Gilchrist has truly observed that any detailed construction of the earliest forms of civic organisation is bound to be fanciful.

CHAPTER III

NATIONALISM AND NATION-STATES

1. Origin of Nation-States

The most potent factor operating in the political field to-day is that of nationalism. In the nineteenth century it was almost universally accepted as a substitute for religion. But in the middle of the twentieth century the best thinkers of the world are realising that nationalism threatens to disrupt the whole fabric of civilisation itself. It is necessary to understand clearly the implications of the trend of nationalist movements, otherwise any book on Politics is bound to degenerate into a barren study of theories which have little or no relation to the practical world.

Importance
of National-
ism }

Sometimes the terms 'Nation' and 'State' are used synonymously, as is evidenced by words like 'League of Nations' or 'Law of Nations'. But in reality the two terms have got different implications in scientific works. The term 'Nation' calls attention to those persons who compose a political community, while 'State' refers to the sovereign power to which they owe allegiance and which holds sway over the territory which they inhabit. A nation may have a common government in the present ; but the idea of a common government which the members had in the past or are aspiring for in the future is also sufficient in generating the feeling of nationalism. Besides this, the nation denotes a human group which has (a) a more or less defined territory ; (b) a certain size and closeness of contact between all the individual members ; (c) certain characteristics like common language, culture, tradition etc., clearly distinguishing the nation from other nations and non-national groups ; (d) certain interests common to the individual members and (e) a certain degree of common feeling or will when such a group has been able to secure for itself a common government of its own it is known as the nation-state.

'Nation',
'State' and
'National-
ism'

All the important states of the world to-day (that is, before 1939) are nation-states. It took, however, a long period of time to evolve such a political organisation. In the primitive age men lived in small communities. With the progress of material civilization people realized the benefits to be derived from the extension of a common legal and economic system and formed themselves into wider political communities. But mutual aid and voluntary co-operation alone were seldom strong enough to give rise to any well-organised state. Danger of invasion and the desire to acquire mastery over

Rise of
city-states

other groups exercised strong influence in the formation of states. At the beginning of the historical period we come across the city state in Northern India, China, Egypt, Sumer, Greece and Rome. In all these countries there were a number of independent city-states, each one a city with a few miles of dependent agricultural villages and cultivation around it. But in all these places, excepting Greece, the people passed the phase of city-state by a process of coalescence into kingdoms and empires. The fact that many of the city-states of Greece were on islands or mountainous parts explains partly why larger political organisations did not prevail in Greece.

The Greek city-states were small in size. They were meant to be large enough to be self-sufficient, but at the same time to be small enough to give full scope to each citizen to know his fellow-citizens and to participate in the active administration of the state. The total number of adult male population in Attica in the fifth century B. C. was about 1,19,000 of whom about 40,000 at most were citizens. Thus the majority of the people inhabiting the famous city-state of Athens were slaves. The slaves relieved the citizens from the strain of manual work and the institution of payment for the performance of public duties like jury service and membership of popular assembly enabled them to take an active part in politics. It has been estimated that as many as 19,000 public officials besides the traditional 6000 jurors used to be selected by lot every year in Athens.

Such a system of government undoubtedly promoted the sense of unity in the community. In the Roman city-state, however, politics remained the concern of the favoured few. But the Roman peasants imbued with a strong sense of discipline fought under the leadership of the ruling class and conquered at first the different parts of Italy, and then a considerable portion of the continents of Europe, Africa and Asia. The Athenians, too, had acquired an empire, but they dominated over their subjects, who were also Greeks, in a spirit of civic egotism; they never shared their political power with them. But the Romans gradually and continuously extended the Roman citizenship. Thus in 89 B. C. all free inhabitants of Italy became Roman citizens and in 212 A. D. the citizenship was extended to all free men in the empire. But the Romans failed to discover the institution of representative government; and consequently, the vast mass of Roman citizens could exercise no control over the government. The Roman republic was transformed into the Roman empire, over which ruled an omnipotent despot.

The Greeks, divided into many states, could realise that they

were distinct in culture and mode of life from their neighbours ; but this sense of distinctiveness never gave rise to a feeling of nationalism among them. They could not unite even in the face of gravest danger. The other ethnic groups, like the Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Gauls, which enjoyed independent political life before their subjugation by Rome had such a loose kind of political organisation, that they can not be called 'nations' in the modern sense of the term. The system of communication was ill-developed and the backwardness of economic technique made it difficult to provide education to all classes of citizens. Easy means of communication and wide-spread education in all the strata of society are indispensable for the growth of national feeling.

Causes of
lack of
Nationalism
in the ancient
World

✓ The Roman Empire was destroyed in the fifth century A. D., but the universalism of the Roman Empire remained intact throughout the Middle Ages. The states of western Europe were subject to the dual authority of the Holy Roman Empire. The prevalence of similar social structure and the use of Latin language for legal, cultural and administrative purposes in all the European countries emphasised the uniformity, rather than the diversity in the political life in the different states. Feudalism, with its contractual relation between the overlord and the vassals prevailed everywhere. Moreover, the interest of the common people was centred in the life of their village or at most in their shire or district. The outlook on life was so much parochial that the concept of nation was distant from their mind.

The chief factors which contributed to the development of the sense of nationality were the increasing authority of the central government and the evolution of the law of the land in the place of the law of persons. As the Middle Ages progressed the personal relation existing between the tribal chief and the tribe was substituted by territorial relation. Personal groups such as the 'hundred' and the 'tithing' in England were transformed into geographical divisions.

Centraliza-
tion of
power

✓ The substitution of the Latin language by the vernacular literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth century tended to emphasise the sense of nationality. Rivalry between the merchants speaking different languages was a potent means of developing national consciousness. The establishment of strong central government provided security to the merchants and the masses of common people against the vexatious rule of the feudal lords. The centralized state was not the product of national feeling ; but it generated a group feeling amongst a large number of people by imposing one uniform system of law on the whole country and by upholding the

Causes of
the rise of
Nationalism

economic interests of the group against similar other groups. But nationalism could not grow so long as the church was organised on a universal basis. The Protestant Reformation made the church organisation national in character and deepened the sense of nationality. In the sixteenth century closely integrated states on national lines arose in England, France and Spain. In Germany and Italy, however, the process was retarded by the influence of the Holy Roman Empire. The basis of the nation-state was broadened in England in the seventeenth century after the civil war and the Glorious Revolution and in the continent of Europe in the nineteenth century. The state was considered, at the beginning of the modern age, as the personal property and concern of the monarch, in which private individuals had little or no part. But gradually a larger proportion of population came to take an active part in politics. It was only after the French Revolution that the ordinary citizens came to be regarded as joint and equal proprietors in the State. The idea of nation-state was complete only when the group linked by common national feeling was organised politically as a modern popular state.

✓ The French Revolution transformed the autocratic government of France into a popular democracy and thus created the situation favourable to the awakening of the sense of nationalism. The feeling was heightened by the attacks of despotic rulers of neighbouring countries on France. When Napoleon assumed dictatorial power and began to change the boundary of states arbitrarily, the national spirit of the oppressed countries was roused against France. The rise of national feeling in Germany and Spain was the most important cause of the downfall of Napoleon. But the Congress of Vienna which met in 1814-15 checked the spirit of nationality. The very existence of the Austrian Empire, which contained the Magyars of Hungary, the southern Slavs of Illyria, the northern Slavs or the Czechs of Bohemia, the Poles of Galicia, and the Italians of Lombardy and Venetia, was an emphatic denial of the principle of nationality. Similar was the case with the Ottoman Empire, which contained within it nearly half-a-dozen Christian nationalities; and with the Russian Empire, which acquired Finland and a portion of Poland in the Congress of Vienna. Belgium was joined to Holland by the same congress. Italy was divided into ten separate states and Germany into 38 sovereign states.

✓ But the spirit of nationalism could not be checked permanently by the diplomats. In 1830, Belgium declared her independence of Holland. In 1832, a national state was established in Greece. In 1870, Italy and Germany became unified and national states were established in these countries. In 1878, as a result of the Congress of Berlin, Servia, Montenegro and Rumania became free from

part played
by national
risings

Assertion of
the right of
self-deter-
mination

Turkish control. In 1908, Bulgaria too, became independent. In every case there was an insistence that the dominion of one nation over another was politically inexpedient and morally wrong. It became the thesis of the 19th century that the states composed of various nationalities, were monstrous hybrids for which no excuse could be found.

Nationalism found fuller recognition in the Treaties of Paris (1919-20). The subject nationalities which had groaned so long under the oppression of the Hapsburgs of Austria, Romanoffs of Russia, Hohenzollerns of Prussia and the Ottoman Turks, now claimed the right of self-determination. Out of the dominions of the Tsar arose the four national states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Poland, whose very existence had been blotted out of the map of Europe 125 years ago, again became a state. Out of the Hapsburg dominions three other states were formed—Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia and Hungary. The Irish people, after a period of servitude for nearly 800 years, gained the Dominion Status.

Nationalism
in 1918-39

But the territorial settlements of the continent have not been and could not be made strictly according to the principle of nationality. Thus there were nearly three lakhs of Austrians and a similar number of Slovenes and Croats and Dalmatians in the territories acquired by Italy after the last war. Czecho-Slovakia contained many Germans, Hungarians and Ruthenians. Poland contained more than three million Ruthenians and many white Russians. Rumania contained a considerable number of Hungarians, Germans and Serbs. The problem of unsatisfied nationalities was one of the factors which brought about the present war.

Unsatisfied
nationalities

II. Marks of Nationality 1.1

Zimmerli has defined nationality as 'a form of corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and dignity related to a definite home country.' The people who are united by such a sentiment is a nation. Nationality differs from statehood in as much as the former is psychological and subjective, while the latter is concrete, objective and political in character. It is difficult to state categorically what factors go to make a sense of nationality. Hardly any two nationalities would agree as to the constituent elements of nationality. The Nazis would emphasise the so-called biological stand-point and define it as 'a people belonging to a single biological stock'. An Englishman would call a people bound together by ties of history, language and culture a nationality. In America, "a free assemblage of individuals, irrespective of

An Elusive
Idea

race and language who are willing to live under a single government" is regarded as the essence of nationality.

Ramsay Broadly speaking, the idea of nationality is essentially spiritual in character. It implies a sense of special unity which marks off those who share in it from the rest of mankind. The unit is the outcome of a common history, of victories won and traditions created by a corporate effort. These foster a sense of kinship which binds men into oneness. The members of a national group recognise their likeness and emphasise their difference from other men. They come to have an art, a literature, recognisably distinct from that of other nations. Nationalism is fostered by education and sense of external danger. The Press also strengthens the herd-instinct of each nation.)

The following unities are usually considered to be the marks of nationality—(i) The occupation of a defined geographical area with a character of its own, (ii) unity of race, (iii) unity of language, (iv) unity of religion, (v) common subjection, (vi) community of economic interests, and (vii) possession of common tradition. Each of these factors is, by itself, a mere bond of association, but no single one of them is indispensable for Nationality. "No single factor," writes Prof. Ramsay Muir, "neither geographical unity, nor race, nor language, nor religion, nor a common body of custom, nor community of economic interest, seem to be indispensable to nationhood; and even the possession of common traditions, though the most powerful of binding forces, need not prevent the inclusion within a nation of elements which do not fully share these traditions. Some at least of these ties of affinity, the people that claims nationhood, must possess, but no one of them is essential or can be used as a certain criteria."

The occupation of a well-defined geographical area with a character of its own gives rise to the sentiment of Nationality, as is seen from the case of the Scots and the Irish of the present day, and the Slovaks, Slovenes and Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary before the war. But the feeling of Nationality may be observed even in the case of those who do not live in a well-defined geographical area. The Jews and many of the Poles are spread over the whole world and yet they keep their nationality even in alien environment.

Unity of race is said to be a characteristic of Nationality. But from the scientific point of view there is hardly any nationality which can be regarded as the descendants of a single family or stock. Hitler has made Racialism the revolutionary philosophy of a discontented German middle class which projected upon the Jews all the resentment and thirst for power which it felt. Unity of race, however, does not

make a single Nationality. Though the German, English, Dutch, Danish and Scandinavians are more or less homogeneous from the racial point of view, yet they do not form one Nationality. (There is absolutely no racial unity in the population of the U.S.A., yet a strong sentiment of nationality prevails there.)

Many of the national movements in modern Europe turned largely on national language, e.g., the Irish, Polish and Bohemian movements. But the existence of Nationality is quite possible without unity of language. Switzerland has got a nationality of its own, but three distinct languages are spoken in the country. The English language is spoken in the U. S. A., but there is an American nationality, different from that of Britain. Unity of language

Religious unity sometimes promoted the feeling of Nationality. The Greek Christians hated the Turkish Moslems when the former were subjected to the latter. Similarly, the Irish Catholics objected to the rule of the Protestant English and the Catholics of Poland to that of the Protestant German or the Orthodox Russian. But with the growth of religious toleration, the influence of religion as a bond of national unity has weakened considerably. Unity of religion

Common subjection often promotes the sentiment of Nationality. The patriotic leaders try to rouse this sentiment by describing the nationality's plight as "slavery". Misgovernment is said to be the prolific parent of nationality. Common subjection

Community of economic interests is an important factor in nationality, because the people of an unfree nationality believe that they would be better off if they were independent and could establish its own tariff, and promote its own industries and agriculture. But common economic interests do not always count as is seen from the case of North America, where though the economic interests of Canada and the U. S. A. are very much the same, yet there are separate nationalities. Common economic interests

Common historical tradition has provided arguments for the establishment of separate states by the subject nationalities. Thus the Greeks treasured the memory of the glory of ancient Athens, the Poles recalled their former greatness in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Irish remembered that Ireland had been free in the Middle Ages. The absence of common historical tradition creates many difficulties in a state which is in other respects homogeneous. In Yugoslavia the two most important nationalities are the Serbs and the Croats. They belong to the same race and speak the same language, but their history and traditions are different. Common historical tradition

Serbia for centuries formed part of the Turkish Empire, while the Croats had been a part of the Austrian Empire, and as such were richer and better educated than the Serbs.) (The difference in historical tradition bred jealousy and hostility between the two nationalities and was responsible for the fall of twenty-three governments in the ten years from 1918 to 1928.)

The problem of nationality can be fruitfully interpreted only from the psychological point of view. MacDougall in his "Group Mind" observes that it is futile to attempt "to discover the true secret of nationality in such considerations as geographical boundaries, race, language, history, and above all, economic factor. Each and all of these considerations, real and important though they are and have been in shaping the history and determining the existence of nations, only play their parts indirectly by affecting men's minds, their beliefs, opinions and sentiments, especially by favouring or repressing the development in each people of the idea of nation".
 Sentiment of solidarity "A nation, unlike a class", observes Bertrand Russel, "has a definition which is not economic. It is, we may say, a geographical group possessed of a sentiment of solidarity. Psychologically, it is analogous to a school of porpoises, a flock of crows, or a herd of cattle. The sentiment of solidarity may be due to a common language, a supposed common descent, a common culture, or common interests and common dangers. As a rule all these play a part in producing national sentiment, but the sentiment however produced, is the only essential to the existence of a nation. The devotees of nationalism tend to think of a nation as a race in the biological sense, to a much greater degree than the facts warrant."

A state may contain diverse nationalities within it. But community of interests, equality of status for all the nationalities in the state and common government may foster the spirit of a common nationhood among the members of diverse nationalities. The growth of strong national sentiment in the U. S. A., Canada and South Africa illustrates the success of such a process of fusion. Englishmen, Scotsmen, Germans, Poles, Magyars, Frenchmen, and many others migrated to the U. S. A. The government of the United States showed an admirable spirit of toleration to the members of different nationalities. In course of three or four generations the descendants of the immigrants became pure Americans. They took pride in their American nationhood. Had the American government tried to force the immigrants to forget their distinctive culture, they would have resisted the tendency and the conflict would have strengthened their sense of repatriation. In Canada, the English and the French have retained

National sense in a country of diverse nationalities

their respective language and civilization, but the salutary influence of responsible government has moulded them into a strong nation. The instance of the Union of South Africa is still more convincing. The Boers and the English were fighting against one another even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century. But the establishment of the Union in 1909 has transformed them into a solid nation. These historical parallels indicate that despite all the quarrels between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, Indians would take pride in their common Indian nationhood as soon as they are able to set up a sovereign state. The state in India must, however, manifest the spirit of absolute tolerance towards the nascent feeling of nationality of every community.

✓ III. Merits and Defects of Nationalism R. 4.3

The creed of nationalism is the logical corollary to the creed of liberalism. Liberalism implies the doctrine of government with the consent of the governed. This means not only the right of the general body of citizens in a particular political community to select their own form of government and elect their own representatives to the legislature, but also their right to become independent of any other nation. A postulate of Liberalism The spirit of nationalism demands for each nationality an autonomous and independent government. This is why the empires of Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Russia broke up into number of independent nation-states.

Nationalism is based on two psychological factors—gregariousness and exclusiveness. The people who feel that they have their own peculiar social heritage, their own art and literature, form a corporate entity. Recognising their likeness to one another, and their difference from other men they gather together and try to have a sovereign state of their own. In this respect nationalism is an instinctive expression of kinship. But the group must also be conscious of its separateness from others and, therefore, it will manifest an exclusiveness of temper. Psychology of Nationalism

The justification for the existence of mutually exclusive national groups is sought in the importance of diversification in civilization. No one nation exhibits within itself the whole range of human culture. Every nation is supposed to possess some such unique national attributes that their development is likely to enrich the civilization of the world. The most beneficial cultivation of the characteristic qualities of a nation is possible only when that nation is allowed opportunity to develop freely its peculiar customs and institutions. Justification for Nationalism This is the reason why there should be a number of continually

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT

competing political groups called nation-states. As within a given community citizens must respect the rights of their fellow-citizens, so that they themselves may enjoy their own rights, similarly each nation, having the right and obligation to defend its independent existence, is expected to acknowledge the same right in other nations and to recognize that its own aims must be limited by the rights and interests of others. This is the liberal doctrine of nationalism. But in the absence of a superior power to enforce mutual forbearance, nations do not behave as properly as citizens do within a state. (In theory, nationalism is beneficial for humanity, but in practice, it has degenerated into the rule by brute force. Nations are not guided in their behaviour towards one another by the principles of justice and equity, but are actuated solely by self-interest.

If a nation stands in the way of another, or in any way crosses its wishes, a feeling of deep hatred springs up. The German people used to sing before 1914 .

Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the heart and hate of the hand ;
We love as one, we hate as one
We have but one foe alone, England.

Such an expression of nationalism was answered by the English with no less deadly hatred. The baneful effects of Nationalism have been frankly described by Prof. Hayes in the following words : "Nationalism is partly love of country, but chiefly something else. Nationalism is a proud, and boastful habit of mind about one's own nation, accompanied by a supercilious or hostile attitude towards other nations ; it admits that individual citizen of one's nationality or national state is always right. Nationalism is either ignorant and prejudiced or inhuman and jaundiced ; in both cases it is a form of mania, a kind of extended and exaggerated egotism and it has easily recognizable symptoms of selfishness, intolerance and jingoism, indicative of the delusions of grandeur from which it suffers. Nationalism is artificial and it is far from ennobling ; in a word, it is patriotic snobbery."

The Right of Self-determination

The term "self-determination" was coined on the eve of the conclusion of Peace Treaties of 1919-20 ; but it describes something that is much older. It means the right of each nationality to decide for itself how it shall be governed and by whom. Mill gave the clearest expression of this view in the middle of the nineteenth century in his 'Representative Government'. He advocated the doctrine of 'one nationality, one state' and observed :
~~Where the sentiment of nationality exists in any form there~~

is a *prima facie* case for uniting all the members of the nationality under the same government, and a government to themselves apart.”)

We have traced above the influence of the principle of Nationality on European history. We have seen that the principle was responsible for the disintegration of old states (called multi-national states) like Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Russia, which contained many nationalities. But on the other hand, the principle was able to integrate petty states, all belonging to the same nationality, into one big state—like Germany or Italy. Thus the principle of nationality, in the words of Lord Curzon, “is and has been in the past a unifying force but it may be, and has recently become, also a disintegrating force.”

The modern tendency of this principle is to disintegrate the existing states. If this principle is strictly followed, Great Britain will be divided into England, Wales and Scotland; Switzerland will be divided into three states and Belgium into Walloon and Flemish states. ^{Its integrating and disintegrating forces} The 26 states of Europe will be divided into 68 states. Not to speak of further sub-divisions, the divisions that have already been created have been severely criticised. Thus one writer says: (“Application of the principle of self-determination as carried out by these Treaties was a most dangerous experiment. Its result has proved to be one of the greatest curses that has fallen upon Europe. That does not mean that self-determination was wrong.” But it is now perfectly clear that it was an error to permit self-determination to create a number of new states, each believing itself sovereign, without at the same time controlling the relations of these states to each other. That was a calamity as great as war itself. It was within the power of the treaty-makers of Paris to have so federated these states that the economic impossibilities arising from this unrestrained self-determination would not have been so certain.” The small national states which were created at the end of the last war (1914-18) soon ceased to possess effective independence. They were forced to become mere satellites of the bigger powers in their feverish search for avenues of survival. They had to barter away the true essence of independence for the sake of military protection. Their armaments, their alliances, even the internal substance of their economic life became, not the expression of their own needs, but of the will of their superior neighbours.

(Creation of a large number of small states would certainly stand in the way of international harmony and co-operation. A solution between nationalist aspiration and international co-operation may be found in federating small states, as has been suggested

above. The vision of the Western writers of Political Science is coloured either by nationalist sympathy or by imperialistic spirit. Hence much of what the Internationalists have written on rights of nationalities, appears to the dispassionate Indian to be the manifestation either of extreme Particularism or of Jingoism.)

Principle of one Nationality, one State 41

It has been held that "it is desirable that the boundaries of states should coincide with those of nations." It is sometimes desirable indeed to allow an extremely disaffected nationality within a state to secede and to form a separate state. Theoretically speaking

there can be no right of any nationality to secede because the state in the interest of self-preservation has the right to coerce every individual and every association within it to submission. But theoretical right is not the only consideration in practical politics

The ethical justification of state lies in promoting the interests of all. If in the interest of the disaffected nationality and that of the safety of the state it is found expedient to allow secession, it should be done. But in every case secession cannot be allowed

If it is found that an aspiring nationality has will to independence but not the capacity to maintain it, or that there is extreme division in the rank of nationalists as regards the form of government, then it is better to refuse the demand. Here, too, a difficulty arises. "Politically weak and incapable peoples", say

Garner, "must submit to the guidance and tutelage of the stronger and more highly endowed nations." But the physically stronger

nations invariably consider themselves to be highly endowed and they have a tendency to regard the subject nationalities as "politically weak and incapable." The attitude of the U. S. A. towards

the Philippines and that of Britain towards India may be cited as illustrations. Use of force by the subject nationality and active sympathy of the Great Powers have been the means of asserting the right of self-determination. The Great Powers, however, should always take into consideration whether the creation of new national states would not increase international complications.

Mill advocated the cause of a mono-national state, that is, upheld the theory of 'one nation, one state'. "It is in general a necessary condition of free institutions", says Mill,

Mill's Doctrine of "that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities." This is, however, geographically impossible and Mill himself has admitted that this view represented an ideal. Mill has further said, "Where the sentiment of nationality exists in any force, there is a prima facie case for uniting all the members of the nationality under

the same government and a government to themselves apart. This is merely saying that the question of government ought to be decided by the governed." In other words, Mill has pleaded in favour of the right of self-determination, the right of the people to decide for themselves with whom they shall be politically associated. But this right of self-determination, as we have seen, is one which is subject to limitations which can be passed without breaking into fragments many long-established states. Mill has expressed a third opinion which has also been contested.

He has asserted that "free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities." If the different nationalities bitterly hate one another, it is impossible indeed to run popular democratic government. ^{Criticism of} The history of Switzerland, however, affords a striking ^{Mill's doctrine} refutation of the truth of this proposition. It would manifestly be contrary to the truth to say that "free institutions" do not exist in Switzerland. In the United States of America too which is composed of a mixture of many races, the system of representative government has worked with greater success perhaps than in many states having an ethnically homogeneous population.

✓ Gumpłowicz asserts that, "there is no historical or sociological justification of the view that mono-national states possess elements of advantage over those composed of a number of nationalities." He cites the example of Switzerland as the 'freest state in Europe.' ^{Mono-national vs. Multi-national State} "The combination of different nations in one state", says Lord Acton, "is as necessary a condition of civilized life as the combination of men in society. Inferior races are raised by living in political union with races intellectually superior. It is in the cauldron, of the state that the fusion takes place by which the vigour, the knowledge, and the capacity, of one portion of mankind may be communicated to another." The statement of Lord Acton in regard to the value of the multi-national state cannot be accepted without some qualifications. The advantages claimed by Acton are applicable to states where the various nationalistic groups have consented voluntarily to live with one another under the same state organisation like Switzerland, the United States and the like. On the other hand, in the cases of discontented nationality, the division of state is desirable. The case of Switzerland has been cited above to strengthen the arguments in favour of multi-national type of state. But Switzerland has a federal form of government, in which the rights of each canton are secure. The example of Switzerland should rather point out that a multi-national state should have a federal form of government. We may repeat again, that in federalism alone lies the true solution of the controversy between mono-national and multi-

national states. The right of each nationality to its own language and culture should be guaranteed in the federal constitution.)

VI. Crisis in the theory of Nation-State

The trend of history up till the outbreak of the second European War (Sept. 1939) has been towards the creation of nation-states. The Treaty of Versailles was, with some exceptions, based on the theory of self-determination of peoples. It accepted the principle that the nation-state was the final form of civilised society. In accordance with this theory seven new states were created, namely, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Danzig and Czecho-Slovakia. Schleswig-Holstein was given to Denmark because it was historically hers and its people were Danish. Alsace-Lorraine was traditionally French and its rendition only righted the wrong perpetrated after the Franco-Prussian War. In the case of Germany, however, the principle of nationality was not adhered to. Belgium got Eupen and Malmedy, inhabited by German people and Italy received Trentino and Trieste. Trentino contains a quarter-million German inhabitants. A belt of territory populated heavily by Germans and cutting across Prussia from the Polish borders to the North Sea, popularly known as the Polish Corridor, was given to Poland, thereby isolating thousands of square miles of east Prussian soil from the remainder of Germany. Austria and Germany are both inhabited by German people, but Article 80 of the Versailles Treaty bound Germany to "respect strictly the independence of Austria."

Inspired by the liberal-national ideals, the Allied Powers created a number of independent nation-states. They believed in the equality of nations. But the equality of nations was a fiction and it was annulled by the fact that the Great Powers, in a world of legalised lawlessness, could impose their will upon their weaker neighbours. Though in theory a large number of states were created, in practice it meant only a few great powers each with its zones of influence and satellite states.

Each nation, especially a new nation, is inspired by the ideal of self-sufficiency. It has sought by means of the tariff to make itself a complete economic unit. But tariff alone cannot give a nation what it lacks. It must have, therefore, colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence, hinterlands of legitimate aspiration. In the nineteenth century there were many backward and undeveloped territories which the nations of Europe could peacefully divide among themselves. But in the second quarter of the present century it is difficult to find such areas. So an aspiring

nation must try to realise the ideal of self-sufficiency by conquering the surrounding nations. Such a nation does not feel any legal or moral obligation towards its neighbours. "Foreign policy is only a means to an end", writes Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, "and that end is exclusively the furthering of our own nationhood. No principle of foreign policy can be derived from any other standpoint than this : Is it good for our nation now or in future, or will it be harmful to it?" Actuated by such ideas the Nazis conceived that Germany must have the oil of Caucasus, the minerals of the Ukraine, and the grain of Hungary and Rumania; also she must have the steel of northern France, control of the shore line of Belgium, Holland and northern France, and the colonial domains of France and Holland. It is in pursuance of this ideal that Germany took over Austria on March 12, 1938, acquired the Sudeten area of Czecho-Slovakia by the Munich Agreement on September 30, 1938, annexed the rest of Czecho-Slovakia on March 14, 1939, acquired Memel from Lithuania on March 22, 1939, conquered Poland on September 27, 1939, Norway on May 3, 1940, Holland on May 19, 1940, ^{Treaty of Versailles reversed} Belgium on May 28, 1940, and France on June 17, 1940. - Denmark, Rumania, Hungary and Luxemburg have become mere satellites of Germany. Russia has annexed a portion of Finland after a bloody war. On June 15, 1940, while French resistance was collapsing Russian troops marched into Lithuania, and the next day into Estonia and Latvia. Thus the Treaty of Versailles has been undone and with it has vanished a large number of nation-states.

The causes of the disappearance of small nation-states are deeply rooted in the theory and practice of the big Powers of Europe. Writers like Seeley, Benjamin Kidd and Paul Rohrbach argue that a highly civilised nation has ^{Theory of expansive nationalism} the right and obligation not only to protect its independence and administer its internal affairs without interference from others but also to expand by force, if necessary, over more backward peoples. They hold that human civilisation progresses towards higher stages as nations strong in material wealth and military organisation extend their sway over nations less advanced in these respects.

The progress in the technique of production has made it possible to realise the economies of large scale production. But no nation can now consume all the manufactured goods it produces. The large scale manufacturers use the ^{Economic causes} power of the nation-state to obtain an exclusive market for their commodities. As the area of undeveloped countries is limited and as world-market implies foreign competition, quarrels between expansive nations give rise to warfare. The stronger

nation having defeated the weaker ones becomes transformed into an imperial power. Moreover, the destructiveness of modern warfare is so great that the nation-state tries to acquire such boundaries as to have access to wheat, coal, iron and petroleum to safeguard itself from the dangers involved in war. It will go on increasing its armaments and its neighbours will also do the same. Thus an atmosphere of nervous hostility is provoked among big nations. The smaller nations seek subordinate alliance with their bigger neighbours with a view to win security by their multiplied strength. As early as 1925 Prof. Laski wrote: "Either national states must learn to co-operate instead of to compete, or it is likely, the small national state will cease to possess effective independence."

Nation-
states
provoke war

VII. Indian Nationalism

Study of western history, politics and literature, impact of nationalist movements in Italy, Germany and the Near East, the awakening of Japan, the researches of Orientalists into the glorious past of India and the religious reformation in the nineteenth century have roused the spirit of nationalism in India. The question is often asked whether India is or can be a Nation. In the English sense of the term, India is not a Nation because she has not yet become independent. In the words of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, India is a 'Nation in making'. The psychological factor which makes the people of India feel that they have a common ideal, common economic interest, and common grievance has made India a Nationality.

But some eminent politicians of England and a few communalists in India still persist in denying the existence of the feeling of national unity in India. According to Lord Birkenhead "just as Europe has never become a single nation, and is divided into many separate and often antagonistic peoples, so India comprises, in a far greater degree, a heterogeneous population riddled by differences of race, religion, caste, interests and sect.....No matter how glibly a few seditious on political platforms may declare the unanimity of Hindu and Mahomedan aspirations, the vast bulk of the people of India knows nothing of such unity. These populations live in a state of perpetual hostility, the manifestations of which are, and can only be, suppressed by the firm action of the British authorities." Mr. Winston Churchill declared in a speech on the 18th March, 1931, that the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims is impassable. "If you took the antagonism of France and Germany", he observed, "and the antagonism of Catholics and Protestants, and compounded them and multiplied them tenfold, you would not equal the division which separates these two races intermingled

by scores of millions in the cities and plains of India." It is true, indeed, that the Hindus and the Muslims have got different systems of law and culture, and that the absence of inter-marriage constitutes a barrier between the two communities. But the differences between them are often exaggerated by interested parties. The Hindus and the Mussalmans usually live peacefully side by side in cordial relations with one another. The political unification of India under one rule, the spread of English education and the easy facilities of communication between one part of the country and the other have created a unity of political outlook among all classes of Indian people. They are all united in their demand for Swaraj, though there is some difference among them regarding the connotation of the term. Mr. M. A. Jinnah has, in a recent statement to the press, denied the very existence of this sentiment of unity and has demanded a separate nationhood for the Indian Mussalmans. But thousands of nationalist Mussalmans have repudiated the Pakistan scheme of Mr. Jinnah.

Even the Simon Commission, which was not very friendly to Indian aspirations, was constrained to recognise the force of Indian nationalist sentiment. "It would be a profound error", remarks the Commission, "to allow geographical dimensions or statistics of population or complexities of religion and caste and language to belittle the significance of what is called the 'Indian Nationalist Movement.'" True it is that it directly affects the hopes of a very small fraction of the teeming peoples of India. True it may be that its leaders do not reflect the active sentiments of masses of men and women in India, who know next to nothing of politicians and are absorbed in pursuing the traditional course of their daily lives. But none the less, however limited in numbers as compared with the whole, the public men of India claim to be spokesmen for the whole, and in India the Nationalist movement has the essential characteristics of all such manifestations—it concentrates all the forces which are roused by the appeal to national dignity and national self-consciousness."

Political scientists now agree in holding that the essence of nationalism does not lie in the identity of descent, community of language and religion, and unity of tradition. "A common memory", observes Delisle Burns, "and a common ideal—these more than common blood—make a nation." The Hindus and the Mussalmans have lived together for seven hundred years, their economic interest is essentially the same, and their political objective is to attain independence. India, therefore, is a nationality which in course of time is sure to attain Nationhood.

CHAPTER IV

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATE

I. Meaning and Different uses of the term 'Sovereignty'

The concept of sovereignty has been called the very basis of modern political science. "Sovereignty is the supreme will of the state", says Willoughby. Woodrow Wilson has called it "the daily operative power of framing and giving efficacy to the laws." Burgess characterises it as "original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects." This description of sovereignty might appear to sanction the tyranny of the state and to involve the sacrifice of individual rights. But the jurists take pains to show that there is absolutely no contradiction between individual liberty and sovereignty.

The state comes into being when sufficient spirit of unity exists to organise a people, to create a government and to enforce laws. It must contain some persons or body of persons whose commands receive obedience; and who can, if necessary, execute those commands by means of force. There can be no state unless there be such a body.

(The jurists' view: Absolute power of the state)

The commands thus given are called laws. Legally, therefore the state is unlimited because it is itself the source of legal enactment. If it imposes any limit on itself, it may remove the restriction whenever it thinks fit. The absolute and unlimited power of the state is necessary to maintain rights of individuals and of associations within the State. Had there been no such authority, the poor and the weak would have been entirely at the mercy of the strong; and a condition of perpetual warfare and anarchy would have followed. The jurists, therefore, hold that there can be no right against the state, because the state is the source of all rights and the enforcer of all obligations.

The term 'Sovereignty' is used in popular phraseology in a variety of senses. Thus, the word sovereign is often used to designate a king or monarch. Though the final power of decision lay with the king during the days of despotic monarchy, yet at present the king has become in some countries a part of the machinery of Government. He is called sovereign only in a fictitious sense. He is supposed to personify the power and majesty of the state, though in actual fact the real sovereignty rests in other hands.

(Titular and actual Sovereign)

✓ Another distinction is made by some writers between de facto and de jure sovereign. It is sometimes found that the supreme power in the state is seized by a usurping king, a self-constituted assembly, a military dictator, or even a priest or a prophet. Cromwell, after he had dissolved the Rump, Napoleon after he had overthrown the Directory, the English Convention Parliaments of 1660 and 1689 are examples of actual sovereignties which rested upon no legal basis. Lord Bryce observes,—“the person or body of persons who can make his or their will prevail whether with the law or against the law, he or they, is the de facto ruler, the person to whom obedience is actually paid.” De jure sovereignty, on the other hand, is that which the law recognises. De jure sovereign has the legal claim to obedience. It is often found that the de facto sovereign converts his rule to de jure sovereignty by election or ratification.

De facto
and de jure
sovereign }

Austin, however, refuses to recognise the distinction between de facto and de jure sovereignty, on the ground that the will of the sovereign itself is law. He holds that governments may be de facto or de jure, but these terms can not be applied to sovereignty. The adjectives lawful and unlawful can not be imputed to it. The only law, he said, by which a person or a body of persons can be sovereign is its own law, its own command or will, and hence to say that a person or body is the de jure sovereign is tantamount to saying that it is legal because it declares to be so.

Austin criticises the distinction }

The sovereignty of the State has got two aspects—legal and political. These are the two different manifestations of one and the same sovereignty through two different channels.

The legal sovereign is that determinate authority which by law has the power to issue the highest commands of the State. Theoretically speaking, it can override the prescriptions of the divine law, the principles of morality, and the mandates of public opinion. Whatever the supreme law-making body decrees must be accepted as legal and must be applied by the Courts. A judge must apply a law, though it may be morally unsound and condemned by public opinion. Lawyers and courts refuse to look beyond the legal sovereign. But Woodrow Wilson has well observed that “Sovereignty, as ideally conceived in legal theory, nowhere actually exists.” He elucidates this remark by certain concrete examples.

Legal
Sovereignty }

In England, legal sovereignty rests with the King-in-Parliament. There is no legal limit to the power exercised by Parliament. It is said to have power to do everything except make a man a woman or a woman a man. It can prolong its own

existence as it did by the Septennial Act of 1716. As Dicey remarks, it can, legally speaking, adjudge an infant of full age ; it may attain a man of treason after death ; it may legitimise an illegitimate child. Parliament can legally make a law compelling the people to kill one another. But in actual practice, Parliament dares do nothing that seems to be against principles held to be sacred in the sphere either of constitutional privilege or private right. "Should Parliament violate such principles, their action would be repudiated by the nation, their will failing to become indeed law, would pass immediately into the limbo of things repealed ; Parliament itself would be purged of its offending members. Parliament is master, can utter valid commands, only so far as it interprets, or at least does not cross, the wishes of the people."

Before the Bolshevik revolution, the Czar was said to have possessed almost unlimited power. But even his supremacy was actually limited by concessions to the spirit of his army, to the prejudices of his court, and to the temper of the mass of his subjects. It follows, then, that the most despotic monarchy as well as the most powerful assemblies are practically limited in power. That which limits the legal sovereign is the political sovereign. "Behind the sovereign which the lawyer recognizes", observes Dicey, "there is another sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow."

Political Sovereignty

Prof. Gilchrist has defined the political sovereign as "the sum-total of the influences in a state which lie behind the law." The political sovereign may be roughly described as the power of the people. It manifests itself by voting, by the press, by platform speeches, by intelligent conversation and by various other ways, which can not be easily defined. It is indeed the controlling power behind the organ through which the will of the state is given legal formulation ; but it is rather vague and indeterminate.

In a small city-state, where all the citizens can meet in a place and express their opinion freely, the legal and political sovereignty practically coincide. But in the modern states there exists everywhere a distinction between the legal sovereign and the political sovereign. The political sovereign is not determinate because it is not organised ; when it is organised it leads to legal sovereignty. McKechnie observes that "the will of the legal sovereign is or should be the authorised embodiment or manifestation of the will of the political sovereign. If the popular will is accurately expressed by

Practical limitations on the powers of the sovereign body

No despot can exercise unlimited power

Manifestation of Political sovereignty

Not a determinate authority

the legal sovereign, the power of the people is effective, otherwise it is not."*

The Juristic or Monistic view of Sovereignty

The attributes of the legal sovereignty are stated to be permanence, exclusiveness, all-comprehensiveness, absoluteness, inalienability and unity As this theory has been propounded from the point of view of abstract law, it is called Juristic view, it is called Monistic because sovereignty is attributed to the state alone and because it is held to be indivisible

✓ The sovereignty of the state is permanent in the sense that as long as the state exists sovereignty continues without interruption If at any time sovereignty is lost the state itself ceases to exist There might be change in the bearer of government or a revolution might change the organisation of state, but that would mean only a transfer of sovereignty, not its cessation Permanence

As the state is one organic whole, there can be but one supreme power in the state This idea is expressed by drawing attention to the exclusiveness of sovereignty Sovereignty can not be divided Sovereignty is indivisible

✓ Every individual and every association of individuals must be subject to the sovereign power of the state Foreign ambassadors, envoys etc, living within a state enjoy indeed immunity from the jurisdiction of the state, but the power which every state enjoys of expelling the diplomatic representatives, proves the universality of the sovereignty of the state All-comprehensiveness

By attributing the quality of *absolutism* we mean that sovereignty is legally unlimited If it is limited by any superior power

Here it should be noted that Austin fell into a grave error by attributing legal sovereignty to the body of the electorate The voters are empowered to choose legislators at intervals, but they cannot pass laws nor negative bills except in states where referendum and initiative are prevalent. The electors may be said to be political sovereigns but not legal sovereigns Some writers reject the distinction between legal and political sovereignty on the ground that it seems to recognise a dual sovereignty in the state But as a matter of fact such a distinction does not mean the recognition of two rival and hostile powers in the state. The legal and political sovereigns are the manifestations of one and the same sovereignty, which is an abstract ideal, working through different channels. There cannot be any long continued hostility between the legal and the political sovereigns If it is found that the legal sovereign is persistently flouting the opinion of the political sovereign, popular discontent will rise to a climax and a reorganization or reconstruction of the legal sovereign will be undertaken. Sovereignty is an abstract ideal

then that power is sovereign. But there must be some supreme power in the state. "The principle of entire legal independence of state as a consequence of sovereignty," says Willoughby, "is not contradicted by the existence either of international law or constitutional law."

International regulations or treaties between different states do not impair the sovereignty of the states consenting to obey such regulations or treaties. The consenting parties voluntarily accept those; by their acceptance no power is created superior to that individually possessed by the contracting parties. No legal means have as yet been provided for enforcing international regulations.

Constitutional law too does not restrict or impair the sovereignty of the state. By constitutional law we understand those rules that define the organisation of the state, and the extent and manner of exercise of governmental powers. It does not purport to control the state. Constitutional provisions are self-set by the state, and the same power that has decreed them still has the power to alter or abolish them; though this alteration or abolition must be done in the formal and legal way.

The sovereignty of the state is *inalienable*, i.e., its essential elements cannot be ceded or parted with. "Sovereignty," says Lieber, "can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life and personality without self-destruction." There might be a legal transfer of the power of exercising sovereignty from one body to another; such an act would be the surrendering of power by a particular governing body; but it would not be a parting of sovereignty by the state.

Rm. (a) History of the Theory of Sovereignty. Jm

The theory of sovereignty emerged gradually with the beginning of the Modern Age in the sixteenth century. In the Middle Ages the idea of the state as externally independent of any compulsion or interference on the part of other states, and internally exercising absolute authority over all individuals or associations of individuals could not arise owing to the existence of three factors. These counteracting factors were the belief in the existence of a universal empire, prevalence of feudalism and belief in the Law of Nature. So long as the belief in the existence of a universal empire in the shape of the Holy Roman Empire prevailed, it was impossible to organise independent and equal states. In the feudal society ties of personal dependence bound individuals into groups, and similar bonds of a larger scale held these groups together. As the Law of Nature

was supposed to be superior to all human laws, the concept of sovereignty, having power to make laws, in contravention of Divine and Natural Law, could not arise. But towards the end of the Middle Ages the Empire became shadowy as a result of its long-drawn conflict with the Papacy, the nobles became weak and kings became supreme within their territories by wars, conquests and alliances. The most compact and powerful monarchy arose in France. And it was in France that the theory of sovereignty was for the first time enunciated.

Jean Bodin, the French writer, propounded this theory in his book *De la Republique* in 1576. He defined sovereignty as the "supreme power over citizens and subjects unestrained by the laws." He pictured that sovereignty should reside in one person, though there is nothing to stand in the way of vesting it in many. Bodin

Hugo Grotius, the Dutch writer, emphasised the external sovereignty of the state in his great work on International Law, published in 1625. He considered all states as equal and independent with supreme jurisdiction within their boundaries. States were regarded by him as persons dealing with each other as by contract. Grotius

✓ Hobbes laid the foundation of the modern state by propounding the theory of absolute and irresponsible sovereignty. He held that the people surrendered by social contract all their powers unconditionally to the sovereign, who was not a party to the contract. He saw that the growth of the modern state logically entailed the concentration of political, religious and economic power in the hands of a single sovereign authority. He locates the sovereign authority in the monarch. He is the most uncompromising upholder of the indivisibility of sovereign power, which according to him, can not be shared by the people, and which should not allow any association or corporation to arise within its dominion. Hobbes identifies the sovereign with the government and holds that the people cannot change the form of government for "they that have already instituted a commonwealth, being thereby bound by covenant to own the actions and judgments of one, cannot lawfully make a new covenant amongst themselves, to be obedient to any other, in anything whatsoever, without his permission." The sovereign has the "whole power of prescribing the rules, whereby every man may know, what goods he may enjoy and what actions he may do without being molested by any of his fellow subjects." He is the sole judge to decide what is necessary for the peace and defence of his subjects. He is also to determine what doctrines are to be taught to the people and thus he is to control public opinion. (In short, the nature of Hobbes' sovereign power

is absolute, omnipotent, permanent, universal and inalienable. Hobbes, however, confounded the legal absolutism of the state with governmental absolutism and identified the subordination to civil authority with subjection of the people to particular rulers.

Locke was a constitutionalist. He does not mention the term 'sovereignty' at all, but he uses the word, 'supreme power.' He places the supreme power, first, in the hands of the people, who are described as the ultimate source of all power. The people elect the legislature, which is also called supreme, because it has to make laws for all parts. The executive authority is subject to legislature but when the legislature is not in session the executive may be called supreme. The theory of Locke will be clear from the following quotations from his two treatises on Civil Government. "There can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative, to which all the rest are and must be subordinate, yet the legislative being only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them." "Where the legislative is not always in being, and the executive is vested in a single person who has also a share in the legislative, there that single person, in a tolerable sense, may also be called supreme, not that he has in himself all the supreme power which is that of law making, but because he has in him the supreme execution from whom all inferior magistrates derive all their subordinate powers." Thus though he calls the Legislature and the Executive supreme in their limited spheres, the ultimate power rests with the people. In the modern terminology, therefore, Locke may be called an upholder of popular sovereignty.

It is to Rousseau that the modern theory of sovereignty owes its immediate origin. It was he who conceived the sovereign as absolute, infallible, indivisible and inalienable. He locates the sovereignty, not in the Monarch, but in the People or General Will. His sovereign is a collective being, created by the social contract. As sovereignty resides in the General Will it can never be alienated, because 'power may be transmitted, but not the will.' He ridicules those philosophers who are in favour of dividing sovereignty, because they 'turn the sovereign into a fantastic being composed of several connected pieces; it is as if they were making man of several bodies, one with eyes, one with arms, another with feet, and each with nothing besides.' The General Will can not but be right and so it is infallible. It has been well said that Rousseau "accomplished for the people what Hobbes had done for the ruler. The English writer's theory absorbed the entire personality of the

state in the ruling body, the government, the bearer of the personality of all. Rousseau, by the same logic, absorbed the government in the people." He united the absolute sovereignty of Hobbes and the 'popular consent' of Locke into the philosophic doctrine of popular sovereignty.

R(b) Austin's Contribution to the Theory

The most notable contribution to the theory of sovereignty has been made by John Austin in his book on Jurisprudence, published in 1832. He states the doctrine thus,—"If a determinate human superior, not in the habit of ^{Austinian theory of sovereignty} obedience to a like superior, receive habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is the sovereign in that society and the society, including the superior, is a society political and independent". From this statement of the theory Prof Gilchrist has drawn the following conclusions :—

(1) "The superior or sovereign must be a determinate person or body ; therefore, neither the general will nor all the people taken together can be sovereign.

(2) The power of the sovereign is legally unlimited or absolute, for a sovereign can not be forced to act in a certain way by any command of his own. He makes his own limits.

(3) Sovereignty is indivisible. It cannot be divided between two or more persons or bodies of persons acting separately ; for, if so, one would be limited in some way by the other, which would be a superior power, and therefore, the real sovereign."

Maine, Clark, and Sidgwick are foremost among those who have criticised Austin's theory that sovereignty must reside in a determinate body. In the first place, it has been pointed out by most of them that the theory is inconsistent with the idea of popular sovereignty. It also ignores public opinion and takes no account of what we call political sovereignty. Further more, Austinian theory errs in treating all laws as being merely "Command." It ignores the great body of customary law in a country and exaggerates thereby the single element of force to the neglect of obvious historical facts. Mr Henry Maine criticised this doctrine on the ground that it is not warranted by actual or historical fact. He cites the example of Ranjit Singh, who inspired of his extensive power never "issued a command which Austin would call a law. The rules which regulated the lives of his subjects were derived from their innumerable usages, and these rules were administered by domestic tribunals." Austin had answered this objection in anticipation by laying down the maxim that "what the sovereign

permits he commands." But in such cases as that of Ranjit Singh this maxim does not really fit in. For, in this instance, the sovereign has no alternative but to "permit" what he can not alter.

Leacock further points out the limitation of Austin's doctrine in the following words : "The analysis of political power which it offers is not meant as an explanation of the ultimate source, the first cause of authority, but merely intended as a universal abstract formula, indicating the method of its operation in the modern world. To accept the doctrine in this sense, is, of course, necessarily to restrict the connotation of the terms 'state' and 'law'. The term 'state' will include only communities possessing the requisite finality of organisation, and fixed relations of command and obedience. A law will connote only a command issued, either directly or indirectly (through deliberate refusal to contravene an established usage) by the sovereign organisation of the state."

Leacock's
statements

✓ Recently the upholders of the Pluralistic doctrine of sovereignty have attacked the Austinian doctrine. As the subject is very important, we shall devote a separate section to this discussion.

Pluralistic
attitude

Austin's chief error lies, as Prof. Garner has aptly pointed out, in giving much stress to the legal aspect of sovereignty, and in ignoring the forces and influences which lie at the back of the formal law—a very natural mistake for a lawyer to make. It has been aptly remarked that 'one begins by thinking Austin self-evident, one learns that many qualifications have to be made and finally, one ends by treating his whole method as absurd and theoretic'. Nevertheless, as a conception of the strict legal nature of sovereignty, Austin's theory is, on the whole, clear and logical, and much of the criticisms directed against it has been founded on misapprehension and misconception.

Prof
Garner's
view

IV. Popular Sovereignty

Sovereignty is the essential characteristic of the state. But a good deal of confusion prevails regarding the repository of sovereign power. The theory which is vaguely stated as that of popular sovereignty is widely prevalent. It was started on the eve of the modern age by the anti-monarchical writers like William of Ockham, Marsiglio and Althusias. Rousseau expounded this theory with great force but bad logic in his epoch-making work, 'the Social Contract.' According to Rousseau, by the original compact the people themselves in their collective capacity became the sovereign and continued to be so. (He truly discerned

Rousseau's
advocacy of
popular
sovereignty

that government is but the servant for executing the will of the state, but he made this will practically identical with popular demand.) Rousseau thus destroys the permanence of all government and its authority. His theory, however, had great influence on the American and French Revolutions both of which reiterated the theory of popular sovereignty in their declaration of Rights of Man.

✓ In the nineteenth century, the belief in the Social Contract and Law of Nature was given up. But the doctrine of popular sovereignty has received a new orientation from the pen of Professor Ritchie. His theory may be stated ^{Modern theory} thus, directly through electoral power and indirectly through influence, intimidation, or potential rebellion, the people exercise sovereignty. They possess the physical power, which, in the last resort, is bound to prevail in any quarrel. If sufficiently provoked, they can annihilate the existing government. They are ultimately the masters. "Sovereignty, in last resort, is a matter of force and depends upon the ability to secure or to compel obedience ; hence, the power that in case of a struggle would have the strength to command obedience is the sovereign." Any form of government to which the people submit exists therefore only by virtue of their tacit consent.

Criticism of the theory of popular sovereignty

The theory of popular sovereignty, however, can not stand the test of logic. Gettel observes that the sovereignty of the people is, in fact, by the very definition of the state, a contradiction in terms. "The state is a people organised by means of government which makes and enforces law." If by the term "people" we mean the sum-total of the individuals composing the state, we have "the state resolved into its atoms, and supreme power ascribed to the unorganised mass or to the majority of these individuals." "If, however, by the people we refer to them as united and politically organised we have only repeated the proposition that sovereignty is a necessary ingredient of the state ; for, a people politically organised is the state."

Moreover, the theory of popular sovereignty assumes that superiority in actual physical force necessarily rests with the mass of the people. But millions of organised men without discipline, weapons and modern equipments can be easily overawed by a few thousands of well-organised soldiers. Numerical majority has not of necessity always the stronger power. If it is said that sovereignty lies with the strongest group of persons trained to act together then it must be supposed that the group of these men obey a

Majority
does not
always
command
greater force

person or a body of persons. In this case too, sovereignty rests with the person or body of persons, who are thus habitually obeyed.

It would be wrong too to suppose that under normal circumstances the exercise of suffrage is an indication of popular sovereignty. In the modern states 'not more than thirty per cent of the entire population (including minors, paupers, lunatics, criminals etc.) enjoy the right to vote. A majority of these electors would be but little more than fifteen per cent of the entire population. Even these electors can not exercise supreme power without organisation, and if they organise themselves, the heads of the organisation would have the sovereign or supreme power, and not the electors themselves. In any case, we come to the old conclusion, that unless a people become politically organised there is no sovereignty.

Suffrage is
no safe
criterion

On close analysis, it is found that sovereignty of the people is nothing more than the sovereignty of the public opinion. Sovereignty is a political term, implying the power to compel obedience, and it can be exercised by society only in its politically organised capacity. Force is an incident of sovereignty indeed, but "the highest ideal of statesmanship is to render the actual exercise of such force as seldom necessary as possible, and the extent to which this aim is attained will depend largely upon the degree in which state action corresponds with the desire of Public Opinion or the General Will."

The doctrine
ensured civil
liberty

Theory of Limited Sovereignty

The theory of absolute sovereignty of state propounded by the Hegelian and Austinian schools of thought has been attacked by many writers on various grounds. Bluntschli asserts that "even the state as a whole is not almighty, for it is limited externally by the rights of other states and internally by its own nature and by the rights of its individual members."

Some of the limitations pointed out by these writers are not legal in character, but are religious, moral or political. Martens recognises God as "Legal Superior" over a state; others think that the "Divine Law" limits the sovereignty of state. Some writers maintain that the sovereignty of state is limited by moral laws and will of the subjects. The state cannot override the moral convictions of the people. If their ideas and sentiments are not respected by the Government, that Government is not likely to last long. "Governments have always rested and must rest," says Bryce, "if not on the reflection, then on the reverence or awe, if not on the active approval, then on the silent acquiescence of the numerical majority."

Moral and
legal
limitations

From the legal point of view these moral sentiments have no binding force behind them. They are merely self-imposed restrictions on the exercise of sovereign power of the state. The sovereign authority does and should respect them on the ground of expediency. Garner rightly points out that "the laws of God, the dictates of humanity and reason, the fear of public opinion, and other alleged restrictions on sovereignty have no legal effect, except in so far as the state chooses to recognise them and give them force and validity."

These are
self-imposed
restrictions

Some writers are of opinion that in states, having written and rigid constitutions, the sovereign cannot override the provisions of the constitution. Amendment of the constitution requires certain procedure to be followed and this is prescribed in the constitution itself. In those states again where conventions play a great part in legislation, they are as good as constitutional provisions. In Great Britain Parliament does not ignore the accepted conventions. These conventions are regarded as practical restrictions on the freedom of action of the sovereign.

Limitations
of Constitu-
tional and
Positive Law

Some writers contend that the action of the sovereign is limited by the positive law of the land, which is supposed to be anterior to the creation of the state and as such binding on the sovereign power. But all laws, positive or constitutional, are the creations of the sovereign power. They can be changed and are changed by the sovereign authority. The critics of absolute sovereignty are misled by a confusion of State with Government. Government is not sovereign but the State is sovereign. "When the state came to be organised outside of the government," says Garner, "and sovereignty was understood in its true light, namely as an attribute of the former rather than of the latter, it became an easy matter to reconcile the doctrine of an unlimited sovereignty with that of a limited government."

Confusion
of state with
government

It is maintained that the sovereignty of states is restricted by the rules and prescriptions of International Law. Treaty obligations impose definite restrictions on the freedom of the sovereign in respect of matters of international importance. But the states can violate these treaties, even though there are possibilities of reprisal from those nations who are affected by such action. Jellinck and other German writers assert that the states respect the treaty obligations only out of a sense of honour; these are merely cases of 'auto-limitation.' There is no sanction behind International Law. So far as the question of sovereignty is a mere juristic one, this contention must be regarded as a valid one. But in a practical life, no state, however strong it might be, can persistently violate international

Limitations
of Interna-
tional Law

treaties and conventions. In the present state of international chaos and anarchy much importance cannot be attached, however, to the limitation of international law on the sovereignty of state. It is probable that the more effective attack on sovereignty will come, in the future, from the exponents of international law and the principle of a world community of legal values which transcends the state.

9.

Four Ideas of Juristic Sovereignty

The history of the doctrine of sovereignty given above shows that it has been subject to a rapid evolution. The diversity in the theories of sovereignty is reflective of different concepts of the proper organisation of political unity. Sovereignty is and has been a problem in the constitutional organisation of the state. The test of the truth of a theory of sovereignty, therefore, should in no sense be its universal applicability or its logical self-constituency. The value of a theory of sovereignty should lie in its appeal to the public lawyers of a particular state. There are four outstanding ideas of juristic sovereignty, namely, the French, the English, the German and the American.

Is any theory universally applicable?

The French conceptions must be divided into two classes--those prevailing before the Revolution and those coming after. Before the Revolution sovereignty was vested in an organ of the state, in the monarch, and the peculiar characteristic of the monarch was that he was generally above positive restrictions. The power and the will of the monarch were the means of escape from warring civil and religious factions, and the unification of the feudal claims of the nobility in the higher synthesis of the state. Bodin as contrasted with Hobbes recognised always a fundamental law or law behind the sovereign organ. He rendered a great service by formulating a stable constitutional principle for the attainment of some sort of coherence in political life.

The French idea

The French conception of sovereignty since the Revolution has been that of national sovereignty. The principle grew out of the social contract and natural rights theories of the epoch. The primary assumption is, of course, what we may call popular sovereignty, but popular sovereignty itself does not constitute the idea of national sovereignty. If public opinion is the primordial and necessary political force, legal sovereignty should be located in the nation, from which comes this opinion. By recognising sovereignty in the nation public opinion is given a superior force, a precise expression and a legal authority. Esmein is the chief exponent of this theory. He holds that the state is the judicial personification of the

National sovereignty

nation and its sovereignty ought to be exercised only in the interests of the entire nation. This insistence on the interests of all furnishes the basic limitation upon the authority of the sovereign power and guarantees individual rights. "The public authority, sovereignty," writes Esmein, "ought never to be exercised but in the interests of all : that is what is intended by giving it a fictitious personality as subject, distinct from all the individuals who compose the nation, distinct from the magistrates and the chiefs as well as of the simple citizens." The theory of national sovereignty makes democratic government inevitable. If sovereignty resides in the nation, then the actual person at the seat of administration is only a delegate, a representative of the whole and not its master. The personnel of the government must be at least the tacit choice of the nation ; and the policy of the government must be one which the nation desires. The individual has rights against the government, but he has no right against the nation itself, as expressed by the majority in elections. The minorities, in this theory, are, therefore, at the mercy of the majority.

The traditional British doctrine of sovereignty is like that of Bodin, with this difference only that the British writers do not accept the juristic character of fundamental constitutional principles. The Austrian theory recognises the sovereignty of the highest organ of the government. Legal sovereignty is not vested in the state as a legal person or in the nation, nor is it vested in the monarch or a class, but in the legislative power which includes the King, the Lords and the Commons. The location of sovereignty in the British Empire has become a difficult problem since 1926. The Imperial Conference of 1926 thus defined the position of the Dominions : "They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another, in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." This status got the legal sanction from the Statute of Westminster. The British Parliament, then, cannot be the sovereign of the Dominions. Dr. Wright holds that there is no single, central, super-authority for the empire, and thinks that it is not necessary to have such an authority. He recognises the possibility of divided sovereignty in the British Empire. But there are British legalists who hold that the sovereignty of Parliament is still complete, that the Statute of Westminster is an act of Parliament, and what one Parliament can pass, another may rescind ; for no Parliament can bind its successor. Such a view, however, is absurd as a political reality.

The German interpretations of the principle of sovereignty are

Sovereignty
in England
and in the
British
Empire }

the most complicated of all, because of the more entangled situation with which the German jurists had to deal. Not only was the position of the monarch more distinct legally than in England, but there was also the problem of federalism which deprived the idea of sovereignty of some of its possible coherence.

German theory

Sovereignty is an attribute of the state as a juristic person with a legal will. The monarch thus becomes a representative of the state will, but the sovereignty of the state itself is not inherent in him. In the opinion of Bluntschli, however, sovereignty is not vested exclusively in the state, since a remaining but different sovereignty of the monarch is accepted. The German theory developed likewise the idea of the non-sovereign state to enable the doctrine to be held that though the German states had lost their sovereignty in the Reich they had not lost their statehood. According to Seydel sovereignty resides only in the member-state ; while Jellinek holds that it is located in the union-state ; Gierke believes that the member-states are like individuals in a unitary state. The autonomous member-states form a super-state in which they participate not only in the exercise of its power but in the creation of its will.

The American theory may be called the doctrine of divided sovereignty. Sovereignty was divided between the states and the United States by the constitution itself, though there

American idea

was conflict until after the Civil War as to the proper organ or organs to settle disputes of competence. The view of the state rightists was that the states should make such decisions while the nationalists believed the Supreme Court to be the proper organ. While German theory developed the idea of the non-sovereign state, many of the American publicists and judges continued to look upon the component commonwealths in the federal union as states possessing sovereignty.

VII. Location of Sovereignty in Federal States.

Eminent writers like Cooley, Story, Tocqueville and Hurd hold that sovereignty is located in the federal as well as in the state governments. They argue that the federal

Theory of dual location

government is found to have autonomy in certain spheres, while the states have autonomy in others. This theory, however, is opposed to the conception that sovereignty is incapable of division. A federal union makes one and only one state. The component parts of the federal union lose their sovereign power as soon as they become members of the federated unions. In one state there can be only one sovereignty. "Sovereignty," declares Calhoun, "is an entire thing ; to divide it is to destroy it. It is the supreme power in a state, and we might just as well speak of half a square or half a triangle as of

half a sovereignty." In a federal union the constitution alone can determine the competence of the central authority and that of the component states. The federal government as well as the governments of the states cannot go beyond the power conferred on them by the constitution.

This leads to the theory that sovereignty rests with the organisation that can make or amend the constitution. According to the upholders of this theory, there is no higher authority possible than that which creates the constitution. That authority expresses the direct will of the state, and is therefore sovereign. In Great Britain, sovereignty rests in the King-in-Parliament ; in France in the National Assembly. In the U.S.A. the procedure of amending the constitution is thus laid down in Article V of the Constitution,—“The Congress, whenever 2/3rd of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments or, on the application of the Legislatures of 2/3rd of the several states, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments which in either case shall be valid when ratified by the Legislatures of 2/3th of several states, or by Convention in 2/3th of the commonwealths.” Thus, two different processes are prescribed for amending and ratifying the constitution. In practice, all amendments have been proposed by Congress and ratified by the state legislatures. So it may be said that neither the people of the United States, nor the people of the states have, in fact, participated in the exercise of the sovereign power.

The people do not exercise sovereign power in the U.S.A.

This theory of locating sovereignty in the constitution-amending authority suffers from certain defects. First, the power that can amend the constitution lies mainly dormant and latent and acts only intermittently at infrequent intervals. Logically, the sovereign power in the state can not thus lie dormant. Secondly, the organs that actively express the state's will are not simply the authority that makes or amends the constitution, but also the organs through which, at present times, that will is expressed. Thirdly, the sovereign authority must be absolute but the constitution-making authority can be put in motion by the government alone and can only act in the manner legally prescribed. Thus, the constitution making authority becomes limited in power.

The constitution-making authority is not absolute.

There is a third theory of the location of sovereignty. Woodrow Wilson holds that sovereignty rests with the law-making authorities. They include (1) Legislature—national, Commonwealth or local ; (2) Courts, so far as they create and not merely interpret law ; (3) Executive officers, so far as they create law by proclamations ; (4) Conventions when they sit to amend the constitution and

Does sovereignty lie in law-making authorities ?

(5) Electors when they exercise powers of referendum and plebiscite. "Sovereignty is considered here as the daily operative power of framing and giving efficacy to laws. It lives, it plans, it executes. It is the organic organisation of the state as of its law and policy ; and the sovereign power the highest originative organ of the state."—(Wilson). But it may be pointed out that sovereignty is an attribute of the state and not of the various organs of the Government which share in the expression of the will of the state. Sovereignty can hardly be said to be determinate if it is sought to be located in one body now, and then in another body. Laski has rightly pointed out that the attempt to discover the sovereign authority in a federal state is "an impossible adventure."

VIII. The Pluralistic view of Sovereignty

The concept of sovereignty has been viewed by writers on Political Science in previous centuries from the legal, historical and philosophical standpoint. All these writers recognised the necessity of unitary control of all powers and, therefore, held a unified, co-ordinated, supreme power as the essence of the sovereignty pattern. The only point in which they differed amongst themselves was regarding the authority which should exercise the control. Some contended that sovereignty resides in one, others held that it resides in the many ; some believed that sovereignty is fragmentary or dual, and there were others who opined that it is supra-mundane. From age to age the theory has changed according to changes in social, cultural and economic forces. The circumstances of the present age have given rise to the Pluralistic attacks on the Monistic theory of sovereignty.

The Guild Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists and above all, the Political Pluralists have assailed the Monistic theory of Sovereignty, which views the sovereignty of the state as one, indivisible and unlimited. In the place of one indivisible sovereignty, they like to emphasise the sovereignty of the different groups that flourish in the society ; hence they are known as the Pluralists. This point of view received a great stimulus from the writings of the German jurist, Otto Gierke ; in England it has been put forward by Figgis, Maitland, Barker, MacIver and Laski.

Three factors have been chiefly responsible for the attack on the Monistic theory. First, there has come a tremendous change in the function of the state. So long as the function of the state was limited to order, justice and defence, emphasis had to be laid on domination, command and imperium. But with the assumption of social and economic functions by the state, public

service instead of imperium becomes the dominant idea. "In those great state activities which increase everyday," writes Leon Duguit, "education, the poor law, public works, lighting, the postal telegraph and telephone systems, the railroads; the state intervenes in a manner that must be regulated by public law. But this can no longer be based on the theory of sovereignty. It is applied to acts where no trace of power to command is to be found. Of necessity a new system is being built, attached indeed by close bonds to the old, but founded on an entirely new theory. Modern institutions, under the new and fruitful jurisprudence of the counsel of state take their origin not from the theory of sovereignty but from the notion of public service."

Service state instead of power state.

Secondly, the progress of science and of the technique and organisation of production and marketing has made it necessary to emphasise international co-operation rather than national isolation. The external sovereignty of the state should be curbed in the interest of humanity. In practice too, the 'independent sovereign states' of the nineteenth century have no longer the untrammelled sovereign independence that they used to have.

Need of curbing the external sovereignty of states

Thirdly, the groups or associations which were regarded by Hobbes as 'worms' within a body are now being recognised as playing an increasingly important part in social and political life. Piggis, one of the earliest champions of group rights, holds that, "The State did not create the family nor did it create the churches; nor even in any real sense can it be said to have created the club or trades union, nor in the middle ages, the guild or the religious order, hardly even the universities or the colleges within the universities; they have all arisen out of natural associative instincts of mankind, and should all be treated by the supreme authority as having a life original and guaranteed, to be controlled and directed like persons, but not regarded in their corporate capacity as mere names." Krabbe holds that owing to the rise of important economic associations, like the labour unions, the state can no longer pretend to be the one all-powerful agency of social life. There are now-a-days groups for the promotion and care of industrial, political, religious and other interests. Society has now become an aggregation of groups rather than an association of individuals. Maitland points out that the state is practically bound to acknowledge the corporate character and the rights and responsibilities of groups which operate as collectivities and their formal recognition by the state makes little difference to their character.

Importance of groups

Laski insists in his 'Grammar of Politics' that the theory of

sovereignty is no longer valid. The modern state, according to him, is not unitary, it is not absolutistic, neither is it independent. "It is pluralistic, and constitutional and responsible. It is limited in the force it exercises; it is directive rather than dominating, in the decrees it issues; it is changing with every desire of the electorate rather than permanent. Its power is diffuse, in territorial and functional groupings. And internally as well as externally its activities and functions are subject to limitations and review. Actually, the state is an association like other associations, with the special function of co-ordinating. It is a public-service corporation." On these grounds, Laski holds that there is no sovereign, no definite human superior, issuing commands with absolute finality which his subjects must obey. Laski argued for a system which would recognise the complete autonomy of economic, political, religious and social associations, with the abandonment by the state of any claim to be the sole representative of the general interests of men. He cites specific examples to show how the state failed to carry out its decisions in the face of determined resistance by groups within the nation. Thus during the last European war the British Parliament did not dare to enforce the anti-strike provisions of the Munitions Act against the defiant Welsh miners or to put into operation the Irish Home-rule act against the rebellious Ulsterites. (Man, according to Laski, is a creature of competing loyalties and the state must compete with churches, trade unions, employers' associations, friendly societies, political parties and professional associations. He held that in any instance of conflicting demands the state's pre-eminence over other associations depends upon the superiority of its moral appeal in that instance.) But the failure of the German Economic Council convinced Laski that the state must have the co-ordinating and supervising authority over other associations. In his Preface to the fourth edition of 'Grammar of Politics' he states that the theory of pluralism "did not sufficiently realise the nature of the state as an expression of class relations. It did not sufficiently emphasise the fact that it was bound to claim an invisible and irresponsible sovereignty, because there was no other way in which it could define and control the legal postulates of society. It was through their definition and control that the purpose of any given system of class relations was realised. If the State ceased to be sovereign it ceased to be in a position to give effect to those purposes."

(The different points of attack on the legalist doctrine of sovereignty have been admirably summarised by Gettel thus :—"They (the Pluralists) deny that the state is a unique organisation; they hold that other associations are equally important and natural; they argue that such associations are for their purposes as sover-

eign as the state is for its purpose. They emphasise the inability of the state to enforce its will in practice against the opposition of certain groups within it. They deny that the possession of force by the state gives it any superior right. Conclusion

They insist upon the equal rights of all groups that command the allegiance of their members and that perform valuable functions in society. Hence sovereignty is possessed by many associations. It is not an indivisible unit; the state is not supreme or unlimited." Merriam and Barnes in their "History of political thought—recent times," have shown that inspite of these attacks the theory of the sovereignty of state has not been given up and can not be given up. We agree that the different associations in the community perform valuable services, and the state should not arbitrarily coerce them. But if equality of status with the state be claimed for them, and if sovereignty is denied to the state, who would maintain the mutual relation between these associations? Barker and Laski also admit that the duty of the state is to determine, in general outlines, the constitutions of the several associations. ("The State", says Barker, "as a general and embracing scheme of life, must necessarily adjust the relations of associations to itself, to other associations, and to their own members— to itself, in order to maintain the integrity of its own scheme; to other associations, in order to preserve the equality of associations before the law; and to their own members, in order to preserve the individual from the possible tyranny of the group." The Pluralists are recognising the force of this argument. Lewis Rockow in an article on "The Doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Constitution" in the American Political Science Review (1931) shows that Pluralistic criticism is becoming more a general theory of the social structure of the state and less an attack of the state as a co-ordinating agency. The Pluralists have rendered valuable services by pointing out the practically limited power of the state and the superiority of law to the state; but unless unlimited authority, in theory at least, be conceded to the state, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to protect the different associations.)

CHAPTER V

I. Nature of Law

The word "law" is used in various senses. It is often applied to the sequence of cause and effect in the world of phenomena, e.g., laws of gravitation and of chemical reaction. Such laws, known as physical laws, indicate inevitable results that necessarily follow from given conditions. Again, the term 'law' is used to designate rules for the guidance of human conduct. If such a law is concerned with motives and internal acts of the will, it is called moral law. If the laws refer to outward acts, they may be either social laws or political. Social laws are enforced by public opinion, and political laws by the authority of the state. We are concerned here with the latter kind of laws, which are designated as positive or civic laws. Such laws may be defined as "those rules of conduct that control courts of justice in the exercise of their jurisdictions. As distinguished from all other rules of conduct that obtain more or less general recognition in a community of men, they are such as have for their ultimate enforcement the entire power of the state." (Willoughby) Professor Holland has thus defined law—"A law is a general rule of action taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human and among human authorities is that which is paramount in a political society, or, briefly, a law is a general rule of external action enforced by a sovereign political authority."

There are two schools of writers on the science of law namely, Analytical and Historical. The Analytical school discusses the nature of law by an analysis of existing laws and by classifying them according to their forms of expression, their comparative validity, and their method of enforcement. Austin is the great leader of this school. He considers all laws as a command of the sovereign. To this definition of law the Historical school takes grave exception. The German writer, Savigny, is the founder of the Historical school. According to him, customary law exists as law, independently of the state. The function of the state is not to create law but to realise and enforce it.

Woodrow Wilson has further elucidated this point of view in the following words—"The function of the framers of law is a function of interpretation, of formulation rather than of

origination ; no step that they can take successfully can lie far apart from the lines along which the national life has run. Law is the creation, not of individuals, but of special needs, the special opportunities, special perils or misfortunes of communities. No 'lawmaker' may force upon a people law which has not in some sense been suggested to him by the circumstances or opinions of the nation for whom he acts."

✓ The difference of opinion between the Analytical and Historical schools is more apparent than real. The two schools looking at the nature of law from two different angles of vision have come to loggerheads. The Historical school used the term "source of law" to denote the mode in which, or the person through whom, the rules that have acquired the force of law have been formulated. The Analytical school used the same term to denote the authority which gives these rules the force of law. The state is the sole creator of law, in the sense that, enforcement by the state is the distinguishing characteristic of law. But at the same time the contention of the Historical school, that a general acceptance of customary rules is necessary, is also true.

Growth of Law

Difference of opinion regarding source of Law

Law reflects the prevalent conceptions of right and wrong and also the social relationships in the communities in which it is accepted. Thus it serves the purpose of a mirror of the community. From the laws of a community, we can judge its character. But law is also an active force in the sense that it compels men to follow a particular course of outward conduct. The compulsion which it exercises is partly ethical and partly physical. The majority of people obey law, not because they are afraid of being detected and punished if they violate it, but because they consider it as just or expedient. But there are people who do not feel the moral compulsions of law. To this minority of the people law involves a 'Must', and speaks harshly of the power of the state.

Law reflects social condition

Law regulates outward conduct

The ideal purpose of law is to lay down those canons of behaviour the observance of which will maximise the satisfaction of demand. But the actual purpose of law is to fulfil the object of the state, which according to Laski, is to maintain some given system of class-relations in society.

Character of Law

H. Law of Nature

a natural law originated with the Greek philosophers. It was thought that the principle of uniformity pervaded the universe and this should provide a number of fixed rules of conduct for the guidance of the action of men. These fixed principles were given the name of

Uniformity in Nature

'laws of nature.' Plato and Aristotle were conscious of such laws and referred to such principles as natural justice and law.

The concept received further development in the hands of the Stoics who understood by it the rule of reason and defined it as the manifestation of the single and homogeneous spirit of the world." They tried to teach that the laws of the land should be shaped in accordance with this divine reason which pervades all natural phenomena.

Theory of
the Stoics

After the conquest of Greece by the Romans, this Stoic philosophy of law of nature exerted a strong influence on the legal system of Rome. Formerly, the Romans had their *jus civile* or civil law to guide the affairs of the state, but under the influence of the Stoic philosophy, a system of laws developed under the name of *jus gentium* or law of nations in order to deal with foreigners in Rome. It was gradually recognized that the *jus gentium* was really the law of nature or *jus naturale*, being based on the principles of nature and applicable to all nations. Consequently the *jus civile* of Rome was replaced by this new system of laws. The Christian religion also inculcated the principle of law of God which assumed a sacred significance in the mediæval period.

Jus gentium
replaced Jus
civile

Later, this principle of law of nature formed the basis of the contract theory as enunciated by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

They conceived that in the state of nature the law of nature existed. Hobbes was of opinion that the state of nature was a state of constant strife and warfare.

Modern
writers

Locke, however, conceived the state of nature as a state of perfect freedom and happiness. Rousseau, again, declared that in the state of nature, man enjoyed equal rights and liberty and so in modern society also man must have liberty, equality and fraternity.

Though the idealistic philosophers conceived the law of nature in these varied ways there are certain considerations for which the principle does not appear to be very reasonable. (i) It is not historically true; at no period was man guided by it; (ii) The law of nature has no legal sanction behind it and it makes no difference between law as it exists in society and law as it should be; (iii) Human nature being imperfect, human institutions cannot be perfect and as such the imaginary laws of nature have little applicability for them. As best, as Kant says, the law of nature may serve as a standard of justice.

Law of
Nature is
imaginary

As Willoughby observes, the natural law can be interpreted in three different ways: (i) The Law of Nature may refer to the sequence of cause and effect in natural phenomena; (ii) it may mean the instinctive conduct of human beings, as Huxley and Spinoza conclude; and

Three different
ways of
interpretation

(iii) it may mean the principles of conduct which derive their sanctity from divine intention and purpose. In reality, the Laws of Nature have no existence. They are mere ideals about a standard of conduct which should be followed not only in the sphere of individual actions but also in social legislation.

The recognition of the Natural Law may be traced in the practices of modern states. ✓(1) In International Law which was given a definite shape by Hugo Grotius, it is claimed that the Law of Nature has exerted a strong influence. Influence of Law of Nature } Writers on International Law try to make out that it embodies certain rules which states, under certain circumstances, ought to follow and they should legitimately be compelled to follow on the basis that all states are equally sovereign and that no state should unnecessarily encroach upon the rights of the other and violate the dominant principle of the Law of Nature. (2) In the system of trial by jury, the principle seems to have been recognised, for it is believed that the several minds may find the dictates of the Law of Nature. ✓(3) In courts of law, judges very often pass their judgments based on the moral principle of reason and good conscience—which are the principles of Stoic philosophy. (4) In every form of Government, at least the rights of life and property are ensured. This is in accordance with the doctrine of Natural Law.

✓ III. Divisions of Law

Law may be classified on the basis of various distinctions. For the purpose of political science, we may divide Law in two different ways—according to the agency through which it is formulated and according to the public Principles of division or private character of the persons concerned. According to the manner of statement or agency of formulation, Law may be divided into ✓(1) Constitutional Law, (2) Common Law, (3) Statute Law, (4) Ordinances, (5) Administrative Law and (6) International Law.

Constitutional Law is the sum-total of the principles that create government, define the jurisdiction of its different organs, and prescribe the limits within which the powers of government can be exercised. Constitutional Law may be written or unwritten. Constitutional Law It may grow with the growth of the people and formulated by the ordinary law-making body as in England; or it may be created in a special way so that the ordinary law-making body might not alter it as in the U. S. A.

Common Law is that body of legal principles which are derived from custom but are enforced by Law Courts like statute law. The laws that are formulated by the ordinary law-making body

in the formal way are called statute laws, e.g., the laws that are enacted by the Congress in the U. S. A. and Parliament in England. Ordinances are "commands of limited application not necessarily permanent, and usually issued as administrative directions by some department of government."

Common Law etc. England, in the Self-Governing Dominions and in the United States of America there is the same system of law both for the officials and for the non-officials. In these countries the officials do not enjoy any special immunity and the judiciary cannot take any cognisance of the plea of state necessity in extenuation of acts on the part of state officials which are calculated to infringe on the liberty of the subject. This principle is known as the Rule of Law. Opposed to it is the special system of law, known as the Administrative Law or Droit Administratif which is prevalent in most of the Continental states. Administrative Law is the body of rules which regulate the relations of the administrative authority towards private citizens, and determines the position of state officials, the rights and liabilities of private citizens in their dealings with these officials, and the procedure by which these rights and liabilities are enforced. It should not be thought that in countries where the Administrative Law prevails, there is no individual liberty. In France, litigation in the Administrative Court is cheap and is executed rapidly. The clear distinction between a "fault of service" and a "personal fault" on the part of the official protects the citizens against the evil consequences of too much official zeal. The rules that are generally observed by states in their dealings with other states are called International Law. We shall discuss its nature in a later section.

Prof. Holland has divided law into Public Law and Private Law. Public law is concerned with the organisation of the state, delimitation of the powers of government and the direct relations of the State and the Individual. Private Law creates only private rights and obligations, regulates the interests of individuals and as such is enforced by the state. "In Private Law," observes Holland, "the parties concerned are private individuals, above and between whom stands the state as an impartial arbiter. In Public Law also the State is present as arbiter, although it is at the same time one of the parties interested."

Public Law and Private Law Public Law, again, has been divided by Holland into (1) Constitutional Law; (2) Administrative Law; (3) Criminal Law; (4) Criminal Procedure; (5) the law of the state considered in its quasi-private personality; and (6) the procedure relating to the state so considered.

Divisions in Public Law

IV. The Rule of Law vs. Administrative Law

Principles of the Rule of Law

The fundamental principles of the Rule of Law as stated by Dicey are : (1) "No man is punishable or can lawfully be made to suffer in body or goods except for a distinct breach of law established in the ordinary legal manner before the ordinary courts." (2) "The rules which in foreign countries naturally form part of a constitutional code, are, in English-speaking states, not the source, but the consequence of the rights of individuals, as defined and enforced by the courts." Thus, this Rule places the judiciary not only in a condition of freedom from interference on the part of the executive, but also in respect of all the members of the executive. (3) The third Rule makes this superiority clear. "Every official from the Prime Minister down to a constable or a collector of taxes is under the same responsibility for every act done without legal justification as any other citizen."

Three principles of the Rule of Law

The Rule of Law effectively protects individual liberty. No person can be arrested, coerced or imprisoned in any manner which is not justified by the law. If any person feels that he has been wrongly arrested, he can take action against the person who has put him under arrest. If his contention is upheld by the court, the wrong-doer shall be punished and shall have to pay damages. As there is no Administrative Law in England, the wrong-doer cannot be protected by virtue of his official position. The Habeas Corpus Act is another bulwark of individual liberty. If a person is unlawfully arrested by the executive government, the court will, on the application either of the prisoner or of some person acting on his behalf, order the person who is alleged to have kept the aggrieved person in restraint to produce him before the court, so that a proper trial may be held. But in times of national danger or political excitement Parliament suspends the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act and then a person may be detained in prison on mere suspicion.

How individual liberty is protected by it

The Monarch seems to be an exception to this rule, because he can do no wrong. But as nearly every official act of the Monarch is done through some agents, who are personally responsible for the legality of the acts they do, this exception is mere apparent than real. In recent times, the Rule of Law has been much modified both in England and in the United States of America. The following tendencies in recent developments in England show that side by side with the Common Law Courts, Administrative Courts are gradually being evolved. (i) The Public Authorities Protection Act of 1893

Limitations of the Rule of Law

provides for the protection of officials from being sued. Similarly the Customs Consolidation Act of 1876, the Lunacy Act of 1890 and the Criminal Justice Act of 1925 protect certain classes of officials from being sued in ordinary courts. (ii) Certain classes of officers such as Judges, Justices of Peace, Customs and Excise officers enjoy special immunity from the consequences of their acts at Common Law. (iii) Legislatures in great industrial communities, like Britain, U. S. A., Germany and France are so much burdened with law-making in different matters that they cannot compile statutes in such detail as to meet every possible contingency in operation. The result is that "administrative bodies not only find themselves compelled to undertake judicial duties, but also to perform them in such a way that the courts are excluded from scrutiny in their operations." In England, it has been decided that, if no particular method is detailed in a statute, the government department concerned with its execution may adopt what procedure it thinks best without interference from the Courts. The National Insurance Act of 1911 establishes a body of Insurance Commissioners appointed by the Treasury who have got the judicial authority to decide all questions arising out of the claim of workman. Similarly, in the United States, it has been decided by the highest Court that "the decisions of the Secretary of Labour in all immigration cases are final." (iv) The head of a government department is not responsible for the official act of his subordinates. Had he been a private citizen under the same circumstances he would have been liable for the action of his subordinates.

Droit Administratif

The French word 'Droit Administratif' refers not only to the law covering the relation of the administrative authorities towards private citizens, but also to the whole of the public law relating to the organisation of the state. The word is translated into English as Administrative Law, but the English word is generally used in the former restricted sense. Administrative Courts exist not only in France but also in Germany, Italy and Switzerland. In France, there are two distinct sets of courts—judicial courts and administrative courts. The judicial courts decide criminal cases and cases of private law, while the administrative courts try cases between the government and its officials, or between private citizens and government officials. The administrative courts are guided not by the Common Law but by the regulations and procedure known as Administrative Law.

Alleged defects of Administrative Law and Courts

Dicey observes that in states where Droit Administratif prevails the ordinary law courts have no jurisdiction in matters

at issue between a private person and the state. (He further points out that the most despotic characteristic of Droit Administratif lies in its tendency to protect officials. Lowell also observes that in France "the government has always a free hand and can violate the law if it wants to do so without having anything to fear from the ordinary courts.") A critical study of the recent developments of the Administrative Courts shows that all these charges against them are wide of the mark.

/(It would be a mistake to think that in countries where Droit Administratif prevails there is no protection of the individual against public officials.) Various measures have been adopted to secure individual liberty against official encroachments. The jurisdiction of administrative courts over official action does not extend to all cases. Measures to protect individual liberty } "The ordinary courts have", observes Goodnow, "as a result of statutory provision, the entire control of the matter of expropriation or the exercise of the right of eminent domain. Again, arrests made by the administration are under the control of the ordinary courts as a result of the penal code. It is true also that where the government or a department of the government becomes a party to an ordinary commercial contract the jurisdiction is in part given to the ordinary courts." The ordinary law courts possess the right of passing judgments upon the legality of regulations and ordinances issued by the executive authority. In France there is an independent court entitled the Court of Conflicts, which decides in doubtful cases whether the Judicial or Administrative Department has jurisdiction. To secure impartiality this court is composed of nine members—three chosen by the highest Judicial court (the Court of Cassation), three by the highest administrative court (the Council of State), two more chosen by these six and the Minister of Justice. All the members except the last hold office for three years. Lastly, the clear distinction between "a fault of service" and "a personal fault," on the part of the official, protects the citizens against the evil consequences of too much official zeal.

In conclusion, we may state that inspite of differences in legal attitude, constitutional states in modern times do not greatly differ in the ultimate rights secured to citizens through the Judicial department. Individual liberty secured in every constitutional state

V. The Sources of Law and the Stages in its Evolution

Custom has been the earliest means of social regulation. Custom has not grown in any community by a conscious effort, but by an imperceptible process of growth as a reflex from the feelings of order, justice, and utility that existed in the minds

of the people. But as social relations became complex custom failed to provide with sufficient promptness the new rules for the regulation of new interests as they arose. Cases in which customary law was inapplicable were referred to for decision to those whose judgments would be weighty and acceptable.

In the earliest communities Custom and Religion were indistinguishable. In early times religion was the one conclusive motive and sanction of all social order. The functions of father, chief and king were based upon deeply religious conceptions. The early law of Rome was little more than a body of technical religious rules, a system of means for obtaining individual rights through the proper carrying out of certain religious formulæ. But as in customary so in religious law, necessity arose with the complexity of society for adjudication of rights.

✓ It is the judge who applied the customary and religious laws to particular cases. But when different tribes began to come in contact with one another, there arose conflicts between their customs. The wisest men in the community decided such cases of conflict by analogy from old customs, and by strained constructions. Their decisions were accepted not only for the particular case in question but for all similar cases. These became judicial precedents and consequently a source of law.

With the growth of society new cases of conflict began to arise. Rules that have been definitely established were not applicable in certain cases, and if they were applied strictly, they failed to satisfy the better sense of justice that had developed in the minds of the people. In such cases judgments had to be delivered according to common sense or fairness. Such judgments became known as Equity. Sir Henry Maine has defined Equity as "any body of rules existing by the side of the original civil law, founded on distinct principles and claiming incidentally to supersede the civil law in virtue of a superior sanctity inherent in those principles."

✓ The writing of jurists or scientific commentators of the legal science often prove to be a source of law. Their opinions are advanced as arguments and not as decisions. But "the authority of the commentators is established, just like a judge-made decision, by frequent recognition."

The most important and prolific source of law is for us of the modern time, the deliberate formulation of new laws by the legislative organ of government. But the state entered into this field in comparatively recent times.

"We may say, indeed," observes Willoughby, "that until the seventeenth century A.D. the law-making powers of government were exercised almost solely in the field of public and administrative law; the private relations between subjects being left to the control of custom and courts, or to local administrative agents acting in their judicial capacities.

It has been said that 'in the development of law, custom is the conservative element, and legislative enactment the radical. The chief function of custom is to maintain the status quo. Old customs have proved their utility by maintaining the balance in the social constitution. But Custom vs. }
Legislative }
enactment } customs become sometimes inconsistent with the spirit of the time. In such cases legislative enactment should provide rules consistent with newer social needs. Laws, however, should not be invented, in the sense that they should not be far in advance of what is recognised as usual by the general conscientiousness of the people. The Indian Legislature enacted the Sarda Bill, prohibiting the marriage of girls below 14 and of boys below 18; but the law has remained a dead letter mainly because it is far in advance of what is recognised by the masses to be necessary and useful.

Thus we have seen that "custom is the earliest fountain of law but religion is a contemporary, an equally prolific, and in same stages of national development an almost identical source. Adjudication comes almost as authority Conclusion itself, and from a very antique time goes hand in hand with Equity. Only legislation, the conscious and deliberate origination of law, a scientific discussion, the reasoned development of its principles, await an advanced stage of growth in the body politic to assert their influence in law-making"—(Wilson).

VI. Development of Law in the West

The western countries have derived their legal system from two sources—the Roman and the Teutonic. The system of custom and law brought in by the Teutonic invaders of the Roman Empire merged into the Roman system Two sources
of Law which they found prevalent and this fusion has given rise to the legal system of the West.

At first Roman Law was only a body of ceremonial and semi-religious rules governing the relations of the privileged patrician gentes to each other and to the public magistrates. It was not known to the masses or the plebeians. In Roman Law course of time the plebeians grew discontented and at their demand the celebrated Twelve Tables were published. The Twelve Tables became the corner-stone of the whole structure of Roman Law. The Tables were interpreted to suit new cases

by the Pontiffs and thus the Roman Law began to grow. Then in the middle of the fourth century B. C. the office of the Praetor was created. The Praetor used to announce some new rules of adjudication at the beginning of his year of office. Through the successive edicts of Praetors the Roman law attained an immense growth. When foreigners in large number began to settle in Rome and Rome began to make conquests, the post of a new Praetor for foreigners was created. This officer applied principles which were common to all nations. These principles became known as the *Jus Gentium*. It was "that part of the private law of Rome which was essentially in accordance with the private law of other nations."

Jus Gentium The Stoic philosophers connected the general principles of *Jus Gentium* with the Law of Nature and thus imported to the former a new dignity. The Roman law received also an immense theoretical development from the private jurists. Under the empire the jurist consuls prepared the imperial edicts and decisions. Lastly, the Roman laws were codified by Theodosius in the 4th century A. D. and by Justinian in the 6th century A.D.

Private Law The great gift of these codes was the Private Law which made "wide and scientific provision for the establishment, recognition, and enforcement of individual rights and contract duties."

The Teutonic tribes, the Goths, Franks, Lombards etc., invaded the western Roman Empire in the fifth century A. D. They had no unified law like that of Rome; each tribe had its own law. The principle which obtained among the Teutonic tribes was that each man must be judged and given his right by his own native law, according to the custom of his own people.

Personal Law Every person was judged by his 'personal law'. In pursuance of this principle the invaders allowed the Roman citizens to continue under their own law. The result was that in one territory and under one ruler several systems of law continued to be observed.

The advent of feudalism changed the 'personal law' into 'territorial law.' Over the domains of each lord a particular system of law came to prevail. In the Middle Ages the Teutonic customs were greatly influenced by the Roman law. Several causes contributed to the diffusion of the Roman law in western Europe.

Causes of the diffusion of Roman Law The Roman law began to be systematically studied by competent scholars in the twelfth century. Schools of law sprang up in Italy and drew to them students from all parts of Europe. These students, being trained, returned to their homes with a strong bias for Roman law. The Catholic Church took over from the Roman law conceptions of free contract, individual ownership and succession by

will. The Church organised a set of her own courts in which these principles were recognised and her priests, as counsellors, of kings and compilers of codes, introduced these in the feudal society. Thirdly, the Teutonic kings prepared their own codes in the light of Roman law. The rules of Roman law were more and more consciously and skilfully fitted into the growing law of the kingdoms, which were emerging from the feudal systems. The rulers accepted as much of the Roman principles as possible, because these were conducive to the growth of despotism. The method by which Roman law was introduced was not by legislation, but by the decision of cases in the royal courts. Except in England, Roman and Teutonic laws were amalgamated. Roman law exerted a direct influence on Code Napoleon (1804). Through French influence it was spread in Holland, Italy, Spain and many German states.

Amalgamation of Roman and Teutonic laws

In England, the native law kept the Roman law out. England is separated from the continent by the English Channel and she led more or less an isolated life. Moreover, under the strong and unifying rule of the Norman and Plantagenet kings English judges were able to put together a consistent system of English law. So England did not feel any need of a foreign jurisprudence. But it would be wrong to say that England has been altogether immune from the legal influence of Rome. Her borrowings from Roman law have been of form and method rather than of substance. In conclusion, it may be stated that Teutonic principles predominated in public law ; Roman principles in private law.

Why did Roman Law fail to enter England

VII. Law and Morality

(1) Law and Ethics are closely connected, but at the same time they differ in their content, sanction and definiteness. The province of Ethics is the whole life of man, his thoughts and motives as well as his actions. Law is concerned with the outward acts of man. Even of these acts, only those which affect the welfare of men in society, are controlled by law. Falsehood, ingratitude, jealousy, meanness are all immoral, but they are not illegal, except when they lead to a breach of law and actual injury to others. A man may be a habitual liar but unless he breaks a contract he does not come within the jurisdiction of law. Thus the scope of Ethics is much wider than that of law.

Law is concerned with the outward acts only

(2) Moral rules are enforced by individual conscience and by the disapproval of public opinion. But Law is enforced by the state. Thus we see that Law is a matter of force, its breaches being punished by the power of the state ; but morality can not be forced. There

Law is a matter of force

are, of course, some classes of actions which, while possible of legal enforcement, are better left to the individual conscience. If these are enforced by law, man's feeling of moral obligation would be lessened. Moreover, law regulates outward conduct only so far as workable and uniform rules can be found for its regulation.

In spite of the differences noted above, Law and Morality are inherently connected. Both arose from the habit and experience in the primitive social life, when no distinction was made between the two. Even after the differentiation between law and morality, many points of contact remain. Both Political Science and Ethics deal with man as a moral agent in society.

"Ethics," says Sidgwick, "is connected with politics so far as well-being of any individual man is bound up with the well-being of his society." Law tries to conform to wide-spread moral ideas of a community. Child marriage was prevalent in India; now the enlightened morality of the educated classes find that it is morally wrong; so they made agitation for its abolition. The result is the Sarda Act. But if laws move far in advance of the moral standards of the people for whom they are meant, they would not be observed. Drinking was considered by a minority of Americans to be wrong, so they secured the passing of a law, prohibiting the selling of wine in the United States of America. As the majority of Americans did not accept this view, selling of wine could not be prevented there. Conversely, a body of law is becoming constantly inapplicable owing to the change in moral ideas. Observance of the Sabbath day is recognised by law in most of the Christian countries, but it is not generally observed and the non-observance is not punished by law. "Only such law as has the support of moral sentiment will be respected and obeyed, or, if necessary, efficiently enforced."

Points of
contact
between
Law and
Ethics

R VIII. Is the Law above the State ?

Jurists of the positivist school and writers like Duguit, Krabbe and Laski hold varying theories of the relations of the state to law. The former regard state-enforcement as the distinctive feature of law. According to them the state is the only source of law and hence law can never be above the state. The state possesses the monopoly of coercion and only those rules deserve the name of law which have political coercion behind them. But Duguit contends that the state as such has no essential connection with law because the state is merely a body of men inhabiting a definite territory, in which the strong impose their will on the

Is law
independent
of state?

weak. The sanctions for political commands are simply the physical penalties the rulers are in a position to apply to those who dare to disobey. On the other hand, laws are those rules of conduct which normal men know that they must observe in order to preserve and promote the benefits derived from life in society. The sanction for law is not coercion but psychological awareness among normal men that they must observe certain rules of conduct in order to preserve and promote the benefits derived from life in society. Law is much more comprehensive than the state and if the state violates any of the rules of social solidarity, it acts unlawfully.

But there is no unanimity in any community regarding the standards of right. If every individual is to be guided simply by his own sense of right, there cannot exist any community at all. Krabbe tries to solve this difficulty by stating that the legal obligation is dependent on the majority's sense of right. "If," he writes, "the members of a community differ regarding the rules to be followed, those rules which are desired as rules of law by a majority possess a higher value—assuming a qualitative equality of members in their sense of right." The statutes enacted by popularly elected legislative bodies reflect this sense of right. Judicial tribunals modify the written laws in accordance with the majority's sense of right. If a legislature does not really represent the people or if it misinterprets what the people's sense of right demands, revolution or the modification of statutory by unwritten law will bring law in conformity with the majority's sense of right.

Laski also holds that the law is above the state. In certain critical moments of history, people have defied the existing political authority and raised the standard of revolution in pursuance of ends higher than peace and order. Those who resisted Charles I in 1642, Louis XVI in 1789, or Nicholas II in 1917, were, according to Laski, defiant of the state but faithful to the law above the state. He contends that the essence of the law-making process is the consent of interested minds and the source of law is in the individual consenting mind. "Law is not merely a command," he writes, "it is also an appeal. It is a search for the embodiment of my experience in the rule it imposes. The best way, therefore, to make the search creative, is to consult me who can alone fully report what my experience is. There can be no guarantee that law will be accepted save in the degree that this is done. Legal right is so made as the individual recipient of a command invests it with right; he gives in his sanction by relating it successfully to his own experience. When that relation cannot be made, the authority of law is always in doubt." The state, accordingly, is entitled to obedience only

to that extent as it represents adequately the interests of the individuals, territorial groups, and functional associations affected by its laws.

These varying theories regarding the relations of the state to law are due to the variety of meanings attached to the term 'law'. Those who hold that laws are rules backed by the comprehensive and compulsive social institution called the state, naturally deny the superiority of law over the state. On the other hand, those who apply the term 'law' to those rules which have at their back a sense of right of the community, or of the majority of right-minded persons in the community, or of the individual, deny that the state is above law.

Difference due to the meaning of the term law

IX. International Law

"International law is the body of rules which civilised states observe in their dealings with each other, these rules being enforced by each particular state according to its own moral standard or convenience." These rules are concerned with the conduct of war, diplomatic intercourse in times of peace, the rights of citizens of one country living under the dominion of another, the rights and duties of neutral powers in times of war, etc.

What is International law

The rules of International law have not grown in a day. The Amphictyonic Council sought to maintain peace among the city-states of Greece. In republican Rome the rules that guided the relations between states were known as *jus feciale*. The Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages tried to maintain a shadowy peace in Europe. After the reformation the Pope's claim to world-power was lost. Then various writers began to devise plans for maintaining peace.

Its origin

A Parisian named Emerich Cruce (1590-1648) formed a plan for an international council to determine disputes between the nations in his book entitled, "New Cyneas." The great French minister Sully prepared a similar scheme. Then came Hugo Grotius, who being appalled by the savagery of the Thirty Years' War set himself to think out the principles upon which laws might be based for mitigating the horrors of war. His book "Laws of War and Peace" laid the real foundation of modern International Law. He emphasised upon the sovereignty and equal status of all states. International Law was further developed by the decisions of eminent judges and the agreement of various international conferences like the Treaty of Paris (1856), Berlin Conference (1884), Hague Conventions. The Covenant of the League of

Contribution of Hugo Grotius

International conferences

Nations has supplied a compact body of rules for guiding the conduct of states in war, peace and neutrality.

The sources from which the rules of international law have been derived may be classified under six heads—(i) Roman law ; (ii) scientific treatises ; (iii) Treaties and conventions ; (iv) International conferences and arbitration tribunals ; (v) the municipal law of states and (vi) diplomatic correspondence. Six Sources

The Roman idea of Jus Gentium provided a positive basis of a system of law common to all nations and emphasised the idea of moral obligations as equally binding on all states. Jus Gentium

The writings of great jurists like Hugo Grotius, Pufendorf, Leibnitz, Wolf and Vattel have reduced to a logical system the rules adopted by states in their external dealings. Among modern writers of International Law the names of Woolsey, Lawrence, Hall, Oppenheim and Garner may be mentioned. Statesmen refer to opinions of these writers as authoritative. Writings of Publicists

International Law derives its binding force from the consent of states. So the treaties and conventions agreed upon by a large number of states form an important source of International Law. Treaties

The decisions of International conferences and arbitration tribunals are generally accepted by the nations concerned. These now form a valuable part of International Law. In recent times the Hague Conferences and Washington and Lusanne Conferences have contributed valuable principles to International Law. International conferences

Laws which are formulated and enforced by the authorities within a particular state are known as the municipal law of the state. In each state there exist laws relating to questions of citizenship and naturalisation, neutrality, tariff, extradition, army and navy regulations etc. These laws affect the interests of other states also. The decisions of admiralty courts in cases of capture of ships etc., are based mostly on International Law. These decisions are sometimes taken as authoritative in International Law. Some parts of the diplomatic correspondence in the Foreign offices of states are published. These give a basis for future international action. Municipal laws

According to the Austinian conception of Law, International law cannot be recognised as Law. To Austin, Law is that body of rules for human conduct, which is set and enforced by a definite sovereign political authority. As international Law is created among sovereignties, there can be no superior power for enforcing it. If a superior power is established, sovereignty of the state would be destroyed. There is no sanction behind International Law

and International Law would be transformed into the municipal law of a world state. At present there is no force, no sanction behind International Law; each state ultimately decides for itself whether to obey it or not in a particular case. Had it been as binding as the municipal law, Japan would not have dared to establish her authority over Manchukuo, nor to attack China without declaring war in August, 1937. From this point of view International Law may be called "a sort of international public opinion or customary observance, imperfectly enforced in an imperfectly organised world state."

✓ Sir Frederick Pollock observes: "International Law is a body of customs and observances in an imperfectly organised society which have not fully acquired the character of law, but which are on the way to become law." Many modern jurists, however, think that International Law has already acquired the character of law. Their contention is that the real sanction behind the municipal law is not force, but the common will underlying the legal principles. They hold that similar common will among peoples is the real sanction behind International Law. But it may be pointed out that such a common will has not grown up amongst nations.

Then again, the modern jurists point out that the Covenant of the League of Nations provides a code and an organisation to enforce it. "The doctrines of International Law," says Hall, "have been elaborated by a course of legal reasoning; in international controversies precedents are used in a strictly legal manner; the opinions of writers are quoted and relied upon for the same purposes as those for municipal law; the conduct of states is attacked, defended and judged within the range of International Law by reference to legal consideration alone; and finally it is recognised that there is an international morality distinct from law, violation of which gives no formal ground of complaint, however odious the action of the ill-doer may be."

{ Nature of
International Law

CHAPTER VI

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENS

I. Citizens in the modern State

The most fundamental element in the state is population, because without population there can be no state. The term 'population', however, denotes all persons living within the state, irrespective of their legal and political status. It is quite conceivable that a state would consist of persons held in subjection to others and of persons enjoying full civil and political rights and that it would give asylum to a number of foreigners. As a matter of fact, in Athens, the most democratic of ancient city-states, the slaves outnumbered the citizens. In all the states of mediæval Europe the serfs, dependent on the feudal barons, constituted the majority of the population. But slavery and serfdom exist no longer in any modern state. The majority of the population, in every modern state, whether under democratic or dictatorial form of government, consists of citizens.

Different
classes of
population
residing
in a state

Aristotle defined a citizen as one who has a share in the government of the state and is entitled to enjoy its honours. He had in his view the city state, in which all the citizens could meet at a place and elect the office-bearers. Such a procedure cannot be followed in the nation states of the present day. The citizens, however, can indirectly participate in the government of the country through their representatives in the legislature or by casting their vote in a *plebiscite*. Citizens have been defined by Vattel as "the members of the civil society bound to this society by certain duties, subjected to its authority and equal participation in its advantages." The supreme court of the U. S. A. observed in a famous case that "the citizens are members of the political community to which they belong. They are the people who compose the state and who in their associated capacity have established or subjected themselves to the dominion of a government for the protection of their individual as well as their collective rights." The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri offers a comprehensive definition emphasising the relation of the individual to the state : "A citizen may be defined as one who is a member of a state and tries to fulfil and realise himself fully within it along with an intelligent appreciation of what should conduce to the highest moral welfare of the community."

Definition
of 'citizen'

All these definitions point out that a citizen is not a passive instrument at the hand of the government. He must exert himself to find out what is conducive to the welfare of the body politic, of which he is but a part. He must try to live up to the ideal which has been set up by himself in his enlightened social conscience. In other words, citizenship in a modern state involves an action of 'will'. The citizens must be always vigilant to guard those conditions of life which are essential for the realisation of their highest ideal. They must not silently accept whatever is put forward to them by the government. They should get their voice heard and see that things are done according to their own determination. But the criterion of what should be demanded by them is not their own selfish good, but the good of the community as a whole. This demands a sense of responsibility from the citizens. They must have an intelligent grasp of the trend of affairs of the nation and must be prepared to give their unbiassed and independent opinion. In order to do so, every citizen must have sound education. Government must also make arrangements for the correct dissemination of news. In short, a citizen must have freedom and should be ready to perform the obligations associated with the exercise of his rights.

The population of a modern state consists of citizens and aliens or foreigners. The chief point of distinction between a citizen and an alien is that the former owes his allegiance to the state in which he resides, whereas the latter owes his allegiance to another state. The aliens may be living in the state temporarily or permanently; but in any case they enjoy the rights of protection equally with the citizens. They have the right to sue and be sued in the law courts. They must pay the taxes and local rates. If the government fails to use reasonable diligence to protect them from attacks in a riot, insurrection or civil war, they may take recourse to diplomatic interposition through their own government. Some states, as for example, the Union of South Africa, impose restrictions on the rights of aliens to acquire property. But the tendency of modern legislation is to accord to the aliens the same civil rights as are usually enjoyed by the citizens. But so far as political or public rights are concerned, an alien is not generally allowed to vote or to hold office. It may seem that the status of aliens is like that of a citizen who does not enjoy franchise. But this is not true, because a citizen, whether he is enfranchised or not, cannot be expelled from the state. An alien may be expelled on the ground of political expediency. The citizens are, and the aliens are not, liable to conscription into the military service.

Role of the
citizen in
the modern
state

Difference
between
citizens and
aliens

II. Principles Governing the Acquisition of Citizenship

There are two general principles governing the acquisition of citizenship of a state. The older principle adopted by the ancient Greeks, Romans and Germans is known as the *Jus Sanguinis* according to which the nationality of the child follows that of the parents or one of them. In feudal times, however, when idea of territorial sovereignty merged, the nationality of a person was determined by the principle of *Jus Soli* or *Jus Loca*, that is, by the place of birth irrespective of the citizenship of the parents. At present states like Austria, France and Italy follow the principle of *Jus Sanguinis*, and treat the children born abroad of citizens as citizens and children born of alien parents within the territory of the state as aliens. In England, the Common Law recognises the principle of *Jus Soli*. But a statute passed in the reign of Queen Anne provides that children born abroad of British subjects should be deemed to be natural-born subjects. Two principles of citizenship

Similarly, in the United States of America, there is a combination of the principles of *Jus Soli* and *Jus Sanguinis*. The Fourteenth amendment of the Constitution (1868) finally adopted the *Jus Soli* principle, and an act of the Congress of 1855 declares that all children born out of the jurisdiction of the United States of fathers who are citizens should be considered citizens of the United States. The citizenship law of 1907 requires from such children a declaration of intention of being citizen at the age of eighteen. (Thus we see that owing to the combination of these two principles in the United States and in England, children born abroad of citizens are treated as citizens and at the same time children born within these states, even of aliens are also regarded as citizens.) Laws in England and U.S.A.

Owing to the divergence of practice adopted by different states, Problem of double nationality conflict might easily arise with regard to the determination of nationality of a person. Suppose a child is born of French parents, touring in the United States of America. The child will be considered a French citizen because the French law follows the *Jus Sanguinis*, and at the same time he will be deemed a citizen of the U.S.A. because the latter state follows *Jus Soli*. Thus the person will have a double nationality. Such an anomalous position is avoided by two means. First, a state does not usually claim a person as citizen so long he remains outside its jurisdiction. Secondly, many states allow such persons residing within their limits the right to choose their nationality on attaining their majority.

As regards the comparative merits of these two principles it may be said that the *Jus Soli* is illogical but the place of birth is easily determinable. It is illogical in as much as

it determines nationality by the mere accident of the place of birth and does not take into consideration the political allegiance and cultural affinity of the parents of the child. In this respect *Jus Sanguinis* is more logical. But there are practical difficulties in the way of proving the parentage of a person.

✓ III. Modes of Acquiring Citizenship

Citizenship of a state may be acquired by one of the following ways, namely —

(1) Birth within a place subject to the jurisdiction of the state including an embassy in a foreign country or through inheritance from a citizen father.

(2) Direct grant or conferment of the state.

(3) Indirect grant or recognition of citizenship through other modes, such as marriage, legitimation, adoption, the purchase of real estate, long residence in the country, entrance into the public service of a state and the political incorporation of a foreign territory.

The first of these processes, namely, the acquiring of citizenship by birth has been discussed in the previous section. Of the other modes of acquiring citizenship the most important is that by formal grant of the state.

Naturalization

The mode of conferring citizenship by formal grant of the state is generally called naturalization. Prof Garner observes

“Naturalization in the wider sense includes the bestowal of citizenship on an alien in any manner whatever, whether through legitimation, adoption, the naturalization of the children through the naturalization of the parent, the naturalization of a woman through marriage to a citizen, naturalization through the purchase of real estate, through service in the army or navy or the civil service, through the operation of the law of domicile, or through annexation of foreign territory, etc.” In its narrower sense, however, it refers to the granting of citizenship by a court or an administrative officer on the fulfilment of certain prescribed conditions by the applicant. In the United States the power to naturalize belongs to certain judicial tribunals. In Austria, France, Hungary and Portugal the higher administrative authorities are empowered to naturalise aliens. In England, the right to grant or withhold the certificate of naturalization is exercised by one of the principal secretaries of state.

The conditions which must be fulfilled before acquiring citizenship differ from state to state. But generally the following conditions are insisted on :—

✓ A period of residence within the jurisdiction of the State. In the United States, Hungary, Great Britain, Japan and the Netherlands, this period is five years. In Japan, if the wife of the applicant is a Japanese woman this period is not required. In Austria and France, residence for ten years is usually required before naturalization. Residence for two years only is needed in Argentina, San Domingo, Switzerland, and Mexico ; (ii) the declaration of an intention to become citizen is required in almost all the states ; (iii) taking of an oath of allegiance at the time of admission into citizenship ; (iv) the applicant for naturalization must have “behaved as a person of good moral character” ; (v) several states require security that the applicant and his family shall not become a public charge.

Conditions
of Naturalization

An additional restriction is put in the U. S. A., where only “white persons” and “persons of African descent” are entitled to become naturalized. Indians can acquire citizenship only by special acts or by treaty. The Chinese, Japanese, Burmese and Hawaiians are excluded. In addition to these, alien enemies, polygamists, and disbelievers in, or opponents of, organised government, or advocates of the assassination of public officers or members of organization or bodies teaching such doctrines are also excluded.

Racial
discrimination

Effect of Naturalization

The effect of naturalization practically is to invest the alien with all the rights of a natural-born citizen. The British Naturalization Act declares that a naturalized subject shall be entitled to all political and other rights and privileges and be subject to all the obligations to which a natural-born Englishman is subject except that when he is within the limits of the state of which he was formerly a subject he shall not be deemed a British subject unless he has ceased to be a subject of that state in pursuance of its laws or of a treaty stipulation. In the U. S. A. the naturalized citizens are not entitled to hold the offices of President and Vice-President.

British
Naturalization
Act

In England, a distinction is drawn between naturalization and denization, the former being granted by a Parliamentary Act, the latter by a grant of the Crown. This distinction, however, has become practically obsolete. In Belgium and France, a distinction is observed between “Grand” and “Ordinary” naturalization. The Grand naturalization alone confers full political equality with a person of native birth.

Naturalization
and
Denization

Other modes of acquiring citizenship

Citizenship may be acquired by legitimation by which an illegitimate child of a citizen father and alien mother is legitimized. In some states, as for example, in Mexico and Peru, an alien automatically becomes a citizen by purchasing real estates. If a territory is conquered and annexed by a state, the citizenship of the conquering state is acquired by the inhabitants of the conquered territory. It was by annexation that the inhabitants of Florida, Louisiana, Texas, California, Alaska and Hawaii became citizens of the United States. The inhabitants of Porto Rico, and the Philippines, the dependencies of the U. S. A., however, have not received the citizenship of the U. S. A. By marriage a woman generally loses her nationality and acquires the citizenship of the state to which her husband belongs.

Citizenship by legitimation, marriage, conquests and purchase of estate

IV. Citizenship in a Federal State

The inhabitants of countries having a federal system of government are generally vested with a double citizenship. They are citizens of the federal state as well as of the component unit of the federation. The one citizenship is general or national, the other local. The problem which arises in this connection is which of them is primary and original and which one is derivative.

Problem of citizenship in a federal state

Before the civil war in America, a school of writers held that citizenship of the United States was but the consequence of citizenship in some state. The result of the civil war, however, reversed this view. The Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution made the citizenship of the United States primary and original, and that of the state secondary. In most cases state citizenship is obtained through the acquisition of federal citizenship. But there are cases where the United States government has not conferred the rights and privileges of national citizenship upon a class of state citizens. Conversely, there are citizens of the United States, such as those resident in the territories, dependencies, and federal districts, who are not citizens of any particular state within the federation.

Controversies in the U. S. A.

In Imperial Germany, state citizenship was original and primary, while imperial citizenship was derivative and secondary.

Imperial citizenship could be acquired only through the acquisition of the citizenship of a state. This conception and theory emphasised the particularist tendency of the German states. Hence, under the present republican constitution of Germany the national citizenship has been made primary.

In the Swiss federation one must first of all be a citizen of

Germany

a canton and then he automatically acquires the citizenship of the federation. The act of naturalization is performed by the government of the canton in which the applicant is domiciled, and in accordance with its own laws, though the authorisation of the Federal Council is required.

Loss of Citizenship

Citizenship may be lost in a variety of ways. The most common mode by which it is lost is by the voluntary withdrawal of the citizen from the country of his origin and his naturalization in the state of his adoption. It is the general tendency of all governments not to put any hindrance in the way of renouncing the citizenship of a state. At first, England and the U. S. A. held the theory that a citizen could not of his own accord throw off allegiance for another. But in 1868 the Congress of the U. S. A. passed an act which asserted that "any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision.....which denies, restricts, or impairs the right of expatriation was incompatible with the fundamental principles of this government." In 1870, the British Parliament also allowed the citizens the freedom of naturalizing themselves in a foreign state.

According to the laws of many states acceptance of any post under a foreign government without the permission of the government to which the appointee owes allegiance, involves a forfeiture of citizenship. Citizens of Bolivia and Portugal lose their citizenship, if they accept a foreign decoration or title of honour. In some states, a person who deserts from the military or naval service is penalised by the loss of citizenship. In Latin America citizenship may be lost by judicial condemnation in certain cases. Absence for a long period, say, five or ten years, causes the forfeiture of citizenship in states like France, Germany and Hungary.

The process by which a citizen who has been naturalized abroad may be readmitted to citizenship is called reversion of nationality, repatriation and reintegration. This may be effected in France and Belgium by returning home and making a formal declaration of intention to reside there, and by establishing a domicile. According to the British and American laws a citizen naturalized abroad may resume citizenship only by following the mode by which an alien is naturalized.

II. Grounds of Political Obedience

Hobbes and Bentham hold that men obey political authority out of fear of punishment. Hobbes further argues that the

obligation of the citizen to obey rests on a contract. When men agreed to live peaceably together, they thought it prudent to create "a common power to keep them in awe and to direct their actions to the common benefit." Revolt, according to Hobbes, is a psychological impossibility because men do not desire to do anything which may infringe the conditions under which alone security can be guaranteed. So long as the sovereign is able to give security, his subjects cannot refuse to obey his orders, because disobedience would put them outside the community and the reign of law. But a contract presupposes a social sentiment in the form of a recognition of the need for rules, and a social disposition which is ready to observe such rules. The obligations of the citizen, do not rest on a contractual basis. The State exists to guarantee to its members the right to the good life. The enjoyment of this right implies a corresponding obligation on the part of the citizen to obey the laws and to contribute to the smooth working of society. "Hence the duty of political obedience" writes Joad, "springs from the recognition of society as a necessary organization for guaranteeing the fulfilment of individual rights ; or, more precisely, for guaranteeing to the individual the opportunity of pursuing those ends which he has a right to pursue."

Obedience is more natural to man than resistance and revolution. Resistance to the authority demands conscious efforts and self-sacrifice, which men do not like to undergo unless they are goaded to these. Men are by nature peaceful. They find it more convenient to carry out the orders of the duly constituted authority. "The normal man," observes Holcombe, "obeys the rulers of his state as he obeys others who exercise authority over him, partly because it is natural for him to do so, partly because he fears to disobey and partly because obedience seems to him reasonable."

Obedience is natural to men, because the 'associative tendency' is ingrained in their mind. Man cannot live alone. He is drawn to others by sympathy. He is moved by the herd instinct. If a sheep goes ahead, others follow him naturally without questioning. Such blind obedience is not uncommon among men. When we find that many men are obeying the orders we also begin to obey them. Moreover, we become accustomed to obey our parents, elders, teachers and those who are superior to us in knowledge, wealth or power. The habit of obedience is formed from our very childhood. It is not, therefore, surprising that as adults we should be prone to obey the political authority.

Fear also plays a prominent part in securing obedience from the mass of citizens. The organized power of the state, its armed forces and the police strike terror into the heart of some of those who think of disobeying the government. ^{Fear} Fear of detection and punishment deter some people from committing crimes. But the majority of men pay the taxes, serve as jurors, and join the militia not because they are afraid of the consequences of disobedience, but because they realize the benefits of rendering such obedience.

This brings us to the rationale of obedience. Reason tells us that order and discipline are essential for the maintenance of peace and for progress of civilisation. We may find some bad laws and institutions, but the best way of ^{Reason} putting an end to them may not be individual disobedience. It might be far better to try to convince the people of the evils of such laws and institutions and then to get them repealed by bringing upon the government the pressure of public opinion.

But submission to political authority is very often due to ethargy and indolence. The citizens become apathetic and find it easier to comply with the orders of government, however unjust they might be, than to offer resistance. ^{Indolence} If a large body of citizens obey the government in this spirit of apathy, liberty of citizens is sure to vanish away. The government degenerates into tyranny and crushes all manifestations of individuality. The citizens should obey the government, but the obedience should be of an intelligent nature.

VII. Duties of Citizenship

The basis of duties of citizenship is the realisation of the truth that as members of a community we share one another's life not only in social and economic affairs, but also in moral and spiritual spheres. The action or even the ^{Duty as highest freedom} thought of one influences for good or evil the life of others in society. He who is conscious of this idea and is able to determine his life according to the conception of common good is a good citizen. He finds no difficulty in performing all his duties cheerfully. Some of the civic duties are imposed, indeed, by law, but a good citizen realises the highest freedom in discharging all the moral and legal duties of citizenship, because true freedom implies the existence for every one the opportunity to contribute out of the richness of one's own experience to the furtherance of common good.

The state gives protection to the citizens and confers upon them various benefits, and in return for these the citizens owe to the state certain services or duties. These duties or obligations

no citizen can disregard without causing great injury to himself and to the state he lives in. The interest of a citizen is not something different from that of the state, because it is the body of citizens that constitute the state. The well-being of the state means the well-being of the citizens. Let us take a concrete example. Suppose the state is threatened by a foreign enemy. It is the duty of the citizens to take up arms in defence of the independence of the state. If the citizens neglect to perform this imperative duty, the state will be conquered by the enemy. If the state loses its independence, the citizens will be deprived of all their civil and political rights. They will become mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. Similarly, if the citizens fail to show that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty, they will become mere chattel in the hands of a despotic government.

In the categories of the duties of citizens, obedience to law stands first. Law is the basis of order and progress in any community. Even if the conscience of a citizen tells him that a particular law is bad, he must not disobey it, but try to persuade his fellow citizens of the badness of the law and put the pressure of public opinion on the government to have it changed. It is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain peace and order in the state, if every citizen takes law in his own hand. Most of the people are law-abiding by nature. If some are refractory or anti-social in their conduct, the government should force them to obedience to law by punishment.

Another important duty of the citizens is allegiance to the state. Allegiance means the whole-hearted service of the citizen to the state. Allegiance implies (a) service in war, (b) support of the public officers in the performance of their duty and (c) performance of other public duties.

It has already been explained why it is necessary for every citizen to take up arms in defending the state against foreign invasion. But a difficulty may arise when the state is engaged in an unwarranted aggressive warfare against a weak and unoffending state. Then a conscientious citizen may feel that it is better to rot in prison than to be engaged in killing innocent people. Here, however, a pacifist thinks that his conscience has a sanction superior to the opinion of the majority in the state. In all such cases of conflicts between individual conscience and the orders of the government, a thorough searching of the heart is necessary.

Every citizen should support the police and the legally constituted authorities in the suppression of riots and disturbances. The public officers can hardly control the disturbing elements in society, if the general body of citizens are apathetic in maintaining peace and order. A hearty

co-operation between the public and government is desirable so long as the government is responsive to the public opinion.

Holding of public offices is an important duty of an enlightened citizen. In the modern state most of the offices are paid indeed, but the pay attached to a responsible office like that of the Vice-Chancellor of a University or Member of a Tariff Board may be low in comparison to the regular earnings as lawyer or businessman selected to such offices. The citizen should not be reluctant to discharge these duties even at a considerable personal sacrifice. Offices like those of jurors, commissioners of municipalities or chairman of a local body have no pay attached to them ; yet there is no dearth of men to fill up these posts. This shows the sense of civic duty in the general body of citizens.

Performance
of public
duties

In the modern democratic states, most of the citizens both men and women, above a certain age, possess the franchise. Everyone cannot occupy public office, but every one, who is physically fit, can vote. It is highly important that the majority of voters should exercise their franchise. If a large percentage of people habitually abstain from the polling station, political groups and wire pullers find it easy to get their own nominees elected. Government rests on the will of the citizens. Unless the citizens express their will through their votes, they cannot complain if the government is not conducted to their satisfaction. Hence the duty of voting is not only a moral and political duty but it is also a necessary condition for the continuance of good government. Franchise should be regarded not merely as a right but also as a duty. The voter should vote for the very best candidate. He or she should not be influenced by any consideration of caste, creed, colour or selfish interests.

Obligation
to vote

Payment of taxes in time is another duty of citizens. No government can be maintained without money ; and money must be secured in normal times through taxation. If the rich and powerful hide their income with the idea of evading payment of Income Tax, the government will find it extremely difficult to maintain the standard of efficiency and the burden of taxation may fall more heavily on the poor. Prompt payment of municipal rates is not usually taken to be a bounden duty of the citizens in this country, and the effect of this is seen in the poor civic amenities provided by the municipal authorities here.

Payment
of taxes

VIII. Hindrance to good Citizenship

The excellence of a government depends on the capacities of its citizens. These are intelligence, self-control and conscience.

Without these qualities, no good citizenship is possible. But the average citizen is much below the required standard, for he is usually wanting in the one or the other of the qualifications.

The obstacles that stand in the way of the proper discharge of the civic duties are mainly three in number :—(1) Indolence, (2) Self-interest and (3) Party-spirit.

They are great obstacles in the way of the proper performance of civic duties. Duties which do not satisfy the individual self-interest of a man are seldom carefully attended to. In public affairs the spring of self-interest is absent. Hence public duties are sometimes neglected ; very few persons take them as imperative. Thus when a citizen finds that others about him can afford to do without performing their civic duties and that he is but a unit in a million, he becomes indolent. Therefore, it is no wonder that even the best men are sometimes found unwilling to exercise their right of voting or to serve on Municipalities, District Boards and other self-governing institutions.

Education and the press have done much, no doubt, to decrease indolence, yet there are several causes which tend to increase it. They are an indulgent spirit, vast size of the modern states, less independence in huge communities and other interests competing with politics.

Indolent spirit has fostered indolence in no mean degree. In ancient Greece no breach of duty, either by commission or by omission, was tolerated. On the contrary it was promptly punished. Hence a citizen had to perform his duties carefully and betimes. He could not overlook them. Sometimes, in order to perform them, he had to be stern and inflexible in his dealings with other citizens. Suppose a citizen proved unworthy of his office. The duty of a citizen would be to express his disapprobation of the citizen in office by words and deeds, to expose his faults, to eject him from his office and to punish him. But in modern times, the whole outlook on the duties of a citizen has changed. Manners having grown gentler and passions less violent, citizens have grown unreasonably indulgent towards one another even for their laxity in the performance of important civic duties.

The Greek city-states were small. Hence every citizen could take an active part in the administration of the state. The modern states have a tendency to expand and thus a citizen with a single vote is like a drop of water in an ocean. Yet it must not be thought that his responsibility in the administration of the state is becoming less onerous, because his share in the same is getting smaller. On the other

and, this responsibility increases in proportion with the power that the state wields. The most difficult duty of a citizen is to fight bravely for his convictions when he is in a minority. The task is difficult in proportion to the vastness of the community. Interests in various departments of culture, viz., art, science, literature, sports, trade and commerce, interfere with the discharge of the civic duties.

The indolence may express itself in any one or more of the following ways :—

Manifestations of indolence

In democratic countries, efficient administration depends, to a great extent, upon the proper exercise of the privilege of voting. The government rests on the will of the people, and unless the people express their will through their vote, they cannot complain if the government is not conducted according to their desires."

Neglect to vote

People who have leisure, wealth and brain should be in office to serve the state. But such men sometimes avoid public life. This can be ascribed more to their thoughtlessness than to any conscious indifference to the call of duty on their part.

Neglect to seek or serve in office

It is the duty of every citizen to help the government in putting down riots and insurrections and warding off foreign invasions.

Neglect to fight

Negligence in the performance of civic duty may be ascribed to the following causes :—

(a) Want of time and opportunity after their hard struggle to earn their bread.

Neglect to study and reflect upon public question

(b) Imperfect education which makes it impossible for them to form an independent opinion on any question of public interest.

Self-interest is a dominating passion with man and impels him to abuses which affect the efficient administration of the state. Some of them are :—Buying of votes. Candidates for high public offices sometimes bribe voters who vote for unfit candidates. Voters often elect their own men in order to avoid the burden of taxes and to shift them upon other persons, classes and areas.

Individual self-interest

Party-spirit is not altogether a bad thing. It brings in a spirit of emulation between the parties and helps, to a great extent, the efficient administration of the state. But it is not an unmixed good. It becomes dangerous when men blindly follow a leader with a view to seek their own interest and prestige at the cost of the public interest.

Party-spirit

IX. Natural Rights

The theory of Natural rights played an important part in the history of the western world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It fell into the background in the nineteenth century ; but a new orientation has been given to it by writers like Green, Giddings and Graham Wallas. The earlier political philosophers, especially the upholders of the Social Contract theory, explained natural rights with reference to the origin of society ; while the later writers interpreted it in terms of end or goal of society.

The exponents of Social Contract theory believed that the rights which men had in a state of nature were their natural rights. They conceived the state of nature as a state of affairs when society had not originated at all. Hobbes held that man has a natural right to enforce his will upon others ; but he has also a natural desire to live in peace with his fellow beings. It is this desire which goads him to make a covenant by which he gives up his rights to all things "which being retained hinder the peace of mankind." Locke, on the other hand, believed that the natural rights were not lost even when man entered society. The society, according to him, exists to guarantee the natural rights of individuals to "life, health, liberty or possessions." His idea is that the natural rights are the original powers of the individual—powers which are inherent in him, and existing independently of society.

Bentham denied the existence of pre-social rights. He held that rights only came into existence when there was a society armed with laws to guarantee them. He had nothing but contempt for the concept of natural rights. He made a clear distinction between legal rights and moral rights. According to him, a right is without meaning except when taken in connection with a duty. The term 'nature' is vague and indefinite. It may mean God, the whole universe, or that which exists independently of man : He, therefore, concluded that phrases like 'law of nature' or 'natural rights' can contribute confusion only in a rational system of political system. Bentham, however, regarded the pursuit of happiness as a fundamental natural right and tried to find out the means by which the happiness of the greatest number can be promoted.

Herbert Spencer believed that the most fundamental or natural right was that of the "free energy of faculty", by which he meant the right to the free development of one's personality. If the state failed to secure this right for the individual, he had the right to defy it.

T. H. Green, the idealist philosopher, explained natural rights not by reference to the original nature of man and society but by looking forward to what man might become in future.

The purpose for which God has created man is stated by Green as the complete realization of the best elements in man's nature. It is the business of the state to establish the minimum conditions in the absence of which the moral life cannot be lived. Green regarded these minimum conditions as natural rights. He sums up the theory thus: "Every moral person is capable of rights, i.e., of bearing his part in a society in which the free exercise of his powers is secured to each member through the recognition by each of the others as entitled to the same freedom with himself. To say that he is capable of rights is to say that he ought to have them. Only through the possession of rights can the power of the individual freely, to make a common good his own, have reality given to it. Rights, are what may be called the negative realization of this power." T. H. Green

Laski holds that freedom of speech and of association, a living wage, adequate education, proper self-government, suitable employment, and the power to combine for social efforts are integral to citizenship and "are natural rights in the sense that without them the purpose of the state cannot be fulfilled." Such rights are, according to him, 'outside the power of the state to traverse.' Laski)

R X. The Theory of Rights

A right is the claim by an individual or by a group or association which is allowed and confirmed by other individuals and other groups. Laski has defined rights as those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best. According to Green, the system of rights is the organic whole of outward conditions necessary to rational life or that which is really necessary to the maintenance of material conditions essential for the existence and perfection of human personality. Definition

Rights are thus necessary for safeguarding the development of personality of citizens. The justification for the existence of individual rights is that without these government, however carefully guarded or well-meaning it might be, is liable to degenerate into tyranny. The utility of rights consists in the enrichment of social life. Individuals constitute the society; and if there is an all-round development of individual life, the social life will automatically be enriched. Individuals can exercise rights only in the society. Rights, apart from social life, are unthinkable. But whatever an individual may think to be his rights may not be conceded by society. Utility of rights

Society will allow him to enjoy and exercise those rights which are conducive to the welfare of the society as a whole.

✓ Rights are correlative with functions. Society provides the conditions for the security and well-being of the individual so that he may make possible a contribution that enriches the common stock. Rights and duties are thus correlative terms. They are really the same thing looked at from opposite points of view. Every right implies a corresponding duty. The term duty here signifies two things. First, it means an obligation, which means demand enforced by law. In this sense even the position enjoyed by one may be regarded as involving either powers secured or conditions enforced which are one and the same thing differently looked out. My right to walk on the road involves the obligations of others not to obstruct me. By claiming a right in virtue of my position I recognise and testify to the general system of law according to which I am reciprocally under the obligation to respect the rights or rather the position and functions of others. But there is a difference between rights and obligations. Rights are claimed, while obligations are owed. Rights are claimed by a person and obligations are owed to a person. Secondly, rights are claims which are and ought to be enforceable by law and derive their imperative authority from their relation to an end which enters into a better life. All rights, then, are powers instrumental to the making best of human capacities and on this ground alone can be recognised or exercised.

Necessity of rights Socially one would not be able to develop his best in him without rights; and politically one cannot be a true citizen at all. We have rights to protect and express our personality and to safeguard our uniqueness in the vast pressure of social forces.

Dynamic theory of natural rights The end of the state is realised by maintaining the rights. Rights are not created by the state. "It is not merely as a member of the state," observes Laski, "that the individual has rights. His personality expresses itself in a hundred other forms of associations. Whenever men are banded together to perform a task that is part of the common welfare the body so formed has rights, as real and as compelling as the rights of the state. The community, so to say, is a federal process; and the division of power is achieved by the natural expression taken by man's gregarious impulse. To limit his rights to the single category which membership of the state involves is to destroy his personality and not to preserve it." The same idea is expressed by L. T. Hobhouse when he says that any corporate personality, "a family, a municipality, a company, a trade union is a possible subject of rights. We may even say that functions, or at any rate, the representative of

functions have their rights. Thus religion, patriotism, education in so far as they contribute to the common good, have a function to perform and a certain claim on society to maintain the conditions under which these functions are best fulfilled." Rights are prior to the state in the sense that recognised or not they are that from which the validity of the state is derived. They are those for the safeguard of which the state is created. The state exists to safeguard and guarantee the rights. The nature of the state, whether progressive or otherwise, is determined by the system of rights that it maintains.

The legal rights are the creatures of law and are enforced by the power of the state. They are not inherent but are acquired rights—rights created by the state. Legal rights may be divided into two categories—civil and political. Legal rights The civil rights are concerned chiefly with the protection of life and property. Every citizen is entitled to the protection of the state for his person and property against foreign invasions, against riots, insurrections, assaults and robbery. The law secures him his family rights, freedom of marriage, sanctity of home, sanctity of private correspondence, freedom of thought and speech and freedom of religious belief and conscience. Laski holds that it is essential for the development of personality that the citizens should have the right to education and right to employment. "Citizenship has been defined as the contribution of one's instructed judgment to the public good. It follows therefore that the citizen has the right to such education as will fit him for the tasks of citizenship. He must be provided with the instruments which make possible the understanding of life. He must be able to give articulate expression to the wants he has, the meaning of the experience he has encountered."

✓ Political rights are concerned with participation in the administration of the state. They consist of such rights as (a) the right of permanent residence in the country; (b) the right to the protection of the state, even if the citizen is staying abroad; (c) the exercise of the franchise; Political rights (d) the right to hold public offices. In the exercise of these rights, a citizen must subject himself to such regulations as will compel him to enjoy them consistently with those of others and with the welfare of the community he lives in.

XI. Content of Civil Liberty

Liberty implies the absence of restraint upon the existence of those social conditions, which are necessary for the development of personality of each individual. It signifies that an individual can choose his or her way of life without any prohibition imposed from outside. But man can develop his per

sonality only by living in society. A person sedulously isolating himself from others cannot find any scope for showing love, affection, friendship, fellow-feeling and compassion.

(Implication of c rty) (But if a person has to live in society, especially in a complex society of the present day, certain rules and compulsions must be maintained to prevent clashes between the diversity of desires of members of the community.) These rules and compulsions act as limitations on liberty no doubt ; but it is highly important to maintain a balance between the liberty we need and the authority that is essential. In defining the sphere of authority sufficient room must be left to the average man for the continuous expression of his personality.

There are three forms of liberty—liberty of thought, liberty of speech and liberty of action. Of these three, liberty of speech, including liberty of reading, writing and discussion is the most essential factor for the development of personality. If liberty of speech is safeguarded, liberty of thought would be ensured almost automatically. Again, if complete freedom of speech, reading, writing and discussion were granted, government would gain little by restricting freedom of action. In the Middle Ages the Catholic Church tried to punish those who held heretical opinion. The institution of the Inquisition tried to pry into the inmost thoughts of man. But thought, by its very nature, defies compulsion. Freedom of thought, however, becomes valuable only when it is associated with the liberty of expression

Freedom of speech and discussion are of utmost importance not only for good government, but also for the progress of arts and sciences. The business of those who exercise authority in the state is to satisfy the wants of the people. But they cannot be truly informed about these wants unless the mass of men are free to express their opinion. Nothing is more important in keeping the executive government within the strict limit of law than freedom of speech and discussion. Where such freedom exists, the executive authority is restrained from hasty and oppressive acts by the fear of provoking adverse criticism. If law is to be the mirror of public opinion, it must take account of the totality of experience and this is possible only when the experience of all persons is unfettered in its opportunity of expression. Nothing has been more common in the past than the punishment of heresies and unorthodox opinions. But it has been rightly observed that the heresies we may suppress to-day are the orthodoxies of to-morrow. "The world gains nothing", observes Laski, "from a refusal to entertain the possibility that a new idea may be true. Nor can we pick and choose among our suppressions with any prospect of success. It would, indeed, be hardly beyond the mark to affirm

that a list of the opinions condemned as wrong or dangerous would be a list of the commonplaces of our time."

Free discussion has ever been the parent of intellectual advancement. Without the right of criticising freely, there could not have been any scientific discovery and literary and artistic improvements. Freedom of ^{Its cultural value} discussion and speech "fosters a general intellectual tone, a diffused disposition to weigh evidence, a caution before hasty action, and a conviction which was wanted in the more fanatic world." Bernard Shaw in the preface to his play, 'On the Rocks', writes that it is the duty of liberty-loving people to secure "impunity not only for propositions which, however novel, seem interesting, statesmanlike, and respectable, but for propositions that shock the uncritical as obscene, seditious, blasphemous, heretical and revolutionary."

An important form of freedom of speech and discussion is the freedom of Press. Raja Rammohun Roy in his memorable Petition against the Press Regulation to the King in Council wrote : "Men in power hostile to the Liberty of the ^{Freedom of Press} Press, which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine, that it might, in some possible contingency, afford the means of combination against the Government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable, Your Majesty is well aware, that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed ; whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed force of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection."

Liberty in action consists of liberty of movement and settlement within the state, liberty of migration and the right to the protection of the state, freedom of forming association, and freedom of contract. Of these the freedom of asso- ^{Liberty in action} ciation is most important. In the modern world the right of the state to control the freedom of association in the industrial sphere has become a question of vital importance. The upholders of state authority argue that the trade unions should confine themselves to strictly industrial matters and must not be allowed to meddle in political affairs. It is also contended that the state can legitimately prohibit strikes by those whom it directly

employs, for example, post-men, and those who are employed in industries like Railway and Electric Supply, which are of vital importance to the community. The declaration of general strikes, too, is prohibited also on the ground that it is an attempt to coerce the government. But these restrictions take away the most essential feature of the freedom of association by workers. The workers are individually much weaker than their employers. It is only by going on strike that they can hope to secure redress of their grievances. "To limit the right to strike", observes Laski, "is a form of industrial servitude. It means, ultimately, that the worker must labour on the employer's terms lest the public be inconvenienced. I can see no justice in such a denial of freedom." In the political sphere, freedom of association, means the right of forming a party for promoting any programme which the members may subscribe.

Liberty in choosing the vocation is rightly considered as an important factor in the development of personality of an individual.

(Liberty in choosing vocation)

The society in which the status of a person is determined by birth or the economic position of his parents, does not allow free scope for the improvement of latent faculties of man. It should be borne in mind that freedom exists not only in the absence of restraints but also in the presence of opportunity.

XII. The Positive use of Liberty

Liberty would be meaningless without the removal of the causes contributing to the economic privation of the masses. Wealth is concentrated in every country except Russia in the hands of a few persons. These persons own and control the instruments of production. They hire the services of workers in producing goods which they sell at a profit. The unequal distribution of wealth produces grave social consequences. The young children of the working class cannot get good education. Consequently the earning capacity of the latter becomes much greater than that of the former and this perpetuates the inequality between the different classes. On account of the unequal distribution of wealth the productive resources of the community are employed to satisfy the less urgent needs of the richer class to the neglect of the production of goods and services which satisfy the more urgent needs of the poor. All true lovers of liberty believe to-day that men and women are truly free only when their bodies are free from want and their minds from external control. Freedom of speech, of writing, and of association should, therefore, be used not in a negative fashion but in a positive way to secure a rational system of distribution and a rational

{ Unequal distribution is hostile to liberty

system of education with protection against the insidious propaganda of the interested parties. The modification of the economic system can be brought about by peaceful means if the general body of citizens use their liberty with courage, determination and rationality.

R XIII. Limits of Liberty

The state exists to promote certain ends—the development of the right of every individual to conceive the good life according to his light and culture and the right to pursue it as he conceives it. Liberty is absolutely essential for the realization of these ends. But man can realize these ends only by living in an organized society or the state. In the society there are men of diverse character, inclination and aptitude. The majority of individuals are honest and law-abiding ; but a few have got anti-social tendencies. If the function of the state is to make possible the pursuit of the good life for its members, certain uniformity of conduct has got to be maintained. (If it is decided that all traffic should go to the left of the road, no one should be allowed to imperil the lives of his fellow citizens by insisting that unless he goes to the right the free development of his personality will be inhibited.) The anti-social tendencies of a few abnormal persons have to be checked and curbed for the welfare of all. But force of society is to be applied only when there is some overt act on the part of any citizen. Mere expression of an opinion or criticism of the government should not be punished.

Limitation
for main-

Mill in his famous 'Essay on Liberty' declared that 'the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection.' The state stands for promoting the interests of all. If it is found that a person or a group of persons is pursuing a course of action which is detrimental to the interest of many, the state should interfere with the liberty of action of those persons of anti-social tendency. In the sphere of conduct the state should maintain a minimum of decent behaviour on the part of all in order to prevent the few from preying on the many. In the sphere of economics it must check the blind results upon the many of the economic actions which are voluntarily undertaken for gain by the few. Social control of economic forces has become necessary in the twentieth century. The freedom of contract or of association has to be restrained when such freedom interferes with the economic security and protection of the majority of people.

For self-
protection }

An individual can have no right against the state. But it is of utmost importance to draw a line of distinction between the

state as a whole and the persons who exercise the authority of the state. If a particular class of men exercise that authority for the sake of promoting their own selfish interest, citizens should take courage in both hands and fight for their liberty against them.) But in an ideal state, representing the interest of all, no right which is harmful to the state can be claimed. The individual enjoys freedom of person, but in times of emergency, such as war or threatened revolution, suspected persons may be kept under restraint. Right to life is of paramount importance, but the state can inflict capital punishment on a dangerous criminal or may command an ordinary citizen to join the army in time of war. Similarly, the right of enjoyment of property is guaranteed to the individual, but property may be confiscated either as a punishment or for reasons of state. The citizen may make contract or form association, but if these are made for illegal or immoral purposes or for endangering the safety of the state, these will be made invalid by the state.

IV. Liberty in the Modern State

Liberty has declined in some states and disappeared from others. In Germany, in Italy, in Russia, in France, in Yugoslavia, in Greece, in Rumania, in Japan prisons are full of those who have committed no crime except that of holding views on political questions other than those which commend themselves to the political authorities in their state. The Directors who established their authority in these states arrogated to themselves a power over men's minds unprecedented in history. The tyranny they exercised was far more oppressive than the rule of any Czar, Sultan or Emperor. The Directors dismissed freedom of thought as useless, they prohibited freedom of association and imposed severe restrictions upon freedom of movement. The cause of liberty was eclipsed even in a country like England. "There have been more prosecutions", says Joad, "in England for the expression of opinions disliked by the Government during the fifteen years that have elapsed since the war than in the half century before 1914."

Various circumstances conspired to bring about the decline of liberty everywhere in the world. The development of science is making the world increasingly a single economic unit. As a result of this the effect of economic actions anywhere in the world is producing unforeseen results upon people unknown to those who have taken an action. The blindness of economic action and the growing size and complexity of the modern state frustrate the political consciousness

of the individual. He no longer feels that his opinions, desires and purposes are of any importance. As he finds himself politically negligible, he becomes either apathetic and indifferent to politics or works for a revolution with the purpose of changing the system which has squeezed him out. Neither sort of frame of mind is conducive to the maintenance of liberty.

The complexity of administrative organization in one hand, and the shrinkage of distance brought about by the wireless, the telephone and the aeroplane on the other, have rendered the devolution of governmental functions wasteful and unnecessary. Centralization of governmental authority has become the order of the day. Centralized government takes away the incentive of citizens to serve upon the local bodies. It becomes impatient of local differences. Under such a system the citizen is forgotten in the statistical unit, and scant attention is paid to the development of his personality.

Growth of
centraliza-
tion

Moreover, during the last thirty years crises after crises have arisen in the different states of Europe. In a period of crisis unity of purpose and unity of command become necessary. As criticism impairs unity and sows distrust, the voice of opposition to government is suppressed. In such an atmosphere liberty finds it extremely difficult to flourish.

Atmosphere
of crisis

Cheap newspapers, the cinema, the radio and the gramophone have made it possible to dominate the minds of the people from outside. These appliances are used by Governments to instill positive opinions into the minds of their citizens. The citizens cease to think for themselves. The grave consequences of this phenomenon are forcibly stated by Dr. Inge in the following words: "A completely mechanized society would be a servile state in which all spiritual and intellectual life would be strangled. The consummation of this type of polity may be studied in the bee-hive or the ants' nest."

The genera-
tion of
mass mind

XV. Guarantee of Civil Liberty

Civil liberty has got a negative and a positive aspect. In its negative aspect, civil liberty consists of "exemption in a certain sphere against encroachment on the part of the government, except in the legal method and to the legal extent prescribed by the state." In its positive aspect, "it consists of rights to exercise certain prerogatives, and to call upon the government to maintain these rights against any other individual or association of individuals." Public law guarantees immunity against government; private law against other individuals.

Two aspects
of civil
liberty

✓ Democratic government is essential for the continuance of liberty. Democracy is the only form of government in which, men are given a chance of making the government under which they live. As the democratic government rests on popular consent, it can afford to admit that it is not infallible and to welcome criticism. A dictator, on the other hand, not having the assurance of consent, cannot permit these liberties. Thus a dictatorship is forced by the very logic of its origin and existence to suppress the freedom of the citizens.

Under democratic form of government liberty is guaranteed to the citizens by adopting two devices—the declaration of rights and the separation of the judicial from the executive power. All the post-war constitutions contained declarations of fundamental rights in imitation of similar declarations in the constitution of the U. S. A. and France. The Weimer Constitution of the German Republic guaranteed freedom of speech and discussion, but at the same time provided that exceptions to this rule might be made by the authority of the legislature in times of emergency. Other constitutions also usually guaranteed civil and political rights such as the right to assemble, to form associations, the freedom of the Press, the inviolability of residence and freedom of movement within the state. In spite of the declaration of rights citizens of these states have lost all vestiges of their liberty. This shows that the fundamental rights, declared by a constitution cannot adequately guarantee liberty, unless provisions are made in the judicial system to give redress in case of infringement of liberty by the government.

✓ In England people attach more importance to the question of providing legal remedies for the enforcement of particular rights and for averting specific wrongs than to the question of declarations of the rights of man. The Habeas Corpus Acts of England have invested the judiciary with the power of curbing executive excesses and of supervising and controlling administrative measures designed to attack the personal liberty of Englishmen. Under normal circumstances any invasion on the liberty of the individual entails either imprisonment or fine upon the wrong-doer. But in India the writ of Habeas Corpus is not available to persons arrested and detained in execution of legal process. The law of Habeas Corpus is not also applicable in Bengal to persons arrested or detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Act of 1932 as amended up to 1934 and to those who are restrained under the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act of 1932 as amended up to 1934 and the rules made thereunder.

{ The Habeas Corpus Act in England and India

In the English Constitution there is no declaration of fundamental rights of citizens. But the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement and the Habeas Corpus Act make adequate provisions for safeguarding individual liberty. According to Rule of Law prevalent in England, there is no right which a citizen possesses which he cannot maintain in the courts of Law. Wherever there is a right, there is a means of obtaining redress for its infringement. In England and the U.S.A. the individual is protected from the executive encroachment by the judiciary which is independent of the executive in both the countries. But in recent years certain branches of the executive have been empowered to make regulations and try cases arising out of the infringement or non-fulfilment of such regulations. The civil service division of Industrial Court, the Commissioners of Income tax, the Home Secretary considering requests from aliens for naturalization are instances of the exercise of judicial power by the executive.

The Rule of
Law in
England

In England, no special constitutional provision exists for safeguarding freedom of speech and discussion. A legal authority has thus stated the English law : "Our present law permits any one to say, write, and publish what he pleases ; but if he makes a bad use of this liberty he must be punished. If he unjustly attacks an individual, the person defamed may sue for damages ; if, on the other hand, the words be written or printed, or if treason or immorality be thereby inculcated, the offender can be tried for the misdemeanour, either by information or indictment." If any person attacks another or the government unfairly, he may be convicted under the Law of Libel.

Freedom of
speech in
England

XVI. Relation of Civil Liberty to Law and Sovereignty

"Individual liberty", says Bryce, "is like oxygen in the air, a life-giving spirit. Political liberty will have seen one of the fairest fruits wither on the bough if that spirit decline." (But individual liberty does not mean the unrestricted right of doing

any thing a person may wish to do.) Need of the sovereign authority of the state to maintain civil liberty
a right would mean the negation of rights of others.) Civil liberty should mean, therefore, the utmost freedom of action that each and every individual can enjoy upon like terms at the same time, but he is to be completely unrestrained in his actions in so far as they do not interfere with the like freedom of his fellows. To secure freedom from interference of others an organisation and an authority are needed. That organisation is the state and that authority is that of the sovereign. It is the state which guarantees the immunity

from interference of others to its citizens. The guarantee is given by the fundamental laws of the state, which thus brings into legal existence the rights of the citizens. The sovereign or the absolute power in the state maintains these rights. Had there been no power which is supreme over the will of any individual or association of individuals, there could not have been any guarantee of immunity from interference of others for each and every individual. (Thus the apparently contradictory ideas of sovereignty and individual liberty are found, on closer examination, to be correlative terms. Liberty of the individual is dependent on the existence of a sovereign power.)

'Natural right' as equal to the right in a state of nature which is not a state of society is a contradiction in terms. There can be no right without a consciousness of common interest on the part of the members of the society. Without a society and consciousness of common interest, there can be only "powers", no "rights."

{ There can
be no right
without a
state

R XVII. Liberty and Equality *Inf.*

Equality does not mean that all men are equal in mental and physical powers. The newly born babes differ amongst themselves in weight and strength. As they grow older, their inequality in the qualities of head and heart becomes all the more noticeable. Such inequality may be partly due to the difference in the strength and vigour of their parents and to the environment in which they are brought up. But Nature seems to take delight in diversity. Two brothers, born of the same parents and reared up exactly in the same way do not attain the same level of physical and intellectual powers. Democracy cannot bring about equality in this sense. But it can assure to every citizen equality of opportunity to develop his or her potential capacities. It can give an equal right of access to the culture of the community and an equal right to training in all educational institutions. (Equality also means that every one should have the equal facility to express what he thinks in words or in writing. Such a facility is not to be monopolised by a particular class, sect or party. There should be also equal opportunity for everybody to combine and form associations whether to raise wages or to oppose the government or to improve the existing conditions. Above all, equality means that everybody is equal before the law and that no one is above it. In short, democracy postulates social, economic, legal and political equality.

✓ Some writers think that equality is incompatible with liberty. Lord Acton, for example, said that the passion of equality

'made vain the hope of freedom'.) This may be true if we interpret liberty to mean freedom to exercise one's powers and opportunities in any way one would like to do. But such an unlicensed freedom is extremely harmful to the general well-being of the community. Democracy, therefore, imposes a legal restraint on such actions of an individual as might prove detrimental to the interests of others. No modern state does allow any capitalist employer to do whatever he likes with his employees. Every government imposes a heavier burden of taxation on the rich for securing a rough sort of economic equality. Similarly, the liberty of the rich and powerful to seize political power is checked to a certain extent by the equality of voting power of all adult citizens

In fact, true liberty is far from being incompatible with real equality. One is complementary to the other. Liberty would be hollow without some measure of equality and equality would be meaningless without political liberty. Prof. R. H. Tawney has rightly pointed out that 'if liberty means the continuous power of expansion in the human spirit, it is rarely present save in a society of equals. Where there are rich and poor, educated and uneducated, we find always masters and servants.' Gross economic inequality is the deadliest enemy of liberty. The richer classes try to keep all the advantages to themselves through their power of the purse.

Liberty and
Equality are
complementary

Equality without liberty may mean the reduction of the vast mass of population to the uniform level of servitude. If the people are denied the right to vote, the right to hold meetings and form combinations, and the liberty to express their thoughts, equality will mean only a common subjection to the power of one or a few individuals. Conversely, liberty promotes equality and equality fosters liberty. History has shown that when a particular class is enfranchised, better opportunities for education and development of personality for its members are provided by the ruling class. Equality before the law also helps to bring about political liberty.

One fosters
the other

R XVIII. Public Opinion

✓ It has been well said that "the price of liberty is external vigilance." This vigilance is to be exercised by the general body of citizens. But the majority of citizens of every nation are so much engrossed in their own private affairs that they cannot pay adequate attention to public affairs. Without such an attention, however, the scope of civil liberty is sure to be curtailed by the Government.

Importance
of public
opinion

Government is kept steady by public opinion. Public opinion has no legal claim to obedience, but no sensible man dares to dispute its claim to careful consideration. ✓

Now let us see what public opinion means, how it grows and how it remedies the defects of election and the exercise of franchise. Lord Bryce has thus defined the nature of Public opinion—"The term is commonly used to denote the aggregate of the views men hold regarding matters that affect or interest the community. Thus understood, it is a congeries of all sorts of discrepant notions, beliefs, fancies, prejudices and aspirations. It is confused, incoherent, amorphous, varying from day to day and week to week. But in the midst of this diversity and confusion every question as it rises into importance is subjected to a process of consolidation and clarification until there emerge and take definite shape certain views, or sets of interconnected views, each held and advocated in common by bodies of citizens. It is to the power exercised by any such view, or set of views, when held by an apparent majority of citizens, that we refer when we talk of public opinion as approving or disapproving a certain doctrine or proposal, and thereby becoming a guiding or ruling power.") The opinion of the whole body of citizens may be called Public opinion, but the whole body of citizens are seldom unanimous on any matter. Public opinion, therefore, should mean that opinion which is held by a very large section of the people and which has for its object the welfare of the whole of society. The opinion, held by a majority, is not necessarily public opinion, because the majority might form an opinion without equal regard or reference to the interests and welfare of minorities.

Public opinion regarding a particular question cannot be properly ascertained from newspapers, because newspapers are generally organs of a particular party, sect or community. Public meetings also fail to impart a correct impression about public opinion, in as much as they are convened and attended by men holding a particular view. Elections too fail to express adequately the purposes of the people. The majority of voters are ignorant, indifferent or amenable to extraneous influence. Moreover, election largely turns on the personal merits of the candidates and not on the doctrines they profess. In elections opinions are counted and not weighed. The wisest and the most foolish are put on the same level. Hence, it is a very imperfect mode of expressing public opinion. According to Bryce, public opinion can be ascertained "by moving freely about among all sorts and conditions of men and noting how they are affected by the news or the arguments brought from day to day to their knowledge."

Political thinkers, journalists, legislators and people actively engaged in politics give sufficient attention to what passes in the political world. They ascertain the facts, correlate them and set forth the arguments for or against a particular question. A second class of people, who form a considerable proportion of citizens read and listen to these arguments. These people correct and modify the views of the first class. They really give shape to public opinion. The vast majority of unthinking mass only swell the volume of public opinion.

Three
classes
of people
forming
public
opinion }

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE

I. Definition of a Constitution

Three functions of Government Austin defines a constitution as "that which fixes the structure of the supreme government." The structure or manner of organisation of government depends largely on the arrangement and distribution of the three functions of government—the legislative, judicial and executive. Every state must have a collection of forms by which the legal relation between the magistracy and subjects is determined and in accordance with which the exercise of the power of the state is regulated.

Dicey's definition of constitution A system of laws and customs established by the sovereign power of a state to determine the formation, powers and mutual relations of the various bodies which exercise the functions of government is known as the "constitution" of the state. Hence Dicey defines a constitution as the product of "all rules which directly or indirectly affect the distribution or the exercise of the sovereign powers in the state." In popular use, however, the established form of government is called the constitution. The term is also sometimes used to designate an imaginary ideal, as when we speak of the theory of the constitution, meaning thereby some supposed principle to which the constitution should conform.

Fundamental principles of Government Lieber, in his Political Ethics, observes, "Constitutions are the assemblage of those publicly acknowledged principles which are deemed fundamental to the government of a people. They refer either to the relation in which the citizen stands to the state at large, and, consequently, to the government or to the proper delineation of the various spheres of authority. They may be collected, and may have been pronounced at a certain date, such as the constitution of the United States; or the fundamental principles may be scattered in acknowledged usages and precedents, in various charters, privileges, bills of rights, laws, decisions of courts, agreements between contending or otherwise different parties, etc., such as the constitution of Great Britain is."

Classification of Constitutions

Classification of constitutions is necessary for a proper understanding of the peculiar character of a particular constitution.

Constitutions were classified in ancient Greece on a numerical or quantitative basis. If sovereignty or supreme power is vested in one person it is Monarchy ; if in the 'few' persons, it is Aristocracy ; and if in the many it is Polity. Aristotle, the father of Political Science, added an ethical differentia to this numerical classification. (If the king rules for his own selfish advantage and not for the common good, monarchy will degenerate into tyranny. Similarly, if the 'few' rule for their own interests, aristocracy will degenerate into oligarchy ; and if the 'many' rule for promoting their own class-interest only, polity will degenerate into democracy.) Aristotle further points out that in the classification of constitutions the question of number is accidental, that of wealth is essential. Hence, if in a state the rich form the majority and if they rule in their own interests the constitution would be oligarchical and not aristocratic.

Classification in the ancient world

✓ Substantially the same principles of classification were adopted during the Middle Ages. The great English philosopher Hobbes, however, did not wholly approve of the Aristotelian scheme and made certain modifications in it. Neither the Aristotelian classification, nor its modification by Hobbes is quite satisfactory so far as the constitutions of the present day are concerned. Modern constitutions may be broadly divided into two categories, namely, democracy and dictatorship. Democracy is said to prevail wherever the ultimate political authority rests with the people. But in practice it is found that universal adult franchise alone is not sufficient to make the general body of citizens the real depository of political power. Some sort of equality in the distribution of wealth is absolutely necessary for the exercise of effective control by the people over the governmental machinery. There are, again, many points of difference between one democratic state and another. The type of democracy prevailing in England is not the same as that which prevails in the U. S. A. The democracy of Switzerland is quite different from that of England and America.

Modern Classification

Democratic constitutions may be divided into Federal or composite and Unitary or simple. A federal state is a union of several states, which retain their independence in home affairs but combine for national or general purposes, as in the United States of America or Switzerland. England, France, Spain and Italy are Unitary states.

Federal or Unitary

A second basis of classification may be found in the methods by which constitutions are altered. (If a constitution is to be altered and amended in a particular way different from that in which laws are usually made, it is called a Rigid constitution.) (If a constitution can be amended by the ordinary process of law-making it is called a Flexible constitution.)

Rigid or Flexible

In the English constitution alterations can be made in exactly the same way in which ordinary laws are passed. But in America it is very difficult to alter or amend the constitution. The American Congress has no power to alter the constitution of the United States, while the English Parliament can change the English constitution in any way it likes.) In other words, the English Parliament is the sovereign body, while the American Congress is not. A Rigid constitution must be a written one but a written constitution may or may not be Rigid. Constitutions modelled on that of England are written but not invariably rigid.

A third basis of classification of constitutions is the relation of the Executive to the Legislature. (If the Executive be subordinate to the Legislature the constitution would be Parliamentary; if the Executive be co-ordinate with the Legislature it would be Presidential.) The constitutions of Great Britain, Belgium and France belong to the former type and that of the United States to the latter type. The ministers in England are responsible to Parliament, while the ministers in the United States are responsible to the President, the head of the Executive. In America, the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary have co-ordinate powers and are absolutely distinct from one another.

Presidential
or Parlia-
mentary

✓ III. Written and Unwritten Constitutions

Some writers draw a line of distinction between the constitutions which are written and those which are unwritten. A written constitution is one in which most of the provisions are embodied in a formally enacted document or a number of documents. (A written constitution is the result of deliberate efforts to put down in a systematic form the broad principles of Governmental organization.) (An unwritten constitution, on the other hand, grows from precedent in course of time. It is made up largely of customs, usages, judicial decisions and a number of statutory enactments.) Written constitutions are made either by a constituent assembly or by the legislative bodies. It may be granted by kings and princes also.

The distinction between written and unwritten constitutions, however, is not based on any scientific principle. There is no constitution which is wholly written or wholly unwritten. The English constitution is said to be an unwritten one. But a large part of the constitution is already written. The Great Charter of 1215, the Petition of Right of 1628, the Bill of Rights of 1689, and the Act of Settlement of 1701 are important statutes which curtail ative of the king. Personal liberty of the subjects

Distinction
between the
two is
unreal

is guaranteed by the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679; the qualification for voters is defined by the Parliamentary Acts of 1918 and 1928 and the Local Government in England is carried on according to the statutes of 1835, 1888 and 1894. These and other statutes, however, form only a small part of the whole constitution. ✓ The exact political function of the king, the relations between the House of Commons and the Cabinet, the position and functions of the Cabinet, and the relation between the ministers and the Civil Service are not to be found in any statute. ✓ The English constitution is, therefore, partly written and partly unwritten. The constitution of the United States of America is said to be a written one. But there has grown up a large body of unwritten conventions round the written constitution. The constitution of the U. S. A. is contained in the official edition in 31 pages only; but many cases have been fought over the interpretation of the clauses, and when the clauses of the constitution are set down with these cases as many as 700 pages are needed. This shows how even the most elaborate written constitution expands by judicial interpretation and growth of conventions.

It is often said that a written constitution safeguards the liberty of subjects better than an unwritten constitution. But this is not true. The old German constitution was a written one, but it did not guarantee individual liberty. Individual liberty is protected, not by constitutional declarations but by the impartiality and independence of the judiciary. ^{Individual liberty and constitution} The distinction drawn between written and unwritten constitutions further misleads us to believe that all laws must be in a written form and there can be no customary law.

✓ IV. Flexible and Rigid Constitutions

A Flexible (or elastic) constitution is one which is, by its inherent nature, capable of change or modification by the same body and same method of action by which any other law can be passed, repealed or amended. That is, ^{Definition of Flexible constitution} a flexible constitution is one which possesses no higher legal authority than ordinary laws and which may be altered in the same way as ordinary laws. Thus a flexible constitution is identical with the unwritten constitution of the other classification. (The one notable example of this form of constitution is that of Great Britain, because the Parliament can change any law, ordinary or constitutional)

A Rigid (stationary or inelastic) constitution is one which by its inherent nature is with difficulty changed. It cannot be altered

by the ordinary legislature acting in the ordinary way. It is hard and fixed. (It can be repealed or amended by a special process and by a special way other than the ordinary legislature to which ordinary laws owe their being.) The written constitutions of the United States of America and France are rigid.

Meaning of
Rigid constitution

✓ The great merits of a flexible constitution are its elasticity and adaptability. Being alterable with the same ease and facility with which ordinary laws are changed, it can adjust itself to the new changing conditions of the society.

Merits of
Flexible constitution

It is particularly adapted to the needs of a progressive state. At a time when the popular passion rises very high and demands change in the constitution, it insures a legal means of satisfying the popular cry by meeting the same half-way without risking a wholesale change in the constitution or a revolution. That is, whenever any change becomes necessary, it can be readily effected without any great difficulty.)

A flexible constitution lacks in permanence, as it can be often twisted or bent so as to meet the emergencies or the changes in the popular opinion. It is more or less unstable and hence cannot be relied upon as permanently safeguarding the rights and liberties of the people, particularly in a community whose training has been imperfect or which is subject to fits of political apathy alternating with those of intense zeal for reform.

Its
instability

✓ The great merits of the Rigid constitution are, certainty, definiteness and stability. Its provisions being embodied in a written instrument with great care and deliberation, its alteration is very difficult. It cannot be bent and twisted according to the demands of the moment. Hence it is less likely to be affected by the violent changes of popular passion.

Merits of
Rigid constitution

The Rigid Constitution has certainly some drawbacks too. The most notable one is that if changes become necessary, they cannot be introduced except with the greatest difficulty. Hence when such a constitution does not suit the existing conditions, the temptation for violating the same becomes awfully accentuated.

Incentive to
break it

The distinction between a rigid and a flexible constitution is one of degree rather than of kind. This will be seen from the different ways of amending the constitution.

V. Amendment of Constitution

Amendment of the constitution becomes a crying necessity when any vital change of circumstances or development of new interests arise in the country. The constitution becomes a stumbling block to the growth of nation's life when it refuses to adapt itself to the progress of time.

Need of
amending
constitution

In the case of flexible constitution, every part of it can be expanded, curtailed, amended or abolished by the ordinary legislature with as much ease and as freely as other laws, e.g., that of Great Britain and Italy. The flexibility of the English constitution is said to be at once its glory and danger. The safeguard against any violent or abrupt change in the constitution in England lies in its "reverence for the laws", and in the conservative instinct of the race.

Amendment
of Flexible
constitution

In the case of the Rigid Constitution, it can be changed only by some extraordinary method of legislation. The constitution of the U. S. A. prescribes four possible processes of amendment

(1) Two-thirds of both Houses of the Congress may propose amendments, or (2) the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states shall call a convention for proposing amendments, and ratification shall take place by (3) three-fourths of the legislatures of the several states, or (4) by conventions of three-fourths of the several states. In practice, however, amendments have taken place by proposal by the Congress and ratification by the legislatures of the States. But the 'two-thirds of the Congress' has been interpreted as two-thirds of a quorum. A quorum is defined in the Constitution as a majority of each House. The procedure of amending the constitution of France is much more simple than that of the U. S. A. In France, the Senate

Method of
amending
the constitution in
U. S. A.

and the Chamber of Deputies propose an amendment by separate resolutions. If it is passed by an absolute majority in both the Houses, the Chambers meet together in a joint sitting, called the National Assembly. An absolute majority of the total number of members is necessary for the final acceptance of the amendment. In Australia, the proposal for an amendment must be passed by an absolute majority of each House of Parliament. If there is disagreement between the two Houses, the House proposing it may pass it again after an interval of three months with or without amendments offered by the dissenting House and then refer it to the electors for acceptance. Whether the two Houses agree or not the proposed amendment must be submitted to the electors between two to six months after the passing of the bill by one or both the Houses. If it is passed by a majority of all the electors voting and by the majority of states, it becomes valid. The constitution of the Dominion of Canada is amended formally by the British Parliament, but the latter does so only when the two Houses of the Dominion Parliament submit a petition to the king requesting for a specific change in the constitution. The British Parliament never refuses to amend the constitution when the Canadian public opinion demands it. If, however, the amendment

In France
Australia
and
Canada

~~proposed by the Dominion legislature is opposed by one or more Provinces, the British Parliament may and often does refuse to sanction it.~~

The procedure of amending the constitution in Switzerland combines the advantages of easy change with that of attaching extra majesty to the constitution. Separate processes are prescribed for total and partial revisions. One of the Houses or both the Houses may pass a resolution for total revision. Fifty thousand voters may also demand a total revision. Then the matter is referred to the people and if they accept it, new elections of both the Houses to prepare the revision takes place. In case of partial revision the proposal is made either by the two Houses or by petition of 50,000 voters. The proposed amendment must then be referred to the people and accepted by the majority of voters and by a majority of the Cantons.

CHAPTER VIII

FORMS OF THE STATE AND OF GOVERNMENT

I. Forms of the State

All states are alike in their essence. All must possess territory, population, government and sovereignty. Hence from the logical point of view it is impossible to classify states. The only way in which states may be differentiated is according to structural peculiarities of their governmental organisation.

Structural
difference
in states

Some writers have classified states from the standpoint of their physical elements, i.e., according to their size and population. They have thus divided states into "city state", "national state" and "world empire." But this is a mere historical description of states and not their logical classification.

Size is no
criterion

Well-known writers like Leacock and Garner have devoted chapters in their books to the classification of states. But Leacock himself quotes with approval the following remark of Willoughby:—"It need not be said that there can be no such thing as a classification of states. In essence they are all alike, each and all being distinguished by the same sovereign attributes."

Classifica-
tion of
governments
and not of
states

Garner divides states into monarchies, aristocracies and democracies on the basis of the number of persons in whom the sovereign power is vested. But this division falls more properly under the heading, forms of government, than under forms of the state. He again divides states into simple and composite, but in a foot-note admits that the terms "simple" and "composite" are in strictness descriptive of forms of government rather than of forms of state.

✓II. The So-called Mixed States

Many writers have conceived the idea of labelling governments in which the several features of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy are united in varying proportions as Mixed states. Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus and many mediæval and modern writers accepted this designation. The constitution of the Roman Republic, having consuls, senate and popular assemblies to represent the monarchical, aristocratic and democratic principles respectively is held forth as an example of the Mixed constitution. Similarly, the King, the House of

Meaning of
Mixed
States

Lords and the House of Commons in England are said to represent the three forms of government.

But modern writers like Lewis and Bluntschli have shown the absurdity of the term, 'Mixed state.' Thus Lewis observes,—
No Mixed state is possible
 "Monarchy is the government of one, aristocracy of more than one ; therefore, as a state cannot be governed both by one person and by several, it cannot at the same time, be both a monarchy and an aristocracy. Aristocracy is a government of less than half, democracy of more than half the community ; therefore as a state cannot, at the same time, be governed by more and less than half its members, it can not be, at the same time, a democracy and an aristocracy." Still less can it be governed by one, by a minority, and a majority of its members all at once " From the standpoint of the necessary unity of sovereignty, Bluntschli says,—“Such a mixture as this does not create a new form of state, for the supreme governing power is still concentrated in the hands of the monarch, or of the aristocracy, or of the people.

✓ III. Other Classifications of Governments

Up to the middle of the XVIIIth century the Aristotelian classification of governments held the ground. Then Montesquieu in his Spirit of the Law (1748) proposed a division into republican, monarchical and despotic governments. According to him, the Republican government is that “in which the people as a body, or even a part of the people, has the sovereign power ; monarchical, that in which a single person governs, but only by fixed and established laws ;
Classification by Montesquieu
 whereas in despotic government a single person, without an law or rule, conducts everything according to his will and caprice.” Rousseau classified governments into monarchies, aristocracies and democracies and sub-divided aristocracies into natural, elective and hereditary.

While accepting the three-fold division of Aristotle, Bluntschli adds a fourth form, namely, Theocracy, the perverted form of which is Idolocracy. He defines Theocracy as that
Classification by Bluntschli
 form of government “in which no human authority has been recognised, in which the supreme power has been attributed either to God, or to some other super-human being or to an Ideal. The men who exercise rule are not regarded as its possessors, but as the servants and viceroy of an unseen ruler. “In early societies, e.g. among the Jews or the Moslems the influence of theocratic societies was very great. But it may be pointed out that though the sovereignty may be imputed to God, yet His will must be humanly interpreted and enforced either

through a prophet or a body of priests. From the standpoint of political science and constitutional law that prophet or body of priests is or are the actual legal sovereign. Hence in Political Science there is no place for Theocracy, which must be treated as a form of monarchy or aristocracy as the case might be.

✓ The great American publicist, Burgess divides governments according to administrative principles and structural peculiarities. His four canons of distinction are:—(1) the identity or non-identity of State and Government. He uses the word government to describe the ordinary administrative and legislative organs, and the State to designate the body politic as organised in constitutional convention, or otherwise, for the creation of fundamental or constitutional law; (2) the consolidation or distribution of governmental power; (3) the tenure of office of public officials; and (4) the relation of the legislature to the executive, that is, whether the government is presidential or parliamentary. In accordance with these principles he characterises the United States Government as a democratic, limited, representative, federal, co-ordinate, elective and presidential Government. The government of England is at the same time democratic, aristocratic and monarchic, centralised, co-ordinate, partly elective, partly hereditary, and parliamentary. This division is rather a description than a classification of government.

Division of Governments according to structural peculiarities

The most scientific and practical classification of gov-
has been proposed by Sir John Marriot. Marriot finds that it is impossible to classify governments on a single principle and hence he adopts a three-fold basis.

Marriot's classification

(Modern governments might be divided into Federal or composite and Unitary or simple.) A Federal Government is one in which the constitution divides the powers of government into two groups and distributes them between a common central government and the various local governments. The government of the United States of America is an instance of a federal union composed now of forty-eight states. At Washington, this union has a central government upon which the national constitution of the country has conferred certain powers of general character affecting the entire country, and has left all other powers (with some express exceptions) to the states themselves so that the local governments may act independently in so far as matters of local interest are concerned. Thus while such matters as commerce, foreign affairs, war, coinage of money and the like, are under the control of the central government in the interest of the whole country, each state is left free to frame its own system of local government, to enact its own laws of marriage and divorce, the press, religion, education, business, labour etc. Thus it has two sets of govern-

Sphere of activity is well defined

ments—the one central and the other local. The central government is entrusted with matters which require to be uniform throughout the country, while each state or local government is entrusted mainly with the administration of matters of local interest. In other words, each of them has a well-defined sphere within which it can act without interfering with, or being interfered with, by the other. The United States of America, Switzerland, Canada and Australia have federal governments.

In a Unitary form of government the constitution itself does not divide the powers of government between a common central government and the local governments. In this system, the constitution confers all the powers on the central government which may in its turn delegate some of them to the local governments, reserving to itself the powers of withdrawing them at its discretion. In other words, the different local bodies in the state are at the mercy of the central government which can deal with them in any way it thinks fit and proper. The governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and most of the other states of Europe belong to this class. The counties, cities and boroughs of England, the departments of France, provinces of Belgium and Italy are all subject to the control of their respective central governments; yet they enjoy almost as much local autonomy as the American states.

Government may be classified as parliamentary and presidential in accordance with the relationship of the executive to the legislature. Leacock has thus defined these two types— in a parliamentary government the tenure of office of the virtual executive is dependent on the will of the legislature; in a presidential government the tenure of office of the executive is independent of the will of the legislature.

The Cabinet or Parliamentary system has for its organs of government :—(1) A titular Executive head of the State, either elected for a term of years as in France and Portugal, or hereditary as in Britain, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Greece and Norway. The titular head is not responsible to the Legislature nor ordinarily removable by it. He may be called President as in France, but as the real executive power is not vested in him, the form of government is not called Presidential. (2) A group of Ministers, virtually, if not formally, selected and dismissible by the representative Legislature, and responsible to it. This group is known as the cabinet. (3) A legislature elected for prescribed term of years but liable to be dissolved by the cabinet. The best examples of the parliamentary executive are to be found in France and England.

The Presidential form of Government may be best illustrate

by the constitution of the U. S. A. The Presidential System consists of (1) the President, who is the real executive head of the State. He is elected by the people for a term of years and is not removable by the legislature except by the rare process of impeachment. He is not a member of the legislature but entitled to address it. (2) A group of ministers, appointed and dismissible by the President. The ministers are not allowed to sit in the Legislature, and are not responsible to it. (3) A Legislature usually consisting of two Chambers, elected by the citizens for a term of years. It cannot be dissolved by the head of the executive. But the President can veto the laws passed by the legislature, which however can enact them by repassing them by a majority of two-thirds in each Chamber.

Characteristics of the Presidential system

The designation of this form of government as Presidential is not a happy one. "The word presidential government," says Leacock, "is somewhat a misnomer," since a presidential government may not have a president, and a country which has a president need not have a presidential government. Thus in Imperial Germany, there was no President, though the government was really of a presidential type. (Conversely, in France there is a president but the Government is not presidential. Dr. F. Strong prefers the term "fixed executive" to "presidential Government." He divides governments on five grounds: (1) The nature of the state to which the constitution applies—it may be unitary, federal or quasi-federal; (2) the nature of the constitution itself—it may be rigid or flexible; (3) the nature of the legislature—on the one hand, the principles of manhood suffrage and single-member constituency may obtain and the second chamber may be elective or partially elective; on the other hand, the principles of adult suffrage and multi-member constituencies may obtain and the second chamber may be non-elective; (4) the nature of the executive—it may be parliamentary or non-parliamentary; (5) the nature of the Judiciary—the Common Law or Administrative Law may be applicable to it.

Fixed executive

✓IV. Parliamentary and Presidential Governments

The Parliamentary type of government can succeed only where the Party system has been highly developed. When the Executive is supported by the majority in the Legislature, it can work with the maximum of vigour and promptness. The ministers by their presence in the Legislature can correctly interpret the will of the Assembly; and the members can by their right of questioning ministers call attention to any grievances felt by their constituencies or by the

Development of party system is essential

public. The close harmony between the Legislature and the Executive enables the Cabinet to pass through such legislation as it thinks necessary. If anything goes wrong people can fasten responsibility on the party in power. The Parliamentary system brings able men to the front and gives them a position from which they can prove their ability. When a cabinet falls, the transfer of power to another is a comparatively simple affair.)

But these merits of the Parliamentary system are balanced by serious defects. It intensifies the party spirit and keeps it to the look-out for discrediting the other. Much time is wasted in useless debates, which are protracted by the opposition with the hope of discrediting the cabinet. If the ministers are subservient to the members as in France, or to the Parliamentary caucus as in Australia, they lose the respect of the nation. On the other hand, if the ministers render the members comparatively powerless, as in England, the credit of the Legislature is lowered thereby. The stability of the Executive, under this system, depends on the strength of the Party system. In France, owing to the prevalence of the group system, the composition of the Executive is constantly changing, which is a bad feature in any government. "A system, which makes the life of an Administration depend upon the fate of the measures it introduces, disposes every cabinet to think too much of what support it can win by proposals framed to catch the fancy of the moment, and to think too little of what the real needs of the nation are; and it may compel the retirement, when a bill is defeated, of men who can be ill-spared from their administrative posts." — (Bryce).

The Presidential system makes provision for safety, rather than speed. The President being once elected, cannot be disturbed by the whims of the party feeling and the transient moods of the electorate or the legislature. But the separation between the Executive and the Legislature provides no certainty that the Legislature will carry out the wishes of the Administration, however reasonable. "The Presidential system," says Bryce, "leaves more to chance than does the Parliamentary. A Prime Minister is only one out of a cabinet, and his colleagues may keep him straight and supply qualities wanting in him, but everything depends on the character of the individual chosen to be President."

In the Presidential form of government, the executive is constitutionally independent of the legislature as regards his tenure and to a large extent also as regards his policies and acts. Hence follows greater concentration of responsibility in the executive and with it stronger formulation of policy. It is best suited to a country which has a federal type

of constitution. In the presidential form of government, the dual control of plural Executive is avoided, and the sphere of the Executive as well as of the Legislature is strictly defined by the constitution.

The defect of Presidential government lies in the fact that the Executive has little control over the Legislature. There is the danger of deadlock between the two organs of the government, the Executive and the Legislature. The advantage of close relation between the executive and the legislative department is therefore absent. The Executive, being irresponsible to the Legislature, cannot be turned out of office when the House of Representatives wishes it. The Executive will continue in its office as long as its tenure permits. In times of crisis, under the parliamentary form of government, the cabinet can choose a leader for guidance, but under a Presidential form this cannot be done.

Demerits

✓ V. Bureaucratic Form of Government

"A bureaucratic government is one which is composed of administrators especially trained for the public purpose who enter the employment of the government only after a regular course of study and examination, and who serve usually during good behaviour and retire on pensions." They are subject to a very rigid discipline. They have to devote their time to the discharge of the public duties and are not allowed to have any other occupation. In this system, government service has more or less the complexion of a profession and the officials acquire and develop a sort of routine life. They tend to become a class having little or no touch with the rest of the population. Such a government is neither responsible to the people nor much affected by public opinion. It is, in short, very largely a government of men rather than of laws. It thinks more of form than of substance. The officials being specially trained for the public purpose, it ensures an efficient administration. But efficiency of administration is not always the sole end or test of a good government. Besides, it does not foster patriotism, self-reliance or loyalty. Again some of the most important ends of the political system, viz., the education of the people in political matters, the stimulation of popular interest in political matters, and the cultivation of loyalty and patriotism on the part of the masses, cannot be accomplished under the bureaucratic system.

Conflict between efficiency and political training of the people

✓ VI. Merits and Demerits of Monarchical Government

Monarchy is the oldest and almost universally prevalent form of government in early and primitive societies. When a tribe is

peace and order is to be maintained in a community, the rule of a strong man is conducive to the best interest of all concerned. It is the monarch who proves to be the chief source of unity in a community in which disruptive forces are naturally very strong)

Examples of two forms of Monarchy are found in history—Absolute Monarchy and Limited Monarchy

Absolute Monarchy denotes that the final authority in making, interpreting and executing law belongs to the king. Absolute Monarchy is often characterised by vigour and energy of action, unity of counsel, promptness of decision and simplicity of organisation.) On the eve of the modern age absolute monarchs like Louis XI of France, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain curbed the centrifugal tendencies of feudalism and brought about national unification. The sovereignty of national state is due to the absolute monarchs. In the eighteenth century we find the absolute monarchs guided by the principle of enlightened despotism. Monarchs like Peter the Great and Frederick the Great rendered invaluable services to the people of Russia and Prussia respectively. (But not to speak of pure and simple despotism, the benevolent despotism of the eighteenth century suffered from some glaring defects.)

The chief merits of Monarchy are that it ensures secrecy of counsel and promptness of decision. Hobbes preferred a monarchical form of government on account of its following merits: A monarch's private interest is more intimately bound up with the interests of his subjects than can be the case with the private interest of the members of a sovereign assembly. Hence the monarch will devote himself to the promotion of welfare of his subjects. Whereas the resolutions of a monarch are subject only to the inconsistency of human nature, those of an assembly are exposed to a further inconsistency arising from disagreement between its members. A monarch "cannot disagree with himself out of envy or interests, but an assembly may, and that to such a height as may produce a civil war."

But Absolute Monarchy has been the cause of much misery and degradation of human beings. The monarch is often found incompetent for the great task of governing a people; he is misled by the evil counsel of the selfish and designing courtiers who surround him. Court intrigues, wars of succession and callous disregard of the interests of the people, are very often associated with absolute monarchy. The Court is usually plunged in luxury and debauchery and thus sets a bad example to the people. The history of Imperial Rome and Mughal India

amply illustrates the inherent defects of the monarchical system of government.

The enlightened despots did not entrust any power to the people. They sincerely desired the good of their subjects, provided always that it was dispensed by themselves, and did not conflict with their selfish interests. Reforms imposed from above failed to rouse the sympathy of the people. ^{Reforms imposed from above} "No reform can produce real good," says Buckle, "unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative." Moreover, the work of a benevolent despot might be totally undone by his tyrannical and selfish successor. The success of hereditary monarchy depends too much on the accident of birth.

Limited Monarchy is one which is controlled by a constitution. The greatest example of Limited Monarchy is England. While ministers come and go, the English king remains. "As the irremovable adviser of successive ministers, the sovereign can do much to secure the continuity of foreign policy, and to prevent the foreign relations from being at the mercy of sudden impulse"—(Masterman). Gladstone testifies to the value of royal intervention in the following words:—"The aggregate of direct influence normally exercised by the sovereign upon the counsels and proceedings of the ministers is considerable in amount, tends to permanence and solidity in action, and confers much benefit on the country." Limited Monarchy provides also a permanent head of the Executive and avoids the turmoil of periodical election. ^{Limited Monarchy} But the chief defect of Limited Monarchy is ^{Defects of Limited Monarchy} that it affords no guarantee that a strong, vigorous, or trained person will succeed to the office, as it allows the choice to be determined by the accident of birth.

II. Merits and Demerits of Aristocracy

The Greek word "aristos" means best and Aristocracy is the government of the best. But the difficulty lies in choosing the criterion of the best. In history we find examples of aristocracy of birth or family, aristocracy of wealth; ^{Different kinds of Aristocracy} aristocracy of elder statesmen; and of priestly and military aristocracies. Birth in particular families, however, does not guarantee the excellence of those born; weaklings, imbeciles, licentious and arrogant fools are often found to be born in high families. Wealth or property, too does not insure the possession of qualities which are essential in good administrators. Those who inherit wealth may or may not be capable men. On the other hand, high political capacity is sometimes found in poor

men. Age or military prowess does not invariably qualify a man for conducting the government. Aristocracies of birth, wealth, and age are all examples of artificial aristocracy. Such a form of government is euphemistically called the government of the best. In reality, it is nothing but Oligarchy, that is, government of a few for their own interests.

Oligarchy, as a form of government, is not without merits. Its chief merit is conservatism. It tries to avoid innovations, lest those in power should loose it. Primarily for this

**Merits of
Oligarchy**

reason Oligarchy has often proved a very stable form of government, as is exemplified by the long existence of the Venetian Oligarchy. It is able to pursue a consistent policy and hold a persistent course in foreign affairs, paying little regard to moral principles. Domestic government, too, has been often efficient under an Oligarchy, because the value of knowledge and skill is understood better than has yet been the case in democracies.

In spite of these merits Oligarchy suffers from numerous defects. It implies class rule and class rule is essentially selfish and arrogant. It is often unsympathetic to the masses. It

**Selfish rule
of a class**

judges questions from the point of view of its own interest and does not care to confer more benefit on the classes beneath it than it feels to be demanded by its own safety. Moreover, faction fight is a characteristic of Oligarchy. Jealousy and quarrels between the members of the leading families distract the State, retard legislation and corrupts the administration. Lastly, when a people advances in knowledge and prosperity, it is sure to grow restive and discontented under the rule of the few, who exercise irresponsible power.

There is another kind of Aristocracy, however, which may be termed the natural aristocracy and without which Democracy

**Rule of the
few most
qualified
persons is
the best**

degenerates into the rule of the mob. "Free government cannot but be," observes Bryce, "and has, in reality, always been an Oligarchy within a Democracy. But it is Oligarchy not in the historical sense of the rule of a class but rather in the original sense of the word, the rule of Few instead of Many individuals, to wit, those few whom neither birth nor wealth nor race distinguishes from the rest, but only Nature in having given to them qualities or opportunities she has denied to others."

CHAPTER IX

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

I. Democracy in Ancient India

The researches in the history and literature of ancient India have proved beyond doubt the existence of Democracies in ancient India. The Vedic king was controlled by the Sabha and the Samiti. In the Buddhist period the Vajjians, composed of the Videhas of Mithila and the Lichchavis of Vaisali (Muzaffarpur District) were governed by a democratic form of government. The Buddha is reported to have told Ananda that "So long as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper. So long, Ananda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institution of the Vajjians as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to harken to their words—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper." Here the Lord carefully analysed the usual defects from which democracies suffer and warned them against the danger of dissensions.

The Buddha on the condition of success of democracy

Nautilya in his Arthashastra refers to the Vrijikas, Lichchivikas and Mallakas in the east, the Kurus and Panchalas in the centre, the Madrakas in the north-west and the Kukuras in the south-west of northern India as democracies. He advises monarchs to promote dissensions among them and then to conquer them. The Mauryan imperialism weakened the democratic states very much. Still at the time of Samudragupta we find that the Yaudheyas, Malavas, Arjunayanas, Kunindas and Vrishnis were flourishing under democratic government. It was the invasion of the Hunas which finally destroyed the democratic states in ancient India.

Republics from 400 B. C. to 500 A. D.

The Santiparvam of the Mahabharata contains excellent rules by observing which Democracies can become prosperous. It advises the Ganas or Democracies to have a sort of natural aristocracy, that is, the government of the best. Thus it declares : "The Ganas that pay due respect to the wise, the valorous, the active, and the men of steady efforts in business acquire prosperity. The Ganas that are strong in resources, brave, expert in the use of arms and well-versed in the

Natural aristocracy

Shastras rescue the bewildered in times of grave danger. The Gana leaders should be respected as the worldly affairs depend to a great extent upon them."

II. Greek and Roman Democracy

The Homeric kingship gradually died out, being replaced by elected magistracies. Power passed in most cities to the heads of the chief families, who were also rich landowners and the lenders of money. Their arrogance and their oppression on the poorer citizens provoked risings. The result of these tumults was either the seizure of power by the bulk of the well-to-do citizens or by single individual, known as the Tyrant. Ultimately power passed to the general body of free citizens.

In the ancient world democracy had the fullest development at Athens. In the age of Pericles the popular assemblies known as the Ecclesia, became actually the governing and not merely the electing and controlling body. All the most important governmental decisions, including the management of the whole foreign policy of the state and the initiation of legislation were determined by it. Questions of finance and religion, complaints against the public conduct of individuals, passing of new laws and amendment of existing ones were settled by it. Citizens were paid for attending the Ecclesia.

The disadvantages of direct democracy are illustrated by the history of the Athenian democracy. The people could not restrain their passions and consequently party feuds and selfish interests got the upper hand. The citizens interfered too much with the administration and hence it was found difficult to secure continuity in state policy.

It would be wrong, however, to say that the Ecclesia was the sovereign body. The sovereign was the constitution, and the constitution was protected by the courts of law. "There was strictly no legislative sovereign at Athens, no one body whose mandate had immediately the force of law; for the Athenian, like the Greek citizen generally, conceived himself to be living under the impersonal sovereignty of law itself." The popular jury courts were an essential part of the democratic constitution, since they made effective the subordination of the magistrates to the popular will. Every citizen was entitled to take the judicial oath, and a small fee was introduced to compensate him for his loss of time.

But the Athenian democracy proved a failure in foreign policy. Greek passion for freedom and self-government produced antagonism and a lack of compromise in inter-city relations.

which even imminent danger from foreign invaders failed to correct. Moreover, democracy at Athens, in its extreme form, had always been partly dependent upon tribute from subject states. It had proved to be a very expensive form of government; and in the fourth century when she lost her empire, she had not the resources to maintain a consistent and stable democracy.

Causes of failure

At first Rome was a monarchy, but later the kings were driven out. Power fell into the hands of patricians. Then ensued a long struggle between the patricians and plebeians which ended in the establishment of equal rights for the plebs. These rights were watched over by officers, called Tribunes. In this republican constitution there were three elements of government which were supposed to balance and check one another. First, the monarchical element manifested itself in the office of the two consuls, who were elected annually. Secondly, the aristocratic element was embodied in the senate, an assembly with great legislative powers. Thirdly, the democratic element existed in the meetings of the people in three sorts of conventions according to divisions of land or people.

Roman democracy

But the Roman democracy was fundamentally different from the Athenian democracy. The Roman people, consisting mainly of peasants, had neither the will nor the capacity to govern themselves, but were perfectly content to elect their magistrates and to express their opinion occasionally on projects of legislation. They had entire confidence in the governing class and their loyalty made the Senate omnipotent. The Roman constitution was that of a city-state but when Rome gradually became a world-state, the republican form became inconsistent with the facts. She did not devise any system of representation and thus could not give her subject-peoples a share in the government. Ultimately, the Roman republic gave way before imperialism.

Difference between the Greek and the Roman democracy

III. Difference between Ancient and Modern Democracy

Ancient democracy was that of the primary assembly, in which the people spoke with an immediate voice. The size of the state was so small that it was theoretically possible for all citizens to meet together in a place and discuss government affairs. The size of the modern state is so big that representative system has to be introduced to insure democratic government. In short, ancient democracy was direct and modern democracy is indirect or representative. In the modern state there is the essential contrast between the electorate and those to whom, as a result of their experience or

Representation unknown in the ancient world

professional ability, the actual administration of public affairs is entrusted.

On the other hand, in Athens, the machinery of government was deliberately constructed with a view to ensuring the participation in public affairs of nearly all the citizens. **Use of lot was frequent** Membership of the council of Five Hundred and of the law courts, and the tenure of the great majority of public offices depended on the accident of the lot, whilst the short term, combined with ineligibility for re-election, practically guaranteed that every citizen should take his turn in administrative or judicial service. "To a modern eye," observed Bryce, "the strangest part of all this strange frame of government was the plan of leaving to chance the selection of nearly all officials except those generals for whom military skill was indispensable."

Woodrow Wilson opines that class subordination was the essence of ancient democracy. In Athens there were 50,000 citizens, but 100,000 slaves. So according to him, it was only a broader aristocracy. But Barker points out that it must not be thought that each of the 50,000 was the owner of one or two slaves whose possession made him a gentleman at leisure. Aristotle wrote that the poor used the wife or the child in lieu of slaves; and the poor constituted a majority of the citizens in almost all democracies. The slaves were public servants, hands in factories or mines or lackeys in great houses. There was in reality very little of an aristocratic flavour in a Greek democracy. **Class subordination**

↑ In the modern democratic governments there is some kind of separation between the executive, legislative and judicial organs. But in ancient democracies all the functions of government were fused together under the sole control of the people. Nor was there any distinction between central and local government. Party system is essential for the successful working of modern democracy. Ancient democracies were conspicuous by their absence of party system, in the modern sense of the term. **Separation of powers**

✓ Another fundamental difference between the ancient and the modern democracy is to be found in the conception of relation between the state and the individual. "The modern democratic state exists for the sake of the individual; the individual, in Greek conception, lived for the State. **Relation between the state and individual** The ancient State recognised no personal rights, all rights were state rights; the modern state recognises no state rights which are independent of personal rights." Rights of free press, free meeting, free exercise of religion, and such other definite limitations of the power of the community to regulate

the lives of individuals were alien to the idea of the state both in Greece and in Rome.

✓ IV. Essential conditions of success of Democracy

The first requisite of the success of democracy is undoubtedly education and a high degree of political consciousness. Education)
If the people do not feel interested in the affairs of the state, nor understand the various problems confronting the society from time to time, democracy becomes a misnomer and useless. Democratic government is charged with inconsistency, improvisation, lack of resolution and corruption in the administration of affairs. All these defects are due to the absence in the community of that alert and instructed interest in public affairs which the success of democratic government presupposes.

✓ The alertness of the people is the essential condition without which the true ideal of democracy can never be realized. Vigilance)
Bryce says, in his "Hindrances to good Citizenship," that indolence and indifference on the part of the citizens are the two enemies of democracy. It has been justly said that perpetual vigilance is the price of liberty. In fact, if the people like to have the fullest realization of their rights, they must be alert and active enough to make real their privileges. In the event of their indifference, power passes into the hands of those who are more enterprising and alert.

A large measure of civic responsibility on the part of the people, is also necessary for the success of democracy, for education breeds responsibility and without political Civic responsibility ✓
education no democracy can endure.

Generally, as unwritten constitutions become more liable to ~~ph~~change than written constitutions, it is necessary that Documen-
tary constitution
for the stability of democratic constitution it should be a written one so that the passing exuberance of the demos may not render the constitutions a mere toy in their hands.

The success and stability of a democracy can be assured if its geographical frontiers coincide with the frontiers of a nation. The basis of democracy may be firmly laid only on the Rights of minorities
foundation of popular satisfaction. It is, therefore, necessary to see that no minority in the state should remain very much discontented.

Last, though not the least of all requisites, is the existence of a democratic tradition, based on a democratic organisation or society. In the sixties and seventies of the last Democratic tradition
century Italy, Germany, Russia and Japan adopted some form of democratic government in imitation of England, the

U.S.A. and France. But as these four countries had been governed according to autocratic principles for centuries, democracies failed to secure a strong foothold there. It took a long time to build up a tradition of democratic government in France. As most of the essential requisites of success for democracy are lacking in the case of India, it is difficult to say whether it will prove a success here.

R V. The Democratic Ideal

Democracy implies not only a form of government, but also a particular social organization. As a form of government, it means

(Ideal and
meaning of
Political
Democracy

a government representing the general body of citizens, and also a government which is limited in its power over individual citizens. Twenty-four hundred years ago, Herodotus used the word democracy to denote that

form of government in which the ruling power of a state is legally vested, not in any particular class or classes, but in the members of the community as a whole. In the fifth century B.C., Pericles gave expression to the highest ideals of democracy in the following words: "Our constitution is named a democracy, because it is in the hands not of the few but of the many. But our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes, and our public opinion welcomes and honours talent in every branch of achievement, not for any sectional reason but on grounds of excellence alone. And as we give free play to all in our public life, so we carry the same spirit into our daily relations with each other..... open and friendly in our private intercourse, in our public acts we keep strictly within the control of law. We acknowledge the restraint of reverence; we are obedient to whomsoever is set in authority, and to the laws..... we are lovers of beauty without extravagance, and lovers of wisdom without unmanliness. Our citizens attend both to public and private duties, and do not allow absorption in their own various affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's. We differ from other states in regarding the man who holds aloof from public life not as 'quiet' but as useless. We decide or debate, carefully and in person, all matters of policy, holding, not that words and deeds go ill together, but that acts are foredoomed to failure when undertaken undiscussed." Plato contended that only philosophers, and not the common men, know the principles of goodness, truth and justice and that the ideal state would be one in which philosophers are kings. But the world has not yet discovered such philosopher-kings. Truth is not the monopoly of any class or section of the people. The common man knows what are his needs and he can contribute his instructed judgment in the attainment of

common good. The democrat, therefore, believes that all citizens must have full opportunity for association, discussion and peaceful protest. Democracy as a form of government has been defined by Bryce as a government in which the will of the majority of qualified citizens rule, taking the qualified citizens to constitute the great bulk of the inhabitants, say, roughly, at least three-fourths, so that the physical force of the citizens coincides with their voting power."

Political democracy can not be attained in an undemocratic social atmosphere. If the people of a country are prone to be submissive to the nobility of birth or nobility of wealth, equality before the law or equal right of voting would not enable them to secure government by full and frank discussions. ^{Democracy in society} Democracy can flourish only in a society which is characterised by the reasoning power and moral responsibility of the individual for his actions. "A society", writes C. D. Burns, "in which reason governs the conduct of men and one in which each man feels responsibility for his action is also a society in which every man contributes some thought and feeling to the common life. No man gives only the force of his arm; but each is regarded as capable and each feels himself capable of adding something unique out of his own personality. Democracy as an ideal is, therefore, a society not of similar persons but of equals, in the sense that each is an integral and irreplaceable part of the whole." If government is to be responsible to the people, every citizen must discharge his moral responsibility of taking an active and intelligent interest in the affairs of the state. But it should be noted that under the capitalistic system of production it is not very easy for every citizen to discharge his moral responsibility. Irregularity of employment and chronic under-employment keep millions of citizens under-fed, under-clothed and ill-housed. They do not feel a sense of security at any moment of their life. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to take an intelligent interest in public affairs.

(The democratic ideal is opposed to war as an institution and militarism as an attitude of mind. War demands blind obedience to the commands of superior authorities and such a habit is detrimental to the democratic principle of free consent given after intelligent discussions. Moreover, uncriticized secret action is indispensable for the successful conducting of a war and such action is against the democratic ideal of free discussions.) ^{War and Democracy}

True democracy can never be reconciled with imperialism. The Athenian democracy foundered on the rock of imperial ambitions. The Roman republicanism had to give way before

cæsarism as the Romans established their mastery over the neighbouring countries. The democratic habit of the governing class in Great Britain is endangered by the despotic authority which they have to exercise in ruling over the British dependencies.

Imperialism hostile to Democracy

The democratic ideal can be traced to three principal sources. The first is the theory of natural rights which was propounded in the later Middle Ages. It avers that men have a natural right to participate equally in political power. The Levellers of England believed that men have derived from Adam the natural rights of liberty, property, freedom of conscience and equality in political privileges. The French Revolution proclaimed the rights of man and strengthened the belief in the superiority of democracy as a form of government. The second source is the utilitarian theory which holds that democratic government alone can promote the interests, conserve the rights and extend the capacities and opportunities for happiness of the greatest number of individuals in the community. The utilitarians argue that democracy can promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number because it is the government by those who have the greatest concern for and the greatest awareness of the interests and rights of the people generally. The third source is the Idealist philosophy, which avers that the fullest realization of the most characteristic potentialities of human personality is possible only under democracy. The Idealists prefer democracy over other forms of governments not so much for tangible material results as for the possibility for the fullest development of every individual citizen. This is the chief reason why modern writers like Laski and Zoad advocate the cause of democracy.

The basic principle of democracy is each individual by virtue of the possession of the universal attribute of humanity should be right in his or her political decision. Democracy pins its faith on the superiority of political wisdom and virtue of the average men over any indefinable minority. The fundamental political rights should be allotted to the common men because they possess the necessary political intelligence, honesty of purpose and common sense. The democrats believe that ordinary men do possess the capacity to choose relatively fit men for public office.

The fundamental tenet of democracy

The attack on Democracy

The critics of democracy deny the political capacity of ordinary men. They do not believe in the sense of fairness, honesty of purpose and in the political intelligence of the common men. They

old that such men are swayed by passions and emotions, that they have neither the leisure nor the inclination to study the problems of public affairs. They are too busy with their own private affairs to find time for discharging their civic duties. The ordinary men are jealous and suspicious of any superior ability in others. They try to drag down everybody to their own level. They do not like to allow any one to deviate from the familiar way of life. Democratic government, therefore, is characterised by an intolerance of freedom in thought and conduct. One writer goes so far as to say that under a democratic regime neither the Reformation nor the Industrial Revolution would have been possible. The common man would not have allowed the introduction of any machine. In support of this contention the critics of democracy point out that the teaching of the doctrine of evolution is not allowed in many of the states in the U. S. A. In Bengal, the democratic government ordered the re-writing of history to obliterate the memory of some ugly incidents in the past. Democracy is held to be hostile to genuine liberty and individuality. The German philosopher, Nietzsche, elaborates this view by observing that 'because the multitude is intolerant of superiority and individuality, democracies either tyrannize on their own part over minorities or else yield themselves to the leadership or domination of men who best exemplify the popular jealousy of success and independence. From all this it follows that of all forms of Government, democracy is the most inefficient and extravagant, the most factional and intolerant, the most hostile or indifferent to true progress.' Some writers argue that as political equality tends to depress individuality and originality, democracy is not favourable to the development of higher forms of intellectual life.

Democracy
hostile to
liberty and
individuality

Another school of critics of democracy has made a vain attempt to discredit popular government with the help of biology and psychology. By drawing arguments from Biology they try to show that attempts at regenerating the common people by social and economic reforms are bound to fail. They opine that the native differences among individuals cannot be removed by favourable conditions of environment and training. They hold that even if the democratic government provide better education, better houses and nutritious food to the masses, the changes in their life cannot be transmitted from parent to offspring. Psychology is also pressed into service by the anti-democrats. They point out that 'mob' or 'crowd psychology' is entirely different from individual psychology. 'Men who in their individual dealings with their fellow men are fair, generous and reasonable become fanatical, intolerant and selfish when they go to the polls or to

Arguments
from
Biology
and
Psychology

conventions and mass meetings as members of their political parties.'

Oswald Spengler vehemently opposes democracy on the ground that government by the people is a sheer impossibility. The average men, in his opinion, 'are endowed with little reason and have little freedom to use what reason they possess. All the institutional and ideological paraphernalia of modern democracy facilitate rather than obstruct the operation of despotic rule. The forms of election and the slogans of electoral campaigns, the free school and the popular press delude the masses into belief that their formal rights are actual power.' The people are formally declared to be sovereign, but they are actually led by the landlords, industrialists, millionaire newspaper-owners and such other plutocrats. The are hypnotised by clever propaganda and are made to serve the wishes of the upper classes without being conscious of doing so "The majority of human beings," writes Prof. Robert Michels, "in a condition of eternal tutelage, are predestined by tragic necessity to submit to the domination of a small minority and must be content to constitute the pedestal of an oligarchy.'

These critics think that the masses are always led by a few. They draw the conclusion that the ordinary people should frankly admit that they are incompetent to handle the delicate and complex machinery of government and leave it to experts. The Government, in their opinion, would do well to devote all its attention to the developing of the talents of the 'exceptionally gifted minority,' instead of engaging itself in the vain attempt to increase the privileges of the masses. Hitler in his Mein Kampf observes: "The parliamentary principle of vesting legislative power in the decision of the majority rejects the authority of the individual and puts a numerical quota of anonymous heads in its place. In doing so it contradicts the aristocratic principle, which is a fundamental law of nature; but of course, we must remember that in this decadent era of our the aristocratic principle need not be thought of as incorporated in the upper ten thousand."

3. VII. The Defence of Democracy

The central plank in the defence of democracy is the robust faith in the honesty, intelligence and general political aptitude of the average man. For the sake of argument we may concede that the ordinary man has no expert knowledge of the business of government. But how can he become fitter and more knowledgeable unless he is given scope for learning the business of government through experiment and experience? A person learns

Faith in common man and in trial and error method

job through the method of trial and error. It is better that he should do a good job badly than that he should not be given a chance to do it at all, for it is only by doing it badly that he will learn to do it well. History shows that reforms imposed from above fail to confer any lasting benefit to the people. But, on the other hand, the effects of the beneficial advantages become permanent when they are obtained in a manner involving some conscious efforts on the part of the people themselves. In short, participation in political power is indispensable for developing in the ordinary man the interest in government, respect for law and a spirit of co-operation. Such virtues are indispensable to the stability, efficiency and vigour in the government of a community.

The Biological and Psychological arguments of the critics of democracy are not the products of genuine scientific enquiry. Biology has not yet been able to show the extent to which tendencies or potentialities sheathed in the native germ plasm are modified by environment, experience and training. (The history of Soviet Russia shows that the sons of erstwhile slaves, cobblers and peasants can develop into great generals, scientists and literary men if the entire environment is improved.

Scientific education, a better standard of living and unhampered opportunity for self-development are factors of greater importance than heredity. So we need not despair of the future prospects of the ordinary man. The intelligence test devised by the psychologists has not yet reached such perfection as to warrant any conclusion regarding the political capacity of the common man.

Democracy has at times manifested tendencies to take recourse to governmental prohibitions and compulsions against individuals and classes. But the habit of intolerance and disposition to standardize human conduct are no greater in democracies than in monarchy, dictatorship and oligarchy. Democracy affords far greater scope for individual liberty and variety than any other form of government. A true democrat holds that the state is not entitled to impose its conception of the good life upon its citizens. The state exists to establish the conditions in which the citizens can pursue unhampered the good life according to the light and experience of each. If the State interferes with the so-called freedom of the capitalist employer, it is simply to protect the workers from economic exploitation.

Some writers hold that Democracy is the cult of incompetence. They point out the almost incessant struggle of political parties over unreal issues, the playing of the leaders to the gallery to catch votes, the indecorum of proceedings in some of the popular chambers, the occasional exhibits of corruption and maladministration etc. The citizens do not or cannot acquaint themselves

with the intricate problems they are called upon to decide a elections. They are often swayed by passions and sentimentalism and are misled by demagogues. The democrat replies that the cause of incompetence of the masses does not like so much in the weakness of democratic government as in the maladjustment of all established institutions to the complex conditions of modern society. We must not contrast the glorious periods of monarchy and aristocracy with the foolish and unjust deeds of popular assemblies. Rather, we should compare the inglorious records of tyranny and oligarchy to the occasional lapses of democratic bodies. Athens and Rome made the greatest contribution to civilization when they were under the democratic regime. The period of the rule of the Liberals in the late half of the nineteenth century was far more honest and successful than that of the Whig oligarchy in the eighteenth century.

Moreover, we should remember that efficiency in government is necessary no doubt; but the happiness of the people must not be sacrificed at the altar of efficiency. "It is better," observe Zoad, "that imperfect men should live under imperfect law which are fitted to them, which reflect their desires and suit their needs, than that they should seek to discipline themselves to the requirements of legislative perfection. And just as the foot which confesses to corns, owns carbuncles, and burgeons into callosities cannot without unhappiness to its owner be thrust into a perfectly shaped shoe, so a faulty angular people cannot without unhappiness be thrust into the straight-jacket of perfectly conceived laws." It is the dinner, and not the cook who is the judge of the meal. Democracy means responsible power; the alternative to democracy is irresponsible power and irresponsible power corrupts even the saintly man.

In an oligarchy the rulers are drawn chiefly from a particular class. But a democratic government enlists the services of people belonging to different classes in society. Owing to the enlistment of a variety of personal energies, there is great chance of general prosperity under democracy.

If patriotism and complete identification of the individual with the community be regarded as virtues, these are fostered more under democracy than under any other form of government. As every one has a share in the government of the country the feeling of patriotism pervades all sections of the population. Everybody feels an incentive to sacrifice his individual good for the welfare of the community.

Democracy is more conducive to the stability of government than Dictatorship or Oligarchy. This has been proved by the history of Italy and Germany under the Fascist regime. Democracy is based on the doctrine of equality of political right

for all. "Inequality", observes De Tocqueville, "has ever been the breeding ground of all revolutions which have changed the face of the world." Popular governments, resting as they do on the consent of the governed and upon the principle of equality, are more immune from revolutionary disturbances than those in which the people have no right of participation.

(The greatest merit of democracy is that it elevates the character of the citizens.) (It gives to every citizen a sense of responsibility which imparts a new meaning to his personality, "When political institutions", writes Bryce, "call upon him to bear a part in their working, he is taken out of the narrow circle of his domestic or occupational activities, admitted to a larger life which opens wider horizons, associated in new ways with his fellows, forced to think of matters which are both his and theirs. Self-government in local and still more in national affairs becomes a stimulant and an education. These influences may be called a by-product of popular government, incidental but precious."

CHAPTER X

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

I. Nature of the Federal Government

"A federal constitution attempts to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable claims of national sovereignty and state sovereignty."

Geographical situation, political and commercial interests or a sense of nationality might make it desirable to form a union of a number of existing states. But these states might be unwilling to sacrifice their individual life and political susceptibilities. In such a case

{ Reconciliation between the ideals of union and independence

where there is a general desire among a number of states to form a larger union, and at the same time to retain their political separateness, the only solution is to form a federation. The existing states form a new state by the union, and surrender their sovereignty to it. But each of them retains its own government with constitutional rights over certain affairs. The federal state becomes a whole, made up of parts, with a clear and precise as well as balanced and stable constitutional division of governmental functions between the government of the whole and the government of the parts. The parts need not be approximately equal in area, population or political power. At the time of the formation of the American federation the states of New Jersey, Delaware and Connecticut were very much inferior to the states like New York and Philadelphia. The cantons of Bern and Zurich are much more important than the forest cantons of Switzerland. But this inequality does not prevent the component parts in a federation from acquiring a status of political equality. All the members of the federation are of equal importance in the federation. The historian Freeman said, "the name federal

Federation is much more than mere alliance

government may be applied to any union of component members where the degree of union between the members surpasses that of mere alliance, however intimate, and where the degree of independence possessed by each member surpasses anything which can fairly come under the head of mere municipal freedom." "A federal Commonwealth," continued Mr. Freeman, "in its perfect form is one which forms a single state in its relation to other nations, but which consists of many states with regard to its internal government." "It represents," as Garner has put it, "a combination of both unitary and federal principle."

A federation requires a balanced and stable constitutional division of governmental functions between the government of

the whole and the government of the parts. Such a clear-cut division can be achieved only by a written constitution. In the absence of a written arrangement the danger of friction and conflict between the governments of the parts and the government of the whole becomes obvious. A written constitution is essential It becomes also difficult to maintain the balance of power which is characteristic of a federal state. The constitution is the very basis of the federal state and expresses the supreme will of the parties forming it. As such it must be a written one.

John Stuart Mill clearly brings out the essential nature of federal government in the following words : Need of an impartial court "Under the more perfect mode of federation, where every citizen of each particular state owes obedience to two governments- that of his own state, and that of the federation—it is evidently necessary not only that the constitutional limits of the authority of each should be precisely and clearly defined, but that the power to decide between them in any case of dispute should not reside in either of the governments or in any functionary subject to it, but in an umpire independent of both."

There must be a supreme court of justice and a system of subordinate courts in every state of the union, before whom such questions shall be carried, and whose judgment on them, in the last stage of appeal shall be final. Every state of the union, and the federal government itself, as well as every functionary of each must be hable to be sued in those courts for exceeding their powers or for non-performance of their federal duties, and must in general be obliged to employ those courts as the instrument for enforcing their federal rights. Essential requisites of a Federation To sum up, the essential elements of federalism are (1) the supremacy of the constitution; (2) citizenship in the state as well as in the federal union; (3) the demarcation of powers between the component parts and the whole of the federal union; and (4) the existence of a supreme court to decide disputes.

II. Essential Conditions of Federation

The first requisite for the formation of a federal union is that the states desiring federation must be situated near one another. If they are separated from one another by wide oceans or high mountains, they can not undertake common Contiguity defence, nor can they develop a sense of national unity. The scheme of Imperial federation within the British Empire failed mainly because the Dominions are widely separated from one another.

Geographical contiguity develops a sentiment of common interests. The need of defence has proved the main cause of the

rise of federation. "Where there are adjacent communities, anxious to preserve a real independence, but afraid of proving too weak in isolation to hold their own with powerful states in their

(Need of common defence) neighbourhood, a federal union is an obvious recourse." This is the reason why the Achæan League in Greece was formed. In 1291 the peasants of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden were banded together in a defensive alliance against the oppression of bailiffs. This alliance later on developed into the Swiss federation. The thirteen English colonies in North America formed the United States to maintain their independence against England.

Another factor promoting federal union is the realisation of common economic interests. In mediæval Europe the League of the 'Hansa' towns as well as the League of the cities of the Rhine were formed to maintain their commercial interests.

(Common economic interests)

✓ A sentiment of unity arising out of community of language, culture and interests also gives birth to federation. (This is seen in the federations in Canada, Australia and South Africa.)

(Sentiment of unity)

R III. Federation contrasted with complete Union and Confederation

Federation strikes a via media between complete union and confederation. Unlike a confederation, a federal union is not a mere league of independent states, but it is a union resulting from the merger of a number of political communities for regulation of various matters common to all the component members. Prof. Garner observes,

(It is a sort of composite state, not a band of states connected together by international agreement.)

✓ A Confederation is much looser in organization than a federation. A Confederation is a mere league of states, which does not create a single state. A federation is a union of people over whom the newly created federal authority exercises a certain amount of direct authority. In a Confederation there is really no central power. The Confederated states simply agree to take certain measures in common. The will of the Confederation is but the sum-total of the wills of the component states and is expressed, not in statutes framed by a legislative body, but in ordinances or resolutions framed by a quasi-diplomatic body like a congress or conference consisting of delegates representing the government of the several states com-

(A league of states is not a single state)

Unlike a federal union, a confederation does not possess a single sovereignty, but there is a plurality of sovereignties as many in fact as there are states composing it. The component parts of a federal union are not really states because they surrender their sovereignty to the federation itself. There is no single sovereignty in a confederation
In common parlance these parts are called states, but they have got none of the characteristics of a state.

The members of a confederation can, from a legal point of view, withdraw from the confederacy whenever they please. If they had not that power, their sovereignty would have disappeared. But a federal union becomes legally indissoluble so far as the action of the separate state governments, or of the central government, is concerned. The act by which a federal union is established is not a mere compact, but a constitution. A confederation may be dissolved

German writers call a confederation 'Staatenbund' and a federal state 'Bundes-Staat'. History shows that the confederation and federation represent but two stages in the development of federality. The confederations of the United States and of Switzerland developed into the closer union of federations in course of time. The Achaean League, the German Confederation (1815-70) and the Southern Confederacy (1861-64) are the other examples of the confederation. Confederation is a state of federation

RIV. Principles and methods of distribution of powers in a Federal Government

There are three ways in which federal states may vary from one another. First, as to the manner in which the powers are distributed between the federal union and the federating states; secondly, as to the jurisdiction of the federal court; and thirdly, as to the means of amending the constitution. Three types of federal government

The powers may be distributed in two ways between the federal union and the federating states. The constitution may either define the powers of the federal union and leave the remainder to the component units, or it may restrict the powers of these units by specifically stating them and leave the remaining powers to the federal union. If it is desired to strengthen the federating units the former method is followed; if, on the other hand, centralisation is aimed at, the latter method is adhered to. In the case of the U. S. A. and Australia, the remaining powers or the 'reserve of powers' as they are called are left to the states; while in the case of the Dominion of Canada, the central government has got the "reserve Location of residuary power

of powers". * The component parts of the union in Canada are so weak in power that they are called provinces, and not states. The federal state whose constitution defines the powers of the federal authority is less centralised, while that whose constitution defines the powers of the federating units is less federal.

Whatever might be the scheme of distribution of powers, the central or federal authority must possess three groups of powers, which are essential to unity and uniformity. The first of these groups refers to the military defence and foreign affairs. One of the prime motives for the formation of a federation being military strength, it is absolutely necessary that the federal government should control the army, the navy and the air forces of the state. It should also conduct the foreign policy, receive and send ambassadors, and possess the power to declare war and conclude treaties. To perform these functions the federal government requires money. So it should have the right of taxing the citizens of the federation. The second group refers to powers which are only effective when uniformity is maintained. Such are the powers of controlling coinage, regulating patents and copyrights and conducting the postal service. The third group consists of those powers which are largely contributory to national progress, and cannot be left in the hands of different states or provinces. Powers of this nature are the control of extensive transportation facilities, like railroads, canals, telegraphs, etc., regulation of banking system, and the establishment of a general tariff. There is no unanimity regarding the distribution of other powers amongst the different types of federal union.

✓ The second way in which federal states may vary from one another is the limit to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

(Powers of the Supreme Court the U.S.A. the Supreme Court is virtually the guardian of the constitution and has got the supreme power to decide all cases of conflict between the federal authority and the state authorities.) (The Australian Supreme Court has similar powers, but the Commonwealth Parliament has got the right to alter certain clauses of the constitution without any reference to the Court.) The Supreme Federal Court in the German Republic has the authority to settle disputes between states and federation or between the states themselves, only in certain cases. In Switzerland, however, the Federal Court has the least power. It is the Federal Assembly, and not the Federal Court which is the final arbiter in all conflicts between states and federal authority. The Swiss Supreme Court cannot question the constitutionality of acts passed by the Federal Assembly.)

different methods of amending the Federal Constitution already been discussed. (see Ch. VII. section V.)

The United States of America

In the United States of America the following powers have been given by the Constitution to the Federal Government. "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ; to borrow money on the credit of the United States, to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes ; to establish a uniform rule of naturalisation and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ; to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures, to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ; to establish Post Offices and Post Roads ; to promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ; to constitute Tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court, to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the Law of Nations, to declare war, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal and to make rules concerning captures on land and water ; to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ; to provide and maintain a navy ; to make rules for the government and regulations of the land and naval forces ; to provide for calling forth the militia ; to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions ; to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ; to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States) and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers, vested by the constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer there

Powers of
the Federal
Government
in the
U.S.A.

Theoretically the states possess the residuary powers

The constitution also adds a list of power forbidden to the federal government and a list of powers forbid to the states. But the 10th Amendment clearly states that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people." So the component parts of the federal union in the United States have got a large number of powers, but these powers have been curtailed to a large extent in recent years.

VI. The Swiss Confederation

The Swiss cantons also have the residuary powers

Like the states in the United States the cantons in the Swiss federation hold the reserve of powers. Article 3 of the Swiss Constitution lays down that "the cantons are sovereign in so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the federal constitution, and, this being the case exercise all rights not delegated to the federal power." But the cantonal constitutions are made dependent upon a guarantee of the federal power in Switzerland. "In proportion as the cantonal constitutions depend upon the federal authority rather than upon the constitution itself, interpreted by a Supreme Court of judges as in the United States of America, the state as a whole is less federalised." The second point of difference between the American and the Swiss federations is that in the latter referendum is in vogue. Thirdly, each Swiss canton can choose the method of electing its representatives to the upper house called the Council of States, while all the states in America must follow one uniform method for the election of senators. Fourthly, unlike the Supreme Court, the Swiss Judiciary has no power of interpreting the constitution.

Four points of difference between the U.S.A. and the Swiss Federations

Contrast between the Federations of Canada, Australia and the U.S.A.

The federal constitution of Australia was based in outline on the federal constitution of the United States rather than on the model of the Federal Dominion of Canada. The constitution of the Dominion of Canada was settled in conference between the Canadian delegates and the British government, while the Commonwealth constitution was framed by the people of Australia through their representatives, who did not care to take any assistance from Great Britain. The separate states in it, having enjoyed self-government for a much longer

period than had the provinces of Canada, were imbued with a greater sense of self-governing existence than the Canadian provinces. Moreover, the people of Canada joined the federation in 1867, only three years after the American Civil War and consequently they had before them an object lesson of the danger of exaggerating state rights in a federal constitution. Another reason for the weaker powers of the Canadian provinces was that whereas the Australian states were comparatively free from foreign danger, the Canadian provinces faced the menace of the growing power of the United States. ✓

Joseph Chamberlain brought out the fundamental difference between the two federations at the time of introducing the Australian Commonwealth Bill in the House of Commons in May, 1900. He observed that the Canadian federation "was substantially to amalgamate the provisions into one dominion, whilst the constitution of Australia created a federation, for distinctly definite and limited objects, of a number of independent states, and states rights have throughout been jealously preserved." The reserved rights in the Canadian federation were vested in the central federal government, whereas the ~~federal government in the Australian federation was empowered~~ to possess authority over matters which are expressly stated and defined in the constitution.

But the powers entrusted to the federal government in Australia were much larger in comparison to those given to the United States federal government. These powers included subjects like marriage, divorce, old age pensions, insurance, fisheries, copyright and legislation dealing with the Asiatics. The state rights in the Australian federation were less, and more power was given to the commonwealth. The Federal Parliament in Australia was enabled to legislate for a state, upon the state's request, a thing which lay quite outside the function of the U. S. A. Congress. The Dominion government of Canada has a veto on provincial laws.

As to the executive, the Canadian federal authority had power to appoint the Lieutenant-Governors, whereas the Australian constitution left the state Governors to be appointed without any interference of the federal government.

✓ The Australian Senate is elected in equal numbers from the states by the people, while the members of the Canadian Senate are nominated for life by the Dominion Government. Unlike the U. S. A. Senate, the Australian Senate has no power of amending money bills; but it can suggest amendments to money bills.

Lastly, Australia has a Supreme Court which may interpret the constitution, while the Supreme Court in Canada enjoys

this power to a small extent. Australia has two distinct sets of courts, federal and state, but Canada has no special federal courts except the Supreme Court of the dominion.

VIII. Strength and Weakness of Federal Government

Federal government is remarkable for the admirable reconciliation it makes between unity and diversity. It combines the advantages of national unity with those of local autonomy and the right of self-government. "It furnishes the means of maintaining an equilibrium between the centrifugal and centripetal forces in a state of widely different tendencies.") (It is the only political system which makes it possible to have uniformity of legislation, policy and administration throughout the country where uniformity is desirable and at the same time makes possible diversity where diversity is desirable.) Under this system such experiments in government and legislation may be tried out as would not be possible in a state having a unitary system.

It is particularly adapted to the states of vast area and diversity of conditions and as well as to small states whose inhabitants are separated by geographical, racial or other barriers. The newly developed areas require special laws differing from those of the long-established parts of the country. Federalism stimulates the spirit of self-reliance among those who build up such new communities. Federalism diminishes the risk to which the size and diversities of parts of a federal country expose it. Social, economic or political maladministration in one part cannot spread to other parts. The national legislature also is relieved of a large burden of legislation for the component parts of the federation.

Lord Bryce has pointed out that under the federal government there is less danger from the rise of a despotic centralised government, usurping the rights of the people. But the federal government suffers from certain elements of weakness.

✓ In the conduct of foreign affairs, Federal Government possesses an inherent weakness not found in Unitary Government as is shown by the experience of the United States of America in the 'Lend and Lease Bill' of February, 1941.

It means division of power between co-ordinate authorities in legislation and administration which means weakness, whatever may be the other advantages which it secures. It may mean sometimes diversity of legislation in respect of matters concerning which the general interest of a country requires uniformity of legislation.

Among other weaknesses of the federal system may be mentioned its complexity, the danger of conflict of jurisdiction between the national and state authorities, the duplication of governmental machinery and services which it involves ^{It is expensive} and the consequent increased expenses for operating it.

✓ Critics of Federal Government point out that it suffers also from (a) weakness arising from double system of government, (b) weakness arising from the fear of secession, (c) weakness arising from the fear of combination of states.

^{Secession does not seem possible} These fears were real indeed in the last century. }
 { Secession of states and combination of states threatened to destroy the Swiss Confederation and the United States. But in both the cases the federal principle triumphed over the centrifugal tendencies.

✓ Economically, too, the Federal Government has many advantages. If each independent state maintains its own paraphernalia of government, the cost of administration necessarily becomes higher than what it might have been if several states unite for certain common purposes. "Not only is there a saving in expenses of management, but there is also the saving that arises from the abolition of ruinous tariff wars, and the organization of free inter-state communication." Moreover, federation offers a solution to the problem of international jealousy and warfare.

^{Its advantages outweigh its disadvantages} The greatest thinkers of the age are making a serious effort to create a mentality favourable to the formation of a United States of Europe. Sidgwick concluded his "Development of European Polity" by observing, ^{Future of humanity lies with the Federation} "when we turn our gaze from the past to the future, an extension of federalism seems to me the most probable of the political prophecies relative to the form of government."

✓ IX. Modern Tendencies in Federalism

The modern tendency in federal states is to strengthen the power of the central government at the expense of the component parts. This is done by taking recourse to two principles known as the "Doctrine of Concurrent Jurisdiction" and the "Doctrine of Implied powers." The doctrine of Concurrent Jurisdiction implies that both the central and the state governments are entitled to act in certain spheres. The local or state governments are allowed to act where the federal Government has not done so, provided that the acts of the former are not inconsistent with federal laws. In this way the central government is able to expand its authority as national development requires, without violating the constitu-

^{Doctrines of Concurrent Jurisdiction and of Implied powers}

tion. Such a concurrent jurisdiction is provided in the constitutions of the German Republic and the Australian Commonwealth. According to the doctrine of "Implied powers" the Supreme Court of America interprets the constitution in such a way that the central government gets much new authority. "The brevity of the constitution," says Gettel, "making an elastic interpretation possible, and the political ability of the American people have enabled a constitution, framed at a time when local differences prevented large grants of federal power, to adapt itself to the growing spirit of national unity and to the changed conditions of modern life." Woodrow Wilson in his Congressional Government observes, "One of the privileges which the states have resigned into the hands of the federal government is the all-inclusive privilege of determining what they themselves can do."

CHAPTER XI

THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

Threefold Divisions of Governmental Functions and Organs

In every modern state there are three well-defined departments of government—legislative, executive and judicial. These are called the three organs of government. There must be in every well-organised community some laws. The organ of government which makes laws is known as the Legislature. The functions of the Legislature increase with the growing complexity of modern society and with its consequent demands upon the law-making authority for social good. There is another body in the state which is entrusted with the function of executing the laws. This body is known as the Executive. The function of the Judiciary is to decide upon the application of the existing law in individual cases.

The legislative, executive and judicial organs

In primitive states there was no distinction between these three functions. The king was at the same time the head of the executive, the supreme law-giver and the fountain of justice. But as the society became more complex, there arose the need of specialisation of functions. The king began to delegate his different powers to different bodies and the tripartite division resulted. It must be noted that this process does not involve a division of the sovereign power, it is merely a convenient means of coping with the increasing business of the state.

Need of specialisation

Aristotle was the first writer to note the distinction between the three functions of government,—which he called the Deliberative, Magisterial and Judicial. But in Athens there was no separation of powers as the Ecclesia or the assembly exercised not only legislative, but also the executive and judicial functions. Roman writers like Cicero and Polybius praised the Republican constitution of Rome because in it they found a balance between the Senate (legislature), Consuls (executive) and Tribunes (judiciary). But in practice the Senate was the supreme authority to which the other functionaries bowed down. The little distinction that was observed in the Greek and Roman city-states between the three departments of government was obliterated by the establishment of the Roman Empire, the development of feudal institutions in the

Origin of the theory of separation

middle ages, and the rise of national states under absolute monarchs:

Bodin, the French publicist of the sixteenth century, was the first modern writer to demand a separation of powers.

Bodin and Locke advocated separation of powers argued that if the king were both law-maker and judge, then a cruel king might give cruel sentence. During the Commonwealth period in England Cromwell separated the executive and legislative functions, though as the head of the executive, he dismissed the judges high-handedly. The Glorious Revolution deprived the English king of the power to suspend and dispense with laws. John Locke defended this step by enunciating the theory that the powers of government naturally divided themselves into those which were legislative in character, those which were executive and those which were federative (that is, diplomatic). The theory of separation of powers, however, emerged finally from the writings of Montesquieu.

✓ II. Theory of Separation of Powers

The absolute monarchs of Europe had to maintain different departments of government indeed, but they themselves controlled the executive, the legislative and the judicial departments. They held the ministers responsible to themselves, promulgated whatever laws they liked, and appointed and dismissed judges at their sweet will. In England, however, by a long process of constitutional struggle, Parliament secured the authority of making laws, and the judges got the right of holding office so long as they behaved well. As the liberty of the subject was greater in England than anywhere else in Europe in the middle of the XVIIIth century, Montesquieu came to believe that concentration of authority meant tyranny, and that only under a wise distribution of powers, safeguarded by checks and balances, was individual liberty possible. Montesquieu promulgated his theory in his *Esprit des Lois*, published in 1748.

Theory of Montesquieu Stated briefly, the theory of separation of powers means that the legislative, executive and judicial functions should be performed by different bodies of persons. Each body or department should be limited to its own sphere of action and neither body was to have a controlling power over either of the others. The reason for such a separation of powers is thus given by Montesquieu:—‘When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty. Again, there is no liberty if the judicial power is not separated from the

legislative and executive powers. Were it joined with the legislative power, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control; for the judge would then be the legislator. Were it joined with the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression. There would be an end of everything, were the same man or the same body, whether of the nobles or of the people, to exercise these three powers that of enacting the laws, that of executing the public resolutions and that of trying the cases of individuals.")

The theory of Montesquieu received powerful support from Blackstone, who in his Commentaries on the Laws of England (1765) observed: — "Whatever the right of making and enforcing the law is vested in the same man or one and the same body of men, there can be no public liberty." Blackstone's views

✓III. Influence of the Theory in America and France

The doctrine of Montesquieu and Blackstone was adopted and put into practice in America. The constitution adopted in Massachusetts in 1780 contained the following: — "In the government of this Commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them: to the end it may be a government of laws, and not of men." The Massachusetts Constitution
The theory of separation of powers was also accepted as the basic principle of the U. S. A. federal constitution.

The theory gained recognition in France, the land of its birth. The sixteenth Article of the Declaration of Rights declared: — "Every society in which the separation of powers is not determined has no constitution." The French Constitution of 1791
 Accordingly, the French Constitution of 1791 made the executive and the legislature independent of each other, and the judges elective.

IV. Criticism of the Theory

The theory of separation of powers, as interpreted in a narrower sense in the Massachusetts constitution quoted above, is impossible of achievement in practice. In this narrower sense it means the complete isolation of the three departments from one another. But government being an organic whole cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. Complete separation is impracticable
 The division of government into parts and their relative power depends really upon the purpose of government and the relative technical capacity of the various bodies of men who are employed in its realization. France found

it impossible to work out the constitution of 1791 and after various constitutional experiments, has adopted the cabinet system of government in which the executive is responsible to the legislature. Even in a non-parliamentary constitution, the legislature ought to be and is able to secure through its power over the purse some control over the executive. The Judiciary must also interpret the law which the Legislature lays down. The Executive exercises the prerogative of pardon and thus check or undo the harsh decisions of the Judiciary. These examples show the interdependence of the three departments of government.

But in a broader sense—that the three powers shall be in separate hands—all modern constitutional states conform to the ideal of separation of powers. In a non-parliamentary executive the separation obviously exists between the Executive and the Legislature. In parliamentary states, the Executive is only a part of the Legislature and not the whole of it; and as such some kind of separation exists. The Judiciary is independent in the sense that in most of the constitutional states the tenure of the judges is permanent, that is to say, they hold office while they are ‘of good behaviour.’ On the whole, however, there is more of interdependence between the powers than isolated independence.

R V. Extent of Application of the Theory in existing Governments

Though in a broader sense the theory of separation of powers is true, yet we do not find complete separation in any government in the world. It is neither desirable nor practicable to separate the three powers of government. It is not desirable to separate the powers because if each department of the government were completely independent in its sphere so that it could thwart the actions of the others, frequent deadlocks would be inevitable. As Mill pointed out, “Each department acting in defence of its own powers would never lend its aid to the others, and the consequent loss in efficiency would outweigh all the possible advantages arising from independence.”

The theory of separation of powers is not practicable too. The Legislature lays down the broad outlines of a law, but the details must be worked out by the executive department in course of its application. The legislative body in every country allows more and more scope to the executive to make rules under the Act and those rules too have got binding authority. Moreover, in times of emergency the executive authority must be vested with the power of issuing ordinances.

But some kind of separation is maintained

The government departments are inter-dependent

Law is made by all the three organs

The Judiciary gets a share in legislation through its power to interpret the written law and to declare what is unwritten law. Thus the work of legislation must be divided amongst all the three departments of the state. Madison rightly observed :—
 “Unless the departments were so far connected and blended as to give to each a constitutional control over the others, the degree of separation which the maxim requires as essential to a free government can never in practice be duly maintained.” The Judiciary performs some executive functions too. The lower courts in the U. S. A. and the Justices of Peace in England are entrusted with the duty of maintaining peace. Moreover, the Legislature serves some judicial functions. The House of Lords in England is the highest court of appeal. (Moreover, the Parliament in England, the Congress in the U. S. A. and the Chambers in France are courts of impeachment.)

The English constitution maintains some kind of separation of powers. Parliament as a body, performs the function of the legislature and is distinct from the Executive. The British Parliament, unlike the Senate in the U. S. A., does not meddle with the appointment of high officials, nor does it legally require that the treaties in order to be valid must be ratified by it. The cabinet is, indeed, formed of the members of the legislature, but it is only a small part of the legislature. The judges are appointed by the executive authority, but they cannot be dismissed by the latter. A judge may be removed only when both the Houses of the Legislature present an address to His Majesty for his removal. The salary of judges, however, is not voted by Parliament every year; it is a part of the permanent charge on the Consolidated Fund. It is for these reasons that Willoughby, a great authority on Administration, writes : “A close study of the English Government in its practical working shows that, organically, the principle of the separation of powers has been carried out with a rigidity, that is found in few or no other governments.” But it must be noted that in the British constitution there is no division of organs of government into water-tight compartments. The members of the cabinet are the leading members of the legislature. They initiate the most important bills, they put forward the proposals for raising the revenue and spending it and their proposals are seldom, if ever, modified or rejected. The cabinet can dissolve the House of Commons and order a fresh election. In recent years, the executive has been delegated some powers to make rules and regulations, which vitally affect the welfare of citizens. The executive is also discharging some important judicial functions to-day. The Legislature, on the other hand, discusses the conduct of the executive and performs some executive functions through its committees.

Extent of
separation
in the
British Con-
stitution }

(In the United States the whole constitution was based on the theory of separation of powers.) The President, as the head of the Executive, is elected directly by the people. He is not responsible to the Legislature, but all the executive officers of the federation are responsible to him. The President or his secretaries cannot be members of the Legislature. The judges are independent of both the legislature and the executive. In spite of these arrangements, the three organs of government could not be kept entirely separate from one another. The Senate, a part of the legislature, takes part in executive affairs, when it controls the appointments of high officers and ratifies treaties. The Congress, as a whole, controls the executive through its power of supplying or withholding grants. The President, on the other hand, can influence the Congress by sending messages to it and by the exercise of his suspensive veto on legislation. Moreover, the heads of departments appear before the committees of the Congress. The President appoints the judges of the federal court, though he cannot remove them. He can exercise the prerogative of mercy in all cases except those of impeachment. The judiciary can declare the laws passed by the Congress as *ultra vires* or inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. The emergence of the party system has brought the Executive and the Legislature in closer contact with each other, as the members of the same party may get the majority in both the departments.

✓ In India, theoretically the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature are separated. But the Governor General and the Provincial Governors have power to issue ordinances and make laws by their own authority. They can dissolve or suspend the Legislature and take all legislative authority in their own hand on the break down of the provincial constitution. The federal court has been empowered to declare the provincial laws *ultra vires*, if it finds them unconstitutional. Moreover, the District Magistrate is the head of the Police, and again he is the trying authority in certain cases. "To be tried by a man who is at once the judge and prosecutor is too glaring an injustice, when the functions of a policeman, a magistrate and a judge are all united in the same officer, it is vain to look for justice."

VI. Divisions of Powers in Modern Democratic Governments

There are two main divisions in the business of government : to determine that certain things shall be done and to make the people do them. Those bodies which are concerned with determining the things which shall be done are the Electorate, the Political Parties, Parliament, the Cabinet and the Chief of the

State. The Cabinet, the Chief of the State, the Civil Service and the Courts of Justice are charged with the duty of causing people to do the things that have been decided upon. These seven main centres of political activity must act in harmony and co-operation to produce orderly form of government. The electorate remains a disorganised mass of men and women without any coherent principle so long as the political parties drill and organise it. The electorate sends representatives to Parliament through elections and the members occasionally come to the constituencies to ascertain the views of their electors. The Legislature is in one sense the conference of political parties. The Cabinet owes its power either to the Legislature or to the Electorate. The Civil Service lends its expert knowledge to the Cabinet in the matter of framing bills and handling discussions. It comes in contact with the electorate through deputations and advisory councils. The Courts of Law interpret law in such a way as to make it conform to the general trend of thought prevailing among the electorate.

Though the power and quality of each of these seven organs of modern government are different from one another and each has its own sphere of activity and influence, yet they are necessarily inter-related. The existence of well-organized parties makes it possible to carry on the government in a disciplined and at the same time democratic way. The party organizes the voters in the hope of securing a majority or at least making a formidable opposition. No party can afford to ignore even a single vote and to secure votes each party must show achievements. The exchange of views in the Legislature, conformation to rules of procedure and personal contacts foster a conciliatory attitude in the members of the different parties and promote party and parliamentary competence.

CHAPTER XII

THE LEGISLATURE

I. Functions of Legislature

The functions of a Legislature depend on the principle on which it is constituted. Broadly speaking, three systems are in use in the formulation of a legislative policy. An autocratic monarch or a bureaucratic government may keep up a Legislature merely as a consultative body. The Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Austria-Hungary allowed very little legislative power to the Legislatures of their respective empires. The Legislative councils of India were entirely subordinate to the Executive in the nineteenth century. At present, the control of representative assemblies over law-making is increasing in many countries.

✓ In the parliamentary form of government the Executive is subordinated to the Legislature. The will of the Legislature is supreme in almost every sphere of governmental activity. Such a system prevails in England and France.

A balancing of authority between the Executive and the Legislature may exist. One authority may be designed to check another. This is the case in the United States of America. The Congress of the U. S. A. can neither control the Executive directly nor can it make laws amending the constitution.

Thus, it will be apparent that there is much difference between one Legislature and another in the scope of authority and consequently, in functions. But generally the functions of law-making bodies may be classified under four heads: Legislative, Taxative, Deliberative and Judicial.

✓ Their primary business is to make the law of the land, repeal laws which are not suited to the age, and to make the law conform to the exigencies of time. The legislative bodies exercise also taxative powers. They determine the method of raising money, the amount to be raised and the manner in which it is to be spent. They exercise control, to a certain extent, the domestic and foreign policy of the executive government through their control over finance and in some cases over ministers. In parliamentary government

the Legislature controls the Executive through questions, motions and votes of no confidence. They exercise certain judicial functions through their powers of deciding contested elections of settling their own procedure of work and of acting as courts of impeachment.

The functions of government in every civilised state have extended enormously in recent times and the result has been the widening of the sphere of activity of the Legislature. But the Legislatures are finding it impossible to cope with the increasing pressure of business. So even in advanced states like England, the Legislature is being forced to delegate a part of its authority to the administrative bodies. On the other hand, there are signs to show that people are losing their confidence in the multitudinous Legislature, consisting of mere amateurs. This loss of confidence in Legislature is reflected in the demand for direct legislation by referendum and initiative and in the creation of commissions of experts.

Loss of confidence in Legislatures

II. Structure of Legislature

In modern states laws are passed in the collective interest of the mass of the people ; and various devices have been adopted to secure the "active consent of the citizens" in law-making. Legislation and taxation, two of the most important functions of the Legislature, can be properly carried out only by means of adequate deliberation. "The Legislature is, par excellence, a deliberative body," says Leacock, "and for deliberation two heads are better than one, and two hundred are better than two." The legislative body must consist of many persons, representing numerous interests, various points of view, and different sections of the community. But if the size of the Legislature becomes very big, various complications arise in conducting the business before the House. Effective debate is impossible in a large body. A few persons only get an opportunity of speaking their mind and the rest remain silent spectators. The vote of the latter is not influenced by what is said in the Legislature but by party arrangements outside the Legislature. On the other hand, if the size of the Legislature is small, one representative has to be elected by a very large electorate. In this case it becomes well-nigh impossible for a representative to maintain any genuine personal relations with the electorate. Lasaki argues that no Legislature ought to exceed five hundred members, if it is to perform its function efficiently. But if the country is a big one with large population, the constituencies will be unwieldy. In the United States of America, there is one member for every 6958 square

Composition of Legislature

miles and 282,241 of the population in the House of Representatives. Under Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in India the size of a constituency for the Legislative Assembly was 12000 to 24000 square miles. It must be admitted that under such a scheme of representation it is extremely difficult for the member to keep himself in touch with his constituency.

✓ III. Bicameral Legislature—its merits and demerits

The legislature in most of the states consists of two chambers. This arrangement is known as the bicameral system. It has grown out of a historical accident, but arguments are now adduced to show that it is a necessary safeguard of constitutional liberty. In the medieval legislatures there were three, four or five chambers, each representing a particular class or estate in the community. But in England, the lower clergy ceased to attend Parliament and preferred to vote their contribution to the government through their own Convocation, while the other clergy sat with the greater nobles ; and the lesser nobility, the knights of the shire, threw in their lot, with the burghers. Thus, the English Parliament was divided into two Chambers, the House of Lords and the House of Commons in the middle of the fourteenth century. The success of constitutional government in England has convinced the people of different countries of the utility of the bicameral system. Historical and philosophical arguments have been adduced to show the necessity of this system.

Origin of
two Houses
of Parli-
ament in
England

History shows that experiments in the unicameral method have generally been tried during periods of revolutionary reconstruction only. In England, the House of Lords, Failure of unicameral system was abolished during the early period of Cromwell's Protectorate ; but was re-established after the Restoration. The Articles of Confederation in the United States made provision for one chamber ; and this gave rise to so much dissatisfaction that it had to be given up. In France, again, the successive constitutions of 1789, 1791, and 1793 were based upon the unicameral principle. The proceedings of her Legislative Assemblies of the period "were marked by violence, instability and excesses of the worst kind." The Frenchmen, therefore, restored to the bicameral system in 1795.

In the case of a federal state there is a special argument in favour of a Second Chamber. The Lower House represents the population of the federation as a whole, while the Second Chamber is so arranged as to embody the federal principle, or to enshrine the will of the states forming the federation. But the operation of party system has made it practically unnecessary to have any

Need of a
Second
Chamber in
a Federation

safeguard against the danger of smaller units of being overweighed by more populous neighbours. Members of the Republican party in the U. S. A. vote in much the same way in the Senate as in the House of Representatives. In those federal states, where there is no racial or religious question, growth of a sense of nationalism and of facilities in communication tends to make largely obsolete the original units of representation. But the states, having special representation in the Second Chamber, cling to it as a valuable privilege and would be most reluctant to abolish such a chamber. In Canada and Switzerland, a Second Chamber becomes all the more necessary because the racial interest of the French-Canadians and the religious interests of the Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans have to be specially safeguarded.

Most of the unitary states of the world have adopted the bicameral system for its manifold advantages. Of these advantages, the following are the most important. First, the existence of a Second Chamber prevents the passage of hasty and ill-considered legislation by a single House. A Second Chamber interposes delay between the introduction and final adoption of a measure and thus affords time for reflection and deliberation. "The necessity of a Second Chamber," says Lecky, "to exercise a controlling, modifying, retarding influence, has acquired almost the position of an axiom." But in every modern legislature a long procedure is prescribed for enacting bills. The first reading, the second reading, a severe scrutiny in the committee stage, sometimes the circulation of a bill for eliciting public opinion, and the third reading afford much time for discussion and analysis. Moreover, the delay which is necessary for the sake of safety is secured by the slowness with which a great organisation like a political party is persuaded to accept a novelty.

Secondly, it is argued that a Second Chamber affords protection to the individual against the despotism of a single chamber. The existence of a Second Chamber is said to be a guarantee of liberty well as to some extent a safeguard against tyranny.

A majority party in a single-chambered Legislature, conscious of having only itself to consult, may abuse its power, and try to absorb the powers of the executive and the judiciary. "The necessity of two chambers," says Bryce, "is based on the belief that the innate tendency of an assembly is to become hateful, tyrannical and corrupt, and needs to be checked by the existence of another house of equal authority."

A third advantage of the bicameral system is that it gives representation to special interests or classes in the state. In almost every state there are different classes, such as, Labour

and Capital, Nobles and Commons etc., and unless every section of the community is represented in the Legislature, there would be oppression of one class by another. M. Duguit thinks that the best type of legislature would be that in which one chamber would represent the population as a whole, and another the various groups into which the population is divided.

Fourthly, a second chamber based on the principle of nomination affords a chance to able men to enter the Legislature.

Able men
may enter
politics

It may be a
reservoir of
knowledge

Some eminent people do not like to undergo the trouble and botheration of election, but their counsel may be very valuable. Bryce thinks that in the present age when people are losing their faith in politicians, there is special need of creating a second chamber as a kind of reservoir of special knowledge. The Upper Houses should have a longer tenure than the Lower Chamber, and should consist of more experienced men.

Another advantage of doubtful merit is claimed for the bicameral system. Difference of opinion between the two Houses makes the executive stronger as it can appeal from one House to another. It may be said that the bicameral system maintains the independence of the Executive. "Two Houses," says Gettel, "checking each other, give greater freedom to the Executive, and in the long run secure the best interests of both departments."

Arguments in favour of Unicameral System

Abbe Sieyes, the most prolific Constitution-monger of the period of the first French Revolution called in question the utility of a second chamber by propounding a dilemma. He is said to have asked, "Of what use will a Second Chamber be? If it agrees with the Representative House, it will be superfluous, if it disagrees, mischievous."

Lord Bryce remarks that this dilemma recalls the story attributed to the Khalif Omar when he permitted the destruction of the library at Alexandria, ("If the books agree with the Koran, they are not needed; if they differ, they ought to perish.") It may be further pointed out in refuting the Abbe's dilemma that a second chamber may do the work involving neither agreement nor disagreement with lower chamber and it may, where it agrees in aims, suggest other and better means of attaining them. The remark of Sieyes, however, contains some grain of truth. If the Second Chamber is a nominated body like the British House of Lords, equal rights for all citizens are denied. A small class in the State is given a special control over policy. If the Second Chamber is filled up by members, nomi-

Bryce's
reply

Difficulties
of constitu-
ting a
Second
Chamber

nated by the Executive, it would lack the authority possessed by the popularly elected chamber. If it is indirectly elected like the French Senate it will give scope for bribery and corruption. Graham Wallas suggests that the indirect election should be based not upon inferior legislatures, but upon trades and professions. But it is very difficult to decide what weight is to be given to each trade and profession relative to another. Lees-Smith suggests the Norwegian plan according to which the Second Chamber would be a small body elected by the first, and roughly proportionate to the composition of the latter. Its function should be limited to the postponement and revision only. But undoubtedly such a chamber would be weak and somewhat superfluous.

The main contention against bicameralism is that the double chamber sacrifices the great principle of unity of the state. Legislation being merely the expression of the common will, there is hardly any necessity of committing it to two separate assemblies, each having a veto on the action of the other. It is said that a double chambered legislature is an assembly divided against itself. Laski holds that a second chamber is no more likely than the first to be correct in its judgment of the electoral will. "The necessary checks," he concludes, "are always present in the inertia of the mass, and the desire of a government to avoid large changes which may be disastrous. Any other checks will, almost inevitably, be a premium not upon improvement but upon opposition in terms of vested interest."

Divided
power

Gottel thinks that the bicameral system of legislature is a symptom of a transitional stage in political development. It stresses the difference of views and interests of the different classes in the state. When unity of interests would prevail, there would be no necessity of two chambers. "Common discussion in one broadly representative chamber," says Amos, "must surpass in value any series of discussions conducted first by persons having exclusively one order interests and afterwards by those having exclusively another (er.)"

Bicameral
system is
transitional
in character

tive movements have taken place for the substitution of a single chamber in the place of existing bicameral legislature. Thus, in the state of Queensland, Australia, in 1922 the upper chamber of the legislature was formally abolished. Greece, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Rumania, Honduras, Salvador, Panama, the Dominican Republic, all the Canadian provinces except two (Quebec and Nova Scotia), the cantons of Switzerland, many of the individual states of the German and Austrian federal republics, and most of those of the

Unicameral
Legislatures
in new consti-
tutions

Latin American Federations, have unicameral legislatures. Several of the new states which came into existence after the last war—Yugoslavia, Finland, Latvia, and Esthonia—adopted the unicameral system. Again, the constituent assemblies or constitutional conventions, as Prof. Garner has pointed out, for framing and revising constitution, have universally been unicameral in structure and no one apparently, has ever proposed another system. Laski thinks that the single chamber and magni-competent Legislative Assembly seem best to answer the needs of the modern state/

IV. Composition and Functions of Upper Houses

Second chambers may be classified according to the method of composition into hereditary, nominated, partially elective and wholly elective. Hereditary second chambers are a relic of the medieval system of government. At the beginning of the present century, there were hereditary second chambers in Portugal, Austria, Hungary and England. With the exception of the British House of Lords all other purely hereditary Upper Houses have been swept away by the war. Though the composition of the House of Lords has not been changed, yet it has been shorn of its powers by the Parliament Act of 1911. Democratic theory cannot tolerate a hereditary second chamber. From time to time attempts are made in England to reform the composition of the House of Lords.

Hereditary
second
chamber

A nominated second chamber is distinguished from hereditary one by the fact that, while the office of hereditary peer is handed down from father to son, that of a nominated senator is terminable with death or after a defined period if the constitution so provides. The most important fully nominated second chambers are those of Italy and Canada. (The Italian Senate consists of "one-fifth of generals, one-fifth of high officials, one-fifth of big industrialist and bankers and one fifth of University professors and Fascist intellectuals." Theoretically, it has equal power with the Lower House, and no Bill can become law without its consent, yet in practice it cannot stand against the will of the Lower House to which alone the Ministry is responsible.)

Nominated
second
chamber in
Italy

The Senate in Canada is appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Ministry of the day. It consists of ninety-six members, but the number of representatives of the various provinces range from twenty-four to four. Each member must be at least thirty years of age and must have property worth at least 4000 dollars. The Canadian Senate has neither the power which attaches to an elective Second Chamber nor the usefulness of an Upper House which

In Canada

properly enshrines the federal idea. It does not usually oppose measures of first-class importance. When on rare occasions it does oppose, it defies public opinion.

(There are some partially elected Upper Houses, of which those of Japan, Spain and South Africa deserve special mention.) The Japanese House of Peers consists of the members of the Imperial family who have attained their majority, ^{Partially elected Second Chambers} princes and marquises at the age of twenty-five, a number of counts, viscounts, and barons, equal to one-fifth of the entire number of these three orders, elected for a term of seven years by the whole of them, the age-limit being twenty-five. Besides these, one member is elected in each city and prefecture by and from among the fifteen male inhabitants above the age of thirty who pay the highest amount of direct taxes when they are so elected. The Emperor nominates them to sit in the House of Peers for a term of seven years. The Japanese House of Peers is stronger than the House of Representatives. This is rather strange in view of the fact that the Second Chamber is not all a democratic body. But it must be remembered that democracy itself is new to Japan.

The Senate of South Africa consists of forty members, of whom eight are nominated by the Governor-General in Council and eight from each of the four provinces of the Union. The term of the Senate is normally ten years. ^{Senate of the Union of South Africa} As the ministers speak in it, it has got considerable power.

Elected Second Chambers are to be found in federal as well as in unitary states. For the sake of clarity we shall take up the case of the fully-federalised states first. Both in the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Australia, the second chamber is elected and the ^{Elected Second Chambers} term of the office of the senator is so determined as to ensure a continuity of life to the Senate. The Senate of the United States consists of 96 members, two being elected by the people in a general vote taken over each State. Its powers are greater than those of the House of Representatives, for it is not only a branch of the Legislature but also a sort of Council to the President, advising and, to some extent, controlling him in the appointment of officers and conducting of foreign policy.

The Australian Senate consists of 36 members, six being elected from each of the six states of the Commonwealth. The whole State is the electoral area for senatorial elections and each voter has as many votes as there are places to be filled up. The function of the senate is ^{Composition of the Australian Senate} purely legislative, but it cannot initiate or amend a

money bill. But unlike the British House of Lords the Australian Senate can reject finance bills.

Composition of the French Senate In the unitary states like France and the Irish Free State, senate are fully elective. The French Senate consists of three hundred members whose term is nine years. One third of the membership is renewed every three years. The senate is elected indirectly, by means of "electoral colleges" constituted for the purpose in the several departments and colonies. The electoral college in each case consists of deputies from the department, the members of the general council of the department, the members of the councils of its arrondissements, and delegates chosen in each commune from the communal councils. This plan is followed in Sweden too. It has been called "popular election in the second degree," because the electors have been themselves elected by bodies chosen by the citizens. In all matters, except finance, the senate has got co-ordinate authority with the chamber of deputies. It has frequently forced the resignation of a ministry.

The Swiss Council of States "The Council of States in Switzerland", according to Woodrow Wilson, "can hardly be called the federal chamber; neither is it merely a second chamber. Its position is anomalous." It consists of two members from each of the nineteen cantons and one member from each of the six half-cantons. But the mode of election is left to each canton; so that in some cantons the members are popularly elected and in seven they are chosen by the legislative body of the canton. The Council of States is in no way differentiated in functions from the Lower House. It does not safeguard the rights of the cantons, nor does it possess the authority to make final revision. The people themselves exercise the final authority in law-making through the instrument of the Referendum.

The German Reichsrat The second chamber in Germany was called the Reichsrat. The states were represented in it by members of their Governments. The states were not equally represented in it and thus it failed to embody the safeguarding principle of federalism. It could not initiate any law, nor was its consent necessary for the passage of legislation. But it had power to lodge an objection with the Government regarding any Bill passed by the Lower House.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb are dissatisfied with the principle of composition and function of all the existing second chambers but they think that the volume of work of modern legislature has increased to such an extent that a division of their business is desirable. They have propounded the following scheme in their

work "A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain"; "What we shall call the Political Democracy dealing with national defence, international relations, and the administration of justice, needs to be set apart from what we propose to call the Social Democracy, to which is entrusted the national administration of the industries and services by and through which the community lives.....The Co-operative Commonwealth of to-morrow must accordingly have, not one national assembly only, but two, each with its own sphere; not of course, without mutual relations, to be hereafter discovered, but equal and independent, and neither of them first or last. We regard two co-ordinate national assemblies, one dealing with criminal law and political dominion, and the other with economic and social administration, not merely as the only effective way remedying the present congestion of parliamentary business, but also as an essential condition of the progressive substitution, with any approach to completeness of the community for the private capitalist." But can two such assemblies be maintained on a footing of equality? The body which will have the taxing power will soon acquire superiority over the other. Moreover, foreign policy cannot be separated from economic policy; imposition of tariff, raising of foreign loan, state-purchase of raw materials from foreign countries are bound to be matters of common interest to both the bodies.

The analysis of the composition and functions of the second chambers will bear out the following conclusion, arrived at by Lord Bryce,—"Broadly speaking, the powers of the Second Chamber vary with the mode of its formation. They are widest where it is directly elected, narrowest where it is nominated or hereditary. The more it is popular the more authority, the less it is popular the less authority will it possess. Where not directly elected, it is always under the disadvantage of fearing to displease the popular house, and the latter should seek to get rid of its resistance by rousing the people against it."

Scheme of
Webb

Democratic
Second
Chambers
possess great
powers

V. How are Deadlocks Avoided?

Three theories have been held regarding the functions of a second chamber. The second chamber may have equal power in all matters with the popular house. Such a position is said to give rise to frequent deadlocks. The second view is that it should be subordinate in financial legislation to the lower chamber, but should enjoy equal power in all other matters. In this case, too, deadlocks between the two chambers may arise.

Three theories regarding the functions of Second Chambers

Thirdly, the second chamber may have the limited power of suggesting amendments and recommending modifications of detail only.

Where the third view prevails, a time limit is fixed after which the second chamber must accept any Bill passed a second or third time which it has previously rejected. Such a method of avoiding deadlock is to be found in the English constitution. Another method of settling differences between the two chambers is followed in the Commonwealth of Australia. When the two Houses cannot agree, in Australia, the Legislature is dissolved and the contentious Bill is again voted on by both Houses after the general election and ultimately by the Houses sitting together. In Switzerland, the controversial question is referred to the whole people to be voted on by them. In France and the United States, no constitutional provision for terminating a dispute exists. "One or other house gives way;" says Bryce, "in France usually the Senate, in the United States more frequently the House of Representatives."

Four
methods
of solving
deadlocks

VI. Composition of Lower Houses

Though the principle of composition of the second chamber is different in different states, there is substantial agreement concerning the composition of their lower houses. In every modern state the right of choosing representatives is extended to a large number of citizens. Seats are generally distributed to constituencies according to population. The method of direct election is followed almost everywhere, and there is a general feeling that no intermediate body should intervene between the voters and their representatives in the lower chamber.

Direct elec-
tion accord-
ing to
population

While there is harmony of views regarding these matters, there have arisen controversies regarding the desirability of further extension of suffrage, the principle of forming multi-member constituency and introducing proportional representation. These questions will be taken up for discussion in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Various
problems

VII. Procedure in Legislature

Legislative bodies generally adopt certain rules regulating their organization, methods of passing laws and voting, taxes and adjournment. The procedural rules prevent hasty action, insure orderly deliberation, and allow the effective utilization of the limited time available for discharging the multifarious duties assumed by the legislature.

Need of
adopting
fixed rules

There is substantial agreement in the procedure followed by the legislative bodies of most of the democratic countries, because they have taken up the model furnished by the British Parliament. Thus, in every legislature we find that bills are first formally introduced, then discussed by committees and debated on the floor ; amendments are proposed and voted on and a final vote is taken on the amended measure. There are, however, some important points of divergence from the British model in the procedure followed in the American, French, Italian and German legislative bodies.

The most important difference is found in the function of committees of legislative bodies. In the House of Commons the function of the standing committees is limited to amendment of bills only in terms of the general subject matter already decided on ; it is unusual for a committee to make any change of controversial character.

**Difference
in the
function of
Committees**

Moreover, the most important bills do not go to a standing committee at all but are taken up by the committee of the whole House. In the U. S. A. the committees can make whatever changes they like in the bill and even kill it or introduce an entirely new bill. Bills go to committees before they are discussed in the Congress and the vast majority of bills die in the committee stage there. In France the committees, which are known as legislative commissions, can introduce important amendments in the bill and the discussion on it in the full house is directed by the president of the committee rather than by the member who originally introduced the bill. In Germany, before 1933 the Reichstag committees received bills after they had been debated in the whole house but they could subsequently introduce amendments to those.

Another important variation in the procedure relates to the position of the Speaker, that is, the Chairman of the lower house of legislature. The Speaker is, of course, everywhere originally elected by the party commanding majority from amongst themselves. But once elected the Speaker

**Position
of the
Speaker**

divests himself of party character and becomes a completely impartial moderator of the proceedings. He takes no part in party activities, never speaks for or against any proposal, in the House, and his constituency is not usually contested by the opposing party in a general election. But in the House of Representatives of the U. S. A. the Speaker not only retains his party affiliation but also continues to be one of the principal leaders of the majority party. He introduces bills, takes part in debate and votes on many occasions, even when there is no tie. The President of the Chamber of Deputies of France continues to take part in party politics, occasionally speaks from the floor and votes ; but while conducting the proceedings in the House

he maintains an attitude of strict neutrality. In the provincial legislatures of India, the Speakers have retained their party affiliation. One Speaker in a Congress province publicly declared that he would remain an active member of his party. But no Speaker has as yet departed from the ideal of strict neutrality and impartiality while presiding over the House. In Japan, the Speaker of the House of Representatives continues to be a member of a party.

"In all countries the fact that procedural rules and practice have increasingly circumscribed", observes J. J. Senturia, "the function of the private member has given rise to considerable complaint. Most of the witnesses who testified before the Select Committee on Procedure on Public Business of the House of Commons in 1930 and 1931 declared that the prestige of Parliament was declining because the government was curtailing the rights of private members and was converting them into voting machines who, without participating in or even hearing the debate, rush into the chamber at the cry of "division" to march obediently into the lobby indicated by the Whip's thumb."

Certain rules are observed in every legislature for terminating debates. A debate may be brought to an end if a motion, called the "Previous Question", is moved by any member and accepted by the majority of those present. Discussions on certain clauses of a bill or the whole of it may be altogether precluded by the passing of a resolution known as the "Guillotine" or "Closure by Compartment."

Modern legislative bodies are overburdened with work. Some relief may be given to these bodies by simplifying the old procedure and by delegating some work to subordinate bodies. Valuable time may be saved by adopting modern means of voting ; by abrogation of the custom of having bills read aloud in full, by curtailing debates in some cases, and by modification of the "unanimous consent" principle, which facilitates individual obstruction. Parliamentary function should be limited to the laying down of broad general principles, leaving details to the proper administrative officials. Private bills affecting certain localities or individuals can be easily dealt with by judicial bodies.

VIII. Direct Legislation by the People

The movement in favour of direct legislation by the people has originated from two considerations, one theoretic, the other practical. The theoretic consideration is that as all power belongs of right to the people, they should take a direct part in making the laws. The

Decline of
Parliament's
power and
prestige

✓ Devices for
expediting
Parliamentary
business

Some
suggestions
for relieving
legislature

Causes of
demand

practical consideration is that people have been disappointed with the Legislature in many cases and as such want power to review its action and to make laws without its intervention. In most of the states the party discipline is so strong as to destroy the individual representation.

There are three ultra-democratic devices to secure the direct intervention of the people in legislation. These are the Referendum, the Popular Initiative and the Recall.

The Referendum allows the voters to review the acts of the Legislature before they actually pass into law; the Popular Initiative gives them the right to propose measures to be passed by their representatives, and the Recall empowers them to remove an unsatisfactory representative before the expiry of his term of office. Besides Referendum, Initiative and Recall we may also add Plebiscite and Town meeting. Plebiscite provides for the submission of a certain matter to popular vote and ascertains the policy of the government regarding the matter. Town meeting prevails in New England (U. S. A.), "where the voters in mass meeting, elect town-officers and decide questions of local concern."

Referendum
and Initiative

In the rigid constitutions of Switzerland, Australia and Germany amendments to the constitution must be put before the people. There are two kinds of Referendum with regard to ordinary laws. In some of the Swiss cantons all laws whatsoever must be submitted to popular vote. This is called the Obligatory Referendum. In other cantons and in the Confederation and also in the American States and Esthonia, the submission of a law takes place only at the demand of a prescribed number of citizens. This is known as the Optional or Facultative Referendum. In Switzerland as well as in most of the American States any law demanded by the Legislature to be urgent is exempted from the operation of the Referendum.

Two kinds
of
Referendum

The principle of the Initiative has been adopted in Switzerland, some of the American States, Germany and Esthonia. In the Swiss Confederation 50,000 citizens may propose an amendment to the Federal constitution either as a specific proposal or as a request that such be drawn up by the Legislature. "In the first case, it must be submitted directly to a popular vote; in the second, the people must be asked if they desire the proposal to be proceeded with, and if they by a majority so desire, then the bill is drawn up and finally submitted for acceptance or rejection. In the cantons the regulations for the use of the Initiative go farther and include not only constitutional matters, but ordinary laws and resolutions." In the United

Mechanism
of the
Initiative

States, the Initiative is in force in 19 states for laws, and in 14 states for constitutional amendments. In Germany if one-tenth of the voters initiate a request for the introduction of a bill, the government must present it to the Reichstag. If the Reichstag passes it, the law is promulgated without further ado, if it does not, the bill must be submitted to a Referendum.

The Recall prevails only in the Western American states, where a prescribed number of citizens send up a petition demanding the dismissal of an elected officer, whether executive or legislative, a popular vote is taken in the matter. Provision for Recall gives much power in the hands of the electors indeed, but it also gives scope for political intrigue. A defeated rival may try to secure signature of voters in a petition recalling the elected member.

If, however, proper safeguards are used, Recall may prove to be of great value to the electorate by enabling it to exercise some check both upon the member and his party. Recall should not be allowed to operate either in the first or in the last year of the life of a legislature. This makes its operation limited to the intervening three years during which it may be demanded by not less than half the electorate. When such a demand is made, a bye-election should be held to decide whether the member is to be retained or not. He should not be recalled unless two-thirds of those voting desired a change. In such a form Recall would serve as a warning to the Legislature that it needs to make itself trusted.

In Switzerland, every political issue to be voted by the people is abundantly discussed at public meetings and in the press. Bryce opines that the Swiss are the right sort of people in which to try the experiment of the Referendum. In the Western states of America too, the experiment can not be pronounced to be a failure. But the example of the Swiss and the Americans "will not suffice to prove that peoples like those of Lithuania and Poland, Serbia and Rumania, destitute of the experience Western America have enjoyed, can expect results equally good"—(Bryce).

In recent times another method of ascertaining the opinion of the people directly without the intervention of representatives has come into vogue. This method is called Plebiscite, which means literally a Referendum on any question. Napoleon Bonaparte asked the consent of the people in 1799 in the matter of the Constitution of the Consulate and again in 1802 when the Consulate was conferred on him for life. Louis Napoleon followed the precedent set up by his great uncle. Hitler has taken recourse to it again and again. But the dictator never allowed freedom of speech or freedom of assembly to the

Political education is needed before introducing Referendum

Plebiscite

people, whose opinion they sought. Under such circumstances, referring a measure to the people merely satisfies the instinct of the dictator for getting applause.

IX. Merits and defects of Direct Legislation

Direct legislation possesses theoretically certain merits. The ordinary citizens feel that sovereignty or ultimate authority is really vested in them. The Referendum ensures that no measure which is opposed by the majority of electors can become law. If the legislature proves to be indifferent to the need of making certain good laws, a section of the people can take the initiative themselves and force the legislature to put it before the public. In both the processes the voters can look at the proposed measures dispassionately apart from the question of personalities. In ordinary elections voters sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between the personality of candidates from the policy and programme to which they are committed. In the Australian constitution Referendum has helped to remove deadlocks between the two chambers of the legislature. Referendum has also resolved deadlocks between the Executive and the Legislature in Czechoslovakia and Lithuania.

But from the experience it has been found that the number of persons voting in a Referendum is often so small that it is difficult, from the size of the mass abstaining from voting, to know whether there is any public opinion at all upon the question raised. It is not, indeed, possible for many persons to vote on the complex measures which are referred to them. Even well-informed citizens can hardly grasp the implications of laws on intricate subjects like Banking, Currency, Tariff and Public Control of an industry. Moreover, the general mass of voters not only agree to a certain principle of legislation but they are not able to enunciate a principle in relation to its working technique, which invariably requires expert knowledge. A simple 'yes' or 'no' cannot take into account the complexities which are inherent in almost all the questions which require solution in a modern state. The average voter has no will or opinion on most questions of social significance. It has been pointed out by [unclear] that the introduction of Referendum in Parliamentary constitutions will weaken and embarrass the Executive; "unless there should occur a complete break with English political tradition, it is hardly conceivable that a ministry could with self-respect, or indeed with advantage to the country, remain in office after the rejection by the electorate of a government bill of first-rate importance."

Legislation on complex problems cannot be undertaken by the people directly

The enthusiasts for direct legislation contend that Referendum

and Initiative correct the faults of Legislatures, which may corruptly or in defiance of their mandate. (But the electorate usually influenced by newspapers and platform-speakers which do not always uphold the views conducive to general welfare. Defects of Legislature can be remedied only by the elevation of the moral and intellectual standards of the electorate as a whole, and not by the mere multiplication of machinery. It is said that under direct legislative party politics cannot acquire sinister proportions and group authority cannot be established. But a group or faction working hard may mislead the mass of voters more easily than the members of Legislature. Moreover, if a voter wants to give his considered and honest opinion on a question like devaluation of rupee, he will simply be bewildered by the variety of opinions expressed by different classes and sections of the community.

**Electorate
hypnotised
by propa-
ganda**

Direct legislation has not led to any wide-spread change anywhere. The general mass of people are conservative in temperament and the devices for direct legislation have simply rallied the conservative forces of society. The experience of direct legislation in Switzerland and the states in America goes to show that it has made little difference, either for improvement or the reverse, to the quality of the Legislature. The opponents of direct legislation argue that if the people become the final authority for accepting or rejecting a measure, the sense of responsibility of a Legislative Assembly would diminish. But this argument presupposes a far greater frequency of reference to the people than is likely to be the case. In a small state with an enlightened electorate, Referendum and Initiative would be of great value. But in a large country like England it would cause such delay in the promulgation of laws that society would be deprived of benefits which these laws were designed to bestow. Owing to the prevalence of wide-spread ignorance and illiteracy in India it is impossible to introduce Referendum and Initiative. Moreover, the large size of the electorate makes their introduction impossible both on financial and on administrative grounds.

**People are
conservative
in tempera-
ment**

If direct legislation is not possible in large states, is there any means of making the influence of the electors felt during intervals between general elections? Yes.

**Indirect
influence of
people on
Legislation**

four ways by which the voters can exercise their influence in determining policy. First, the political parties should be made more responsive to the will of the electors than is now the case. Secondly, the voters should be organised into a variety of propaganda associations connected with particular issues. The resolutions passed in such associations cannot but influence the Legislature. Thirdly, the vote

are organized in associations in their aspect of producers, such as manufacturers, miners, engineers, teachers and doctors. Such associations will put pressure on the Legislature for the remedies which particularly concern the special problems of their professions. Fourthly, the consumers of each well-defined locality may organize themselves into groups to see that the latest inventions were properly utilised and that the price charged does not exceed the cost of production of the marginal producer.

CHAPTER XIII

PROBLEMS OF REPRESENTATION AND OF MINORITIES

Universal Adult Suffrage

The basic principle of democracy is to provide a machinery through which the will of the average citizen has channels of direct access to the source of authority. The function of the Legislature is to make laws which govern the life of citizens.

Arguments
in favour
of adult
suffrage

Democrats hold that each and every citizen should have the right not only to represent his or her views but also to make and unmake governments. This right has been recognised after severe struggles of nearly a century and a half. It was declared on the eve of the French Revolution that "All the individuals who compose the association have the inalienable and sacred right to participate in the formation of the law, and if each could make his particular will known, the gathering of all these wills would variably form the general will, and this would be the final degree of political perfection. None can be deprived of this right upon any pretext or in any government.") The theory of natural rights has been given up to-day, but more cogent and powerful reasons have been found to show the necessity of conferring the right to enfranchise on every individual. Without franchise there can be no freedom. History has demonstrated that the will of those who are excluded from franchise is not considered by the rulers of the state in the making of policy. "To be free," argues Laski, "a people must be able to choose its rulers at stated intervals simply because there is no other way in which their wants, as they experience the wants, will receive attention.....Power that is unaccountable makes instruments of men who should be ends in themselves. Responsible government in a democracy lives always in the shadow of coming defeat; and this makes it eager to satisfy those with whose destinies it is charged." If the right of franchise is conferred on a particular class or section of population to the exclusion of others, the Legislature is bound to discriminate against the class or section excluded from power.

It is by the threat of violence, as in England, or by actual violence, as in France, that the privileged classes have been forced to admit all citizens to the right of franchise. In the post-war constitutions of Europe adult suffrage became an usual feature. The Lower Chambers in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Estonia and Germany were elected by all adult men and women. The new

Modern
democracies
have accep-
ted adult
suffrage

constitution of Russia has also adopted this principle. All the Dominions in the British Commonwealth have introduced adult suffrage with a few restrictions on certain classes of people.

✓ But in India only 27 per cent of the total adult population have been enfranchised under the Constitution of 1935. Various qualifications, such as payment of Local, Provincial and Central taxes, ownership of property and education ^{Restriction in India} fitness, have been prescribed for franchise. There is, however, no uniformity in these qualifications among the different provinces or among the different constituencies in the same province. Thus, with regard to educational qualification, in Madras it is simple literacy, in the U. P. the upper primary examination, in the Punjab the primary examination, in Assam middle school leaving certificate, but in Bengal, Bombay, Bihar, Orissa and Sind the qualification is matriculation examination. Madras is not certainly more backward than Bengal and Bombay, and yet the educational qualification there is much lower than in the other two Presidencies. But this divergence is a minor question. The fundamental question is whether any restriction at all is desirable in the matter of franchise.

In the middle of the nineteenth century when franchise was being extended, John Stuart Mill insisted on certain qualifications for voters. (In his opinion, every voter should be able to read, write and perform sum in the Rule of Three. ✓ If government by the whole people is to be a success," observes Garner, "they must be fitted and made capable for ^{Educational qualification} self-government." "To vest the power of choosing those who are to rule the state in the hands of the incapable and unworthy classes," as Bluntschli justly remarks, "would mean state-suicide." "Give the suffrage to the ignorant," says Laveley and they will fall into anarchy to-day and into despotism to-morrow." Whatever be the truth in these propositions we should note the saying of John Stuart Mill that "universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement." But this is putting the cart before the horse. If franchise is extended to the illiterate classes, the governing classes will try to educate them with a view to gain their support. A large number of illiterate factory-workers were enfranchised by the Second Reform Act in England in 1867 and then the ruling classes decided to educate "their masters." Moreover, neither the knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, nor high proficiency in Philosophy or Mathematics does equip a person with the requisite capacity and discretion to exercise his franchise properly. A real knowledge of social affairs is fundamental to any real enfranchisement and sound decisions. The education test is no doubt sound in principle, but the difficulty lies in the lack of :

just and practical criterion by which it can be applied. ("There is no doubt," says Finer, "that tests based on knowledge now available, and indispensable to rational voting, would exclude some 95 per cent of all adults from franchise.")

In the nineteenth century possession of property was regarded as an essential requisite for franchise for three reasons. First, those who had property were said to have some stake in the country and as such were bound to give their considered opinion at the time of election. Secondly, it was apprehended that if franchise be extended to those who do not possess property would make an attempt to put an end to private property. Thirdly, it was thought that those who possessed property were men of education and so were competent to pronounce upon public affairs. But with the spread of general education among all classes, the third argument has no longer any validity. If franchise is limited to the propertied class only, government becomes corrupt and manifests all the evil features of the ancient oligarchy. Moreover, though the property qualification has been abolished in all progressive states, yet the propertied class exercises too much influence in the actual administration of the country. They are sufficiently powerful and do not require any special protection. It has also to be remembered that men without property have as much stake in the country as the propertied class has. Every citizen is entitled to see that the government is conducted in such a way as to give adequate protection to his life and liberty and to improve the general condition of the country. It is for this reason that modern opinion advocates the abolition of property qualification.

In every state, franchise is limited only to those who have attained the legal majority, though the age of attaining majority differs from country to country. In Russia, Turkey and Argentina the age of majority is 18, in Germany and Switzerland 20, in Britain, France, Italy, the U. S. A., Poland and Belgium 21, in Norway 23, in Finland 24, and in Spain, Japan, Denmark and Holland 25. The reason for excluding minors is that their mind is not sufficiently developed to deliver a sound judgment.

The question whether a person should have his place at the place where he votes or from where he stands as a candidate has been much debated. The condition like that of the United States requiring a person to vote only in that district which contains his residence promotes sectional outlook and introduces provincialism at the expense of national requirements. In England, a person may vote in every district in which he or she possesses the quali-

fication locally required. The question which is really important in this connection is whether a candidate should be a resident of the constituency from which he seeks election. If the residential qualification is insisted on, men of inferior qualifications may be returned to the Legislature to the exclusion of more capable men, who may reside in a particular electoral division in large numbers. "The ability, at the command of a state," observes Laski, "does not distribute itself with mathematical accuracy over the electoral divisions. New York is more likely to have a number of men capable of playing a distinguished part in the Senate than Delaware or Nevada." If the residential qualification is rigidly enforced, the candidate may prefer getting himself elected with the help of sinister interests to defeat and total exclusion from political life. Some constituencies, again, have pronounced views on certain subjects, and if the resident representative differs from these views, he would have no chance of being re-elected. Universal adult suffrage should mean also the right of adult women to vote. In the last century there was a good deal of controversy in the western countries on this topic. But now-a-days most of the enlightened states of the world have allowed the women to exercise the right of franchise.

✓ II. Franchise for Women

In the first half of the nineteenth century, extension of franchise to women was not considered essential to the principle of democratic government. The demand for universal suffrage, as put forward by agitators like the Chartists, meant in practice the demand for manhood suffrage to the exclusion of woman suffrage. Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill took up the cause of women and adduced the following arguments to show that there can be no valid reason to debar women from franchise.

Champions
of women's
cause

First, sex alone should not prove to be a qualification or disqualification for the right of franchise; the criterion for determining the right is not physical, but moral and intellectual. "If," observed Judge Story, "it be said that all men have a natural, equal and inalienable right to vote because they are born free and equal; that they have common rights and interests entitled to protection and, therefore, an equal right to decide, either personally or by their chosen representatives, upon the laws and regulations which shall control measure, and sustain those rights and interests—what is there in those considerations which is not equally applicable to females, as free, intelligent, moral beings entitled

Sex is no
bar to
political
power

to equal rights and interests and protection and having a vital stake in all the regulations and laws of society ?”

Secondly, laws concerning the rights of women, should not be made by men alone. Women are, moreover, physically weaker, and, therefore, require special legislative protection, which can be secured to them only by giving them franchise.

Women have also interests to safeguard

Thirdly, as women have received in most of the states equal civil rights with men, and are freely admitted to all professions and employments, there is no reason why they should not have political enfranchisement. If educational qualifications and payment of taxes be considered essential conditions for franchise, exclusion of self-supporting educated women from the right to vote becomes extremely illogical.

Many women possess highest qualifications

Fourthly, woman suffrage would introduce into public life a purifying element. Women can exercise their moral influence on their male relatives in preventing the latter from selling their votes for any extraneous consideration. Moreover, they can wield a decisive influence in securing the enactment of advanced social legislation, particularly as regards such matters as child labour, the employment of women in factories, public health, tenement houses, and pure food legislation.

Women exercise moral influence on political life

Antagonists of women's rights advanced a few arguments which are mentioned here to show how fallacious these were.

The opponents of women's franchise pointed out that active participation of women in public life would tend to destroy her feminine qualities and interfere with her domestic duty. It may be said in reply that occasional exercise of the right to choose representatives does not take much time ; on the other hand, the interest taken in political affairs sharpens the intellect of women.

Does Politics interfere with domestic duties ?

Again, the opponents of woman franchise argue that if the wife does agree with the husband in the matter of voting, her vote is a mere duplication of her husband's vote ; if, on the other hand, she does not agree with her husband, discord would be introduced in family life.

Are women dominated by their husbands ?

objection Mill replied, “There would be some to them individually in having something to bestow which male relatives cannot exact, and are yet desirous to have. It would also be no small thing that the husband would necessarily discuss the matter with his wife and that the vote would not be his exclusive affair, but a joint concern.”

Some opponents of female suffrage opine that as women are incapable of military service, they should have no franchise. To this argument it may be replied that many women are now serving as soldiers, pilots and nurses. Moreover, men who are not trained as soldiers are rarely called into the service. If it be argued that majority of women in some states do not desire franchise, Mill would reply, "It is a benefit to human beings to take off their fetters, even if they do not desire to walk."

Women are incapable of bearing arms

Franchise has been extended to women in all western countries, except Latin Europe, where there still lingers a religious sentiment against the political emancipation of women. But it has been extended to women in France for the first time in 1945. In Japan, women do not enjoy franchise. In India the ratio of women to men voters for the Provincial Legislature was roughly speaking 1 to 20 under the Constitution of 1919. According to the present constitution, the ratio has increased to 1 woman as against 4.5 men voters. The right to franchise has been extended to all women (a) who possess a property qualification in their own right, (b) who are the wives or widows of men with the property qualifications and (c) who have an educational qualification. It is a matter of great regret that very few women voters in India cared to exercise their franchise in the election to Provincial Legislative Assemblies in 1937. The percentage of women who voted in contested constituencies was 5.2 in Bengal, 7.9 in Bihar, 19.3 in the U.P., 31.5 in Madras, 33.5 in the Punjab and 42.4 in Bombay. This shows that women of those provinces where the Purdah system prevails, were more negligent in the performance of their civic duties than their sisters of the more enlightened provinces.

Present position of woman franchise

III. Plural Voting and Weighted Voting

It has been contended by many that universal suffrage, without taking into consideration the differences in wealth, age and education, does not conduce to the development of a representative public opinion. They say that those who are more capable and efficient should be allowed

Meaning of plural voting

to exercise a wider discretion than the ordinary electors. To end in some countries the system of plural voting obtains. this system the same men possessing properties in different encies may vote in all these constituencies. Again, some may exercise their votes several times as owners erties, payers of income tax and as graduates of universities. But with the progress of education and democratic ideas in all countries this system is gradually dying out. In India, the system of plural voting has been abolished, though graduates of the university and the electors of the land-

It is anti-democratic

holders' constituency have been allowed to exercise a special second vote by the Act of 1935.

A variety of plural voting known as the weighted voting exists in Belgium, where the advantages of universal suffrage are sought to be combined with plural voting. Every male citizen in Belgium of twentyfive years and a resident at least of one year is allowed one vote. But every body who is aged 35 years, has a legitimate issue and pays a tax of 5 francs to the State, is allowed a supplementary vote. A landholder again even at the age of 25 is entitled to this second vote if his property totals at least 2,000 francs. Two supplementary votes are allowed to every citizen of twentyfive years, who possesses a diploma from an institution of higher learning or a certificate showing the completion of a course of secondary education or who holds or has held a public office or who practises or has practised a private profession which presupposes that the holders possess at least some secondary education. The maximum number of votes that can be enjoyed by a single person is limited to three.

The underlying principle of this system, in the words of Gilchrist, is as follows: "Weighted voting means that the persons who have greater interests at stake or persons better qualified to vote receive more votes than those less qualified or who have smaller stake in the country. The system prevents the ignorant and uninstructed mass of the community from overriding the intelligent and capable few. It recognizes that some men are wiser and better fitted to choose and that some men's opinions should count for more than other's in ascertaining the general will."

The system is subversive of the principle of democracy for it discriminates between man and man simply because one man happens to be rich and another man poor. Besides, mere course of training in an institution does not necessarily mean that a man receiving the education is far superior in every respect to another man who has not received any higher education but has a practical insight of men and affairs to a greater extent than the former.

The argument that a man engaged in a profession has acquired greater capacity so as to be entitled to plural voting is not always tenable. For it happens that an employee possesses a greater efficiency and interest in public affairs than his employer.

Under this system, an undue premium is given to education. Mill strongly advocated the view that greater weight should be given to educated people. The real difficulty lies in the fact that there is no standard whereby the

✓ The weighted voting

It is a check on the rule of the ignorant

There is no safe criterion of superiority

Employees are not always inferior to employers

Difficulties of educational test

fitness or otherwise may be measured. Education is not of the same type in all institutions and besides it does not impart the same sort of training everywhere. And all minds also do not receive equal benefit from education. So a uniform privilege extended to all does not ensure beneficial results.

The system of plural voting often leads to corruption and it serves the interests of party politics very well. So this instrument is employed to secure results which are not conducive to a representative democracy.

Danger of corruption

IV. Size of Electoral Districts

It is customary to divide the state into electoral districts or constituencies for the sake of convenience in choosing representatives. Each constituency may return either one or several members. Where one member alone is returned from each constituency, it is called the single member district plan or *Scrutin de Arrondissement*. The plan by which a number of representatives is chosen on the same ticket is known as the general ticket method or *scrutin de liste*. In Great Britain, the United States and France (since 1927) the former method prevails, while in most of the other continental states the latter method has been adopted. Both the methods have got some advantages and disadvantages.

Two methods of forming constituencies

The District Ticket Plan is simple and convenient as the voter has simply the duty of casting a ballot for one representative. The voter is likely to know the respective merits of the rival candidates; and the chosen representative is also acquainted with the needs of his constituency. But the very advantages of this method are the source of its grave demerits. The representative being chosen from a small electoral district, is likely to take a narrow and particularistic view of public questions instead of a broad national view. Moreover, the district plan narrows the range of choice of voters and may lead to the election of inferior men.

District plan may promote sectionalism

It is claimed by Garner that the district method tends to secure representation to the minority party in the state, city or province as a whole. "If all the representatives are chosen from the state at large on a general ticket, the party having a bare majority will elect all and the minority none." But the experience of the elections

It gives representation to minorities

England and the United States shows that the single-member constituency plan cannot guarantee that the majority party in

the country will gain a majority in the assembly or that a very large minority may be adequately represented. At the general election of Great Britain in 1922, the Conservatives won 296 seats with 5,381,433 votes, the Labour party 138 seats with 4,237,490 votes, and the Liberals 54 seats with 2,621,168 votes. This means that the Conservatives polled only 18,180 votes per seat, the Labour party 30,706 votes per seat, and the Liberals as many as 48,540 votes per seat. Such glaring anomalies have been brought to light after each subsequent election. Similar illustrations of the shortcoming of the one-member constituency are to be found in the United States too. In both the countries agitation is being made to remedy these anomalies. Laski, however, is in favour of single-member constituency because in a multi-member constituency there can be hardly any personal relation between the member and his constituents.

✓ V. Direct vs. Indirect Election

The influence and role of the elector vary with the directness or indirectness with which the electoral function is exercised. In various countries of Europe when large extension of the suffrage was made, a system of indirect and double election was introduced at the same time as a means of counter-acting or attenuating the possible evils of a democratic suffrage. In France, the senators are elected indirectly. Indirect election has also been adopted for electing members of the future Federal House of Assembly.

The principal argument in favour of indirect election is that it eliminates to some extent the possible dangers of universal suffrage by confining the ultimate choice to a body of select persons possessing a higher average of ability and necessarily feeling a keener sense of responsibility. Secondly, it tends to diminish the evils of party passion and struggle by removing the object of the popular choice one degree and confining the function of the electorate as a whole to the choice of those upon whom the ultimate responsibility must rest. But where the party system is highly developed, the indirect scheme will defeat its purpose as the intermediate electors will be chosen under party pledges to vote for particular candidates. Intermediate electors are likely to think lightly of their responsibility as their offices are temporary and occasional. The primary electors are likely to lose vivid interest in the final results as the final choice is taken away from them. Thus indirect election is out of tune with the very spirit of modern democracy. Finally, the system

Need of
propor-
tional
representa-
tion

Two
methods of
representa-
tion

Advantages
of indirect
election

Its dis-
advantages

might give rise to bribery and corruption as the number of electors is comparatively small.

VI. Territorial vs. Functional Representation

The democratic states of Europe adopted the principle of territorial representation because it was considered the most convenient way of grouping a large body of citizens.

In the middle ages, when Parliament originated in England and in a few of the continental states, tenure of land was the basis of political obligation and the

Causes of
adoption of
territorial
representa-
tion

produce of land was the chief source of taxation. There was some sort of homogeneity of interest in each locality. So territorial areas were regarded as proper units for representation in Parliament. Later on, political theorists justified the system of territorial representation on the ground that the interests within a particular region are fundamentally unified and that there is difference in interests between one region and another. But the development of communications, growth of the party system, and the rise of numerous trades and professions in each locality have, on the one hand, blurred out the distinctiveness of particular regions and, on the other, destroyed the homogeneity of different regions.

The scheme of territorial representation has been attacked mainly on two grounds. First, that the voters in any territorial constituency are rarely homogeneous in political needs and opinions and so they cannot be represented properly by one man. Secondly, under the territorial

Grounds of
objections
to it

system only the majority fractions of the several groups in society are represented and the minorities are given no voice in the government of the country. The critics of territorial representation, therefore, suggest functional representation as a remedy of the evils they complain of.

The advocates of functional representation argue that the people engaged in the same kind of work or owning the same kind of property, have more in common than the people living in the same district. Conflict of economic interests is the

Scheme of
functional
representa-
tion

chief political issue of the present day and as such each economic group, as for example, manufacturers, artisans, landlords, farmers, agricultural labourers, traders, bankers, the liberal professions, governmental employees, etc., should have separate representation. The Provisional German

Economic Council set up in 1920 contained 346 members on the following categories: Agriculture and Forestry 68 representatives, Gardening and Fisheries 6, Industry 68, Commerce, Banking and Insurance 44, Handicrafts 36, Consumers 30, Government officials and liberal

Practical
difficulties
in functional
representa-
tion

professions 16 and Government nominees 24 representatives. In the first six groups employers and employees were jointly represented, each nominating half of the members. It was hoped that the employers and the employees in each group would stand together. But in practice the united German trade union organization brought about the collaboration of the labour members of the various groups. Similarly, the employers as a class became united. The history of the German Economic Council illustrates the difficulties of functional representation. It is difficult to define the groups, assign number of representatives to each group, equitably and to distribute individuals among the groups properly. The economic groups are not really antagonistic to one another but are inter-dependent. Besides these difficulties of division and assignment, there are serious theoretical objections to functional representation.

Divisions among social classes are not mainly due to occupation. There are many important occupations which form distinct interests in relation to fundamental political questions. Every group is equally interested in the preservation of peace and order, and in the promotion of health and culture. It is also pointed out by some writers that the legislative assemblies are chosen to represent the interests of the nation as a whole and not the special interests of particular classes. Functional representation will invite and sometimes force the citizens to consider first their particular interests and then to think of general interests. It will promote struggle between the different interests and forces. A legislative assembly composed of so many different elements will tend to become more a debating society than a law-making body.

It is admitted even by the political "pluralists" that the matter of common interests like defence, health and education should be conducted by the device of territorial representation, but they put up a strong case for making the authority federal in character. Their line of argument has thus been summed up by Coker : "A political theory that is realistic must recognise that the modern community is made up essentially of groups rather than of individuals, and the ordinary citizen can be organically linked with the community only through the various intermediate associations into which his more intimate interests naturally draw him. He can impress the stamp of his will and opinion only on those decisions that relate to matters he can understand and in the formulation of which he can collaborate with others with whom he feels some special bonds of vocational or cultural interest. The associations formed on these bonds, therefore, should become substantially autonomous in both policy and administration."

Theoretical
objections to
functional
representation

Need of
recognising
vocational
associations
as autonomous
bodies

VII. Relation of the member to his constituents

The relation of the member to his constituents has been a subject of controversy in the past. One school holds that the member should be merely a delegate of his constituents and his function is simply to act as the mouthpiece of his voters. He is to seek the mandate of his constituents in every important matter. It was thought that the sovereignty of the people can be translated into practice in this way. The other school holds that the member is a representative, who is in accord with the general views of the constituency and who is chosen as a person eminently fitted by character and attainments to meet and consult with other representatives in the Council of the nation on public affairs. He is not bound to consult his constituency at every step, but if any definite pledge has been given by him at the time of election, he is bound by honour to fulfil it. This theory of representation is held by the majority of writers on political science to-day. The electoral law of France and Austria, and the constitution of the Swiss Confederation declare that the members of legislature are representatives of the whole people and are not bound by propositions and instructions. A convention has grown in all other constitutions that the representative of a locality must consider himself not as representing his district, but as representing the nation.

Delegate or representative?

Bryce, however, holds that the present tendency in England is 'to make the representative more distinctly a delegate than he is in France or Italy.' Where the member is bound by the instruction or mandate of his constituency he becomes a delegate rather than a representative. A delegate is a spokesman of the party which holds the majority in the constituency and is bound, whatever may be his personal opinions on any question, to speak and vote as the majority commands him. The delegate theory of representation has been attacked by Lieber as "unwarrented, inconsistent and unconstitutional." Lord Brougham expresses the same view in the following words: "The peoples' power being transferred to the representative body for a limited time, the people are bound not to exercise their influence so as to control the conduct of their representatives, as a body on the several measures that come before them." If the member is to receive instruction from his constituency, there must be a permanent committee of the party from which he has been elected. A heterogeneous body of fifty or seventy thousand voters cannot issue instructions. The system in issuing instructions to the member would result in increasing the control of local party committees, in making a cabinet even more powerful over its followers than what it is now, in reducing the value of parliamentary debate, and in deterring men of independent character from entering parliament. Moreover, the conditions which existed

Delegate theory

at the time of his election may change before the expiry of his term and he may find that the pledges he made before the election should not have been made, had he foreseen the change of conditions. He has the right to derive profit from what he learns from discussions in the legislature and from other sources of information and in the fuller knowledge of circumstances he may change his opinion. But he should, at the same time, maintain a sort of decent consistency in his conduct. If he had been elected as a Free trader, he should not go over to the side of Protection without consulting his constituency.

It is to be noted that in stating the objections to the delegate theory it has been assumed that the member will act not so much as the delegate of his particular constituency, but as the delegate of the party, to which he belongs. The problem of representation has taken a new aspect on account of growth of communication and of party organization. The mandate of a section or group is now important in the party councils and not in Parliament. The candidate before his election takes the pledge of submitting himself to party discipline. Such a system is necessary for keeping the party strong and united but its danger lies in making the party leaders tyrannical and in closing the door against the inventive new member of small minority. Laski raises an emphatic protest against the theory that a member is a mere delegate of his party. "A member", he writes, "is not the servant of a party in the majority in his constituency. He is elected to do the best he can in

New
complexion
of the
problem

Protest of
Burke and
Laski
against the
delegate
theory

the light of his intelligence and his conscience. Were he merely a delegate instructed by a local caucus, he would cease to have either morals or personality." Burke in his classical Bristol speech of 1774 put the case against the delegate theory in the following words: "It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great force with him ; their opinion high respect ; their business unremitted attention.....Your representative owes you not his industry only but his judgment ; and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

VIII. The Problem of Minorities

Minorities may be broadly classified under two heads—racial or national, and political. Racial or national minorities are groups of individuals who are linked with one another by common ties of national or cultural consciousness, who look back to the glories of a common past, and live in a state dominated by another group with a larger numerical strength. They differ

from the majority group in race, religion or language, and look upon their peculiar cultural features, social institutions and religion as clear expression of their separate individuality. They apprehend that their distinctive culture may be destroyed by the majority group. The examples of such minorities were the Germans living in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia in the period between 1919 and 1939. Such minorities are conscious of their separate nationality. Political minorities, on the other hand, have got no separate national consciousness. They are really political parties with programme different from that of the party in majority. A National minority is permanent in character, while political minority is temporary in the sense that it may become one day the majority party and form the government of the country. National minorities flourish in heterogeneous states, while political minorities exist in homogeneous communities like England and France. The minority problem in India, however, is in many important respects different from that of national or political minorities in western countries.

National
and
Political
minorities

As a result of the last Great War the nationality of many large groups of persons was changed. Some states were created in Central and Eastern Europe with fragments of many nationalities. Thus, in Poland there were 10 lakh Germans, 50 lakh Ruthenes, 15 lakh Ukrainians, 15 lakh White Russians, 2 lakh Great Russians, 1 lakh Lithuanians, 30,000 Czechs, and 30 lakh Jews. In Czecho-Slovakia there were 33 lakh Germans, nearly 6 lakh Ruthenes, 90 thousand Poles, 7 lakh Magyars and 20 lakh Slovaks. In Yugo-Slavia there were nearly 6 lakhs of Germans, 47 thousand Czechs, nearly 5 lakhs of Magyars, 35 lakh Croats, 10 lakh Slovenes, 70,000 Slovaks, 1 lakh Rumanians, 50 lakh Serbs, and 4 lakh Albanians. In Rumania there were 7 lakh Germans, 6 lakh Ukrainians, 16 lakh Magyars, 2 lakh Turks and nearly 10 lakh Jews. Turkey contains 20 thousand Bulgars, 65 thousand Armenians and 115 thousand Albanians. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the problem of minorities was acute only in the newly created states. Italy got from Austria the southern part of the province of Tyrol as far as the Brenner Pass containing 2 lakh Germans. She acquired under the Treaty of Rapallo from Yugo-Slavia the provinces of Rorizia-Gradisca, Trieste and Istria, containing 5 lakhs of Slovenes. The League of Nations sought to protect the rights of the minorities in the newly created small states by embodying these rights in the Peace Treaties. The nature of these rights may be seen from the following summary of the treaty with Poland.

- (1) Poland undertook to assure full and complete protection

of life and liberty of all inhabitants of Poland, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

Nature of
minority
rights as
exemplified
in the Polish
Treaty

(2) All inhabitants of Poland are entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, whose practices were not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

(3) Inhabitants of regions made part of Poland, under the arrangement which set up the state of Poland, were admitted to be Polish nationals without any formality. All persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationality, who were born in these territories, of parents habitually residing there, were to be admitted as Polish nationals.

(4) In Poland, all Polish nationals are equal before the law. All enjoy the same civil and political rights, irrespective of race, language or religion. Differences in religion do not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, such as admission to public employment, functions and honours, or the exercise of any professions and industries.

(5) No restriction must be imposed on the full use, by any Polish national, of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications, of any kind, or at public meetings. This does not debar the Polish government from having an official language of the state. But if such an official language is established, adequate facilities must be given to Polish nationals of other than Polish speech, to use their national language in speech or writing before the courts.

(6) Polish citizens belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities are assured the same treatment and security, in law and in fact, as all other Polish nationals; and particularly they have equal rights to establish and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, along with the right to use their own language, and to exercise their religion freely therein.

(7) In the public educational system of Poland, both in town and country, wherever Polish nationals of other than Polish speech were to be found in considerable proportion, adequate facilities must be provided to ensure, that, in the primary schools, instruction is provided to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. Polish language may, however, be made compulsory by government as a subject for instruction in these schools.

(8) Wherever in town and country, there is a considerable proportion of such Polish nationals, belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities are assured a share in

the enjoyment and application of the money which may be provided out of public funds by the State, Municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

These guarantees, on paper, seem to be quite satisfactory. But the difficulty lies in securing the rights in actual practice. The minorities were not given any legal personality in International Law. If there was any infraction of their rights the only remedy open to them was to induce some outside power or authority to take up their cause and draw the attention of the Council of the League of Nations. On the complaint by one of the signatory States to the Treaty, or a member of the Council of the League, the matter could be referred to the Permanent Court at the Hague "for an advisory opinion." The League had no real effective power to enforce its decision, even when it was convinced that a breach of minority rights had taken place. Many powers persisted in defying these guarantees, notably the Poles, who announced in 1934, that they did not intend to accept the League interference in the treatment of the Ukrainians.

Defects
of these
guarantees

It has already been pointed out that the guarantees were applicable in the case of new or succession states only. Big states like Italy were not bound by such treaty rights. Italy followed the policy of Italianization in South Tyrol. The Lithuanian delegation to the League of Nations demanded that all the States should be asked to adhere to and accept a general Treaty for the protection of minorities. But objecting to this proposal the Dutch Senator, Baron Wittert Von Hoogland said: "The introduction into the laws of all countries of provisions protecting minorities would be enough to cause them to spring up where they were least expected, to provoke unrest among them, to cause them to pose as having been sacrificed, and generally to create an artificial agitation of which no one had up to the moment dreamed. It would be rather imaginary illness from which so many people think themselves suffering the moment they read a book on popular medicine."

Is it
desirable to
give guaran-
tee to the
minorities of
each state?

The problem of minorities would remain a baffling one so long as the concepts of sovereign nation states and of majority rule would prevail. The notion of sovereign state stands in the way of effective protection of rights of minorities by an international organization.

A problem
baffling all
situations

The majority under democratic form of government, usually put obstacles to the way of enjoying equal rights of work, and employment, self-realization or self-expression by minorities. Various schemes of representation have been suggested to guarantee the rights of minorities: but on examination.

they are all found defective. A radical change in mental horizon of all the people—the majority as well as the minority—seems to be the only possible solution of the problem.

IX. Methods of Minority Representation

When the western writers talk of the problem of representation of minorities, they think of national and political minorities. They do not ever dream of suggesting separate electorate or joint electorate with reservation of seats, because they have got sense enough to understand that such devices are the surest ways of perpetuating class divisions and hostilities, and of destroying the very essence of democracy. In their discussion of the problem they assume that parties will be organised in a democratic country on national lines and some one party or coalition of parties or groups, commanding majority of votes in the constituencies, will form the government. Some writers think that under such circumstances there should be a method of allowing a minority party to secure certain seats in the Legislature in proportion to its numerical strength. "The importance of providing some representation for minorities," wrote Lecky, "is extremely great. When two-thirds of a constituency vote for one party, and one-third for the other, it is obviously just that the majority should have two-thirds and the minority one-third of the representation."

Various schemes and expedients have been designed to give representation to minority parties or groups. The most important method is known as Proportional Representation, and we shall discuss it in the next section. The other schemes are . Limited Vote plan, Cumulative method and Second ballot.

The "Limited Vote system" can be introduced only when three or more members are to be chosen from each constituency.

If three members are to be elected, a voter is allowed to vote for two candidates, so that the minority is reasonably certain to elect one of the three members. But this can happen only when the minority is a large one. It used to prevail in Spain and Portugal.

According to the Cumulative method, an elector is allowed to cast as many votes as there are representatives to be chosen from a constituency, but he can cumulate them on one or more of the candidates. Suppose, three members are to be elected from one constituency, then a voter can cast all his three votes for one candidate. This method is superior to the 'Limited Vote' plan in

as much as it enables a small minority to elect at least one member by cumulating its votes on a single candidate. This system prevails in the election for the Lower House of the Illinois Legislature. It has also been adopted for plural-member territorial constituencies under the Government of India Act, 1935. But it leads to much wastage of votes, because a popular candidate will get many more votes than what are necessary to elect him. It may also give over-representation to minorities. But at any rate a weak party cannot be routed entirely as is possible in constituencies where the principle of bare majority is observed.

According to the Second Ballot plan an absolute majority of votes cast in a constituency is necessary for election. In a single member constituency there may be three, or four, or five candidates. If none of these candidates secure an absolute majority, a second election is held with the two candidates who have secured the highest number of votes in the first election. The cost of a second election may be avoided by asking the voter to state his second preference, which is brought into effect, if, on the first count, one candidate gains an absolute majority. This system is prevalent in Australia for Commonwealth elections. But it can hardly ensure the election of a candidate of the minority party. It eliminates the least popular of three or more candidates, but it tends to increase the election expenses and offer undesirable temptations to bargaining and intrigue.

X. Proportional Representation

Proportional Representation is a method of election which aims at securing a representative assembly reflecting with more or less mathematical exactness the various divisions or groups in the electorate. It seeks to remedy some of the defects of the method of election by simple majority in the single-member constituency. If in a particular area there are ten single-member constituencies and in each of them 49 per cent of electors belong to one party and 51 per cent to another, the votes of minorities are thrown away, and all the seats are captured by the majority party. The 49 per cent of the population send to the Legislature not the members they wished to have, but the members they wished *not* to have. Under the Proportional system they can send four members out of ten. The idea of proportional Representation appeared as early as 1793 in the French National Convention ; but it got wide publicity in 1856, when Carl Andr e, the Danish Minister of Finance, published a scheme and the next year Thomas Hare, an Englishman, expounded it in a pamphlet entitled 'The Machinery of Represen-

Functions
and history
of Proportional
Representation }

tation.' Hare elaborated it in 1859 in his *Treatise on the Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal*. John Stuart Mill extolled the virtue of his scheme and called it one of "the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government.") The primary function of a representative assembly is to undertake social and economic legislation, which touches the everyday interests of different classes in society. It is the object of Proportional Representation to bring into the Representative assembly the various classes and groups in the community in rough proportion at least to their strength. It can be adopted only where there are multi-member constituencies. Under this system, if a certain number of voters in a multi-member constituency can agree upon a candidate, the candidate may be elected. It was adopted in thirteen European states. The number of votes required for electing a candidate differed from state to state. In Austria it was 39,500 ; Belgium 40,000 ; Bulgaria 20,000 ; Czecho-Slovakia 45,400 ; Denmark 22,500 ; Finland 17,125 ; Germany 127,000 ; Ireland 20,000 ; Netherlands 70,800 ; Norway 17,650 ; Poland 61,200 ; Sweden 26,100 ; and in Switzerland 20,000. There are two chief variants of proportional Representation—the single transferrable vote advocated by Thomas Hare and used in American cities and Irish Free State, and the List system widely used in Europe. More or less mixed plans are used in Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

The single transferrable system provides for the election of representatives by general ticket, and allows each elector to vote for one candidate or for a limited number and also permits him to indicate his second and third choices or preferences. Suppose, in a four-membered constituency, an elector is called upon to choose between ten candidates. The voter places beside four of the names of candidates the numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4 to express his preferences. The total number of valid votes is divided by the number of representatives to be chosen plus one, and the quotient plus one is taken as the quota necessary to elect any candidate. If one lakh of voters actually voted in the election, then the quota would be $\frac{100,000}{4+1} + 1 = 20,000 + 1 = 20,001$ votes. In the Andræ

scheme the quota is obtained by dividing the number of valid ballot papers by the number of seats to be filled. In the present instance the quota under Andræ system would be 25,000 instead of 20,001. In counting the ballots, at first the first choices only are considered, and as soon as a candidate has received a number of votes equal to the quota he is declared elected, and no more votes are counted for him. His surplus ballots are transferred to the next available choices. Then, if all the seats are not filled up

owing to the fact that not a sufficient number of candidates reaches the quota, the other seats are filled by taking the second preferences of the voters who have already voted for the already successful candidate or candidates, who, therefore, do not require these votes ; then the third and so on until all the seats are filled up. The vote may be transferred in another way. If a sufficient number of candidates cannot be brought up to the quota by transferring the surplus votes of the successful candidate or candidates to others, then the candidate with the lowest number is eliminated (or more than one if necessary) and his or their votes are added to others according to the preferences expressed, so that a voter may help to get his second, third or fourth choices in, though the candidate of his first choice fails to be elected.

According to the 'List system' each voter is allowed to cast as many votes as there are representatives to be chosen, and not simply mark the preferences as in the Hare system. Candidates offer themselves in combination in a list of ticket up to the number equal to the number of seats to be filled up. The average voter gives his vote to the whole list *en bloc*. The total vote cast by each party is then divided by the quota, and the result is the number of representatives to which party is entitled. Suppose in a six-member constituency 78,000 voters have actually voted. Then the quota is 78,000, divided by six, plus one, that is 13,301. If now the result of election is as follows : Conservatives 30,000 ; Nationalists 26,000 ; Labour 13,000 ; Liberals 8000 ; Communists 1000 ; then the seats would be assigned thus : two to the conservatives, two to the Nationalists, and one to the Labour party. There would be one seat still to be allotted, but as none of the other Lists has reached the quota, it would go to the List with the highest average, namely the Conservatives who would thus get three seats. In Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland, where this method has been employed it has been found that it confers a slight advantage on the larger parties. The List system, in contrast to the Hare plan, gives a voter little or no discretion in choosing particular candidates.

Racial and social minorities are permanent in character in the sense that they can never hope to grow into a majority. Where such minorities exist, the introduction of Proportional Representation is necessary to satisfy the larger minorities. They need an electoral system which assumes diversity rather than unity. It is pointed out by the opponents of Proportional Representation that the system of single transferrable vote is much too complicated for the average voter to understand it and requires some amount of technical knowledge on the part of party organisers. But the exercise of the single

Merits
of the
system

transferrable vote is itself a sort of political education, as it is impossible for the elector to state his preference without serious reflection. Whatever complication there might exist in the system may be obviated by appointing skilled election officers. Another advantage of the system is that it prevents the election of one party with an overwhelming majority at a period of transition, when great changes are to be effected. Moreover, in a non-parliamentary system of government like that of Switzerland, such a system is desirable as a technique for securing popular representation. In such a country the main concern of the representative body is legislation, and therefore, a multiple-party system does not seem to entail serious difficulties, while the adequate representation of all important groups in the community is in many respects desirable.

In a parliamentary country Proportional Representation tends greatly to increase the number of parties and thus makes the formation of legislative majority an extremely difficult task. As it would be difficult to create a homogeneous cabinet, there would be governmental instability. Another charge against it is that it encourages "minority thinking" and pernicious class legislation. Moreover, the enlargement of the electoral area destroys the personal contact between the member and his constituency. It strengthens the party organisation, since the more the constituency expands, the more effective becomes the necessity of wire-pulling. It increases, therefore, the power of the professional organiser in politics. Under the List system, since whole country constitutes one constituency for election, the tendency of the parties to stick together for this all-important test of electoral strength would probably act as powerful deterrent to the development of minor parties. The List system, used in Poland, Italy and Germany has been responsible for the rise of Dictatorship in these countries.

Defects
of the
system

XI. Nature of Minority Problem in India

The minorities in India are neither national as in the new and succession states of Europe, nor political as in the homogeneous countries like England and France. The government of India Act of 1935 is based on the principle of safeguarding the interests of "communities, classes and interests." The word, minority, in India means anything from a "religious group," to a "class" or "interest." The minority communities are usually enumerated as the Moslems, the Sikhs, the Depressed Classes, the British Commercial Community, the Anglo-Indians and the Indian

Communi-
ties, Classes
and
Interests
regarded as
minorities

Christians. There is no common basis of classification of these so-called minority communities, classes and interests.

The scientific classification of communities does not run on religious or on purely ethnic lines, but on lines of historical associations, of lasting identity of language, territory, economic life and psychology manifesting itself in the identity of culture. The historical communities in India are the Andhras, the Tamils, the Malayas, the Kanarese, the Gujeratis, the Sindhis, the Marhatas, the Rajputs, the Oriyas, the Bengalis, the Biharis, the Punjabis etc. In this sense the Moslems, the Anglo-Indians, and the Untouchables are not communities. The Moslems have no one common language. They speak Bengali, Punjabi, Hindi, and Urdu according to the prevailing language of the place in which they reside. They do not live in any contiguous area and they have no common economic life, some belonging to the land-owning, some to cultivating, some to professional and some to artisan classes. The Anglo-Indians have no community of area. The Depressed Classes have no one single community of area or language. They belong to several communities, areas and languages. The same may be said of the Indians Christians. The Sikhs and the Europeans are really minority communities.

Are the minorities separate communities?

The 'interests' which have been given special representation are represented by landholders, organized commerce and industry, mining and planting, industrial labour, universities and the like. Everyone of these interests may claim to be a minority, though by virtue of their wealth and position all these interests, excepting industrial labour, can hold their own without any special representation.

The separate 'interest'

The problem of minorities in India is mainly a communal problem, arising out of the agitation of professional classes, belonging to comparatively backward sections of Indian population, for a share in the government of the country. "The communal problem of India," observed the Nehru Committee, "is primarily the Hindu-Muslim problem."

The Hindu-Muslim party

Other communities have, however, latterly taken up an aggressive attitude and have demanded special rights and privileges. The Sikhs in the Punjab are an important and well-knit minority which cannot be ignored. Amongst the Hindus themselves there is occasional friction, especially in the South between Non-Brahmins and Brahmins. But essentially the problem is how to adjust the differences between the Hindus and Muslims."

✓XII. Merits and Defects of Communal Electorate

Communal electorate has become, for the time being, a normal feature of the Indian constitution. It is difficult to support it in

any way. The peculiar circumstances of India, the intense jealousy among the professional classes of different communities, and the need of creating a sort of counterpoise to the nationalist-democratic sentiment of the country, have conspired to set up such a strange system. The supporters of communal electorate argue that the bitterness of feeling existing between the Hindus and the Moslems makes it necessary to have communal electorates. They think that the minorities can feel a sense of security only when they get separate electorate. They further state that separate electorates minimize communalism. The opponents to the separate electorate point out that communal electorates have tainted public life with communalism and has been responsible for the riots. The Nehru Committee Report (1928) rightly stated: "Everybody knows that separate electorates are bad for the growth of a national spirit, but everybody perhaps does not realise equally well that separate electorates are still worse for a minority community. They make the majority wholly independent of the minority and its votes are usually hostile to it. Under separate electorates, therefore, the chances are that the minority will always have to face a hostile majority, which can always, by sheer force of numbers, override the wishes of the minority.....
...Separate electorates thus benefit the majority community. Extreme communalists flourish thereunder and the majority community, far from suffering, actually benefits by them.")

✓ Communal electorate stands in the way of development of nationalism and common citizenship. Nothing can impair national solidarity more than the artificial division of the people into communal electorates. Communal electorate is anti-democratic, because it does not allow a voter to choose the best candidate in the constituency. Hindu elector may find that a Moslem candidate is more deserving of his support than a Hindu candidate, yet he cannot vote for him. Moreover, communal electorate keeps a minority always in a minority party and never allows it to be the majority party. It also hinders the growth of party system on sound modern lines. Another reason for the rejection of communal electorate has been stated by Sir Hari Singh Gour, who observed: "The Hindus complain that if the Muslims, who are undoubtedly a backward community are given an undue proportion of political power, they might act as a drag on the political progress of India and that is a political heresy to permit a backward community to rule or materially retard the policy of an advanced community." The greatest objection to the communal electorate is that it spreads the quarrel between the professional classes and the toiling masses. Separate electorate may be, and has been, of some advantage to the professional classes in securing a few

Alleged merits of the system

Defects of the system

more jobs at the cost of other communities, but it has failed to render any tangible good to the peasants and artisans. Moreover, the logical corollary to communal electorate is the division of India into Pakistan, Hindusthan, Sikhistan, Anglo-Indiastan, etc.

✓ Mahatma Gandhi suggested that the electoral circles should be so determined "as to enable every community to secure its proportionate share in the Legislature." This may be secured by the introduction of Proportional Representation. We have seen that the Proportional Representation, too, is faulty in many respects. But it is much better than communal representation in the sense that under the latter the segregation of groups is so complete that national feeling cannot grow at all. Proportional representation allows much greater freedom of choice to the electors. It does not disrupt and vivisect the nation as the separate electorate does. It enables the minorities to secure proportionate representation without sacrificing national outlook.

Proportion-
al Represen-
tation
vs.
Communal
Electorate

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EXECUTIVE—POLITICAL

Principles of organisation of the Executive

Meaning of 'Executive' The term executive is used in two senses. In the broader sense of the term, it signifies the entire staff of officials, high and low, which are concerned with the administration of public affairs. It means the whole body of the civil service, of the police, and even the armed forces. In the narrower sense, it signifies the supreme head or heads of the executive department. It is with the executive in this latter sense that we shall be concerned in this chapter.

Real and nominal head of the Executive In considering the nature of the executive we must not be misled by mere nomenclature. We must bear in mind the distinction between the nominal and the real executive. The government of Great Britain is carried on in the name of the King, but the real executive power is vested in the ministry. In France, the head of the executive is the President, but the executive authority is really exercised by the French Cabinet.

Unity of organization is essential Historical experience has established certain broad principles on which the executive should be organised. The essential condition of the success of executive power is the unity of organisation. The executive is required to take prompt action in many affairs. If there are many councillors with co-ordinate power, much time shall have to be spent in discussion. The proper function of the executive is no deliberation but to carry out the state-will as expressed by the Legislature. Moreover, secrecy is often necessary in governmental business, but a large body of executive is incapable of maintaining secrecy. In every modern state, except Switzerland the final executive authority is vested in one person. In the U. S. A. the supreme executive authority is the President; in England the Prime Minister. The supreme authority, however, delegates and distributes a large power to subordinate authorities. He may have an executive council to help and advise him. But if the councillors have the power to outvote him, there would be no unity of organisation.

The executive must be vested with sufficient power so as to enable him to maintain peace and order within the country

and to defend the people against external attacks. Wherever the Legislature had kept the Executive weak, chaos and anarchy had invariably followed. The French suffered much owing to the weakness of the executive in 1791-92. (Hamilton justly observes that a feeble Executive implies a feeble government and is but another name for bad government.)

The Executive ought to possess adequate power

Though it is necessary to make the executive strong, yet it should not be too strong, lest it should flout public opinion and tyrannize over the people. The executive must be so organised as to make it dependent on the support of the people. In England, the cabinet with the majority in Parliament at its back can indeed do whatever it likes, but the fear of facing the electorate in the next election forces the ministers to keep their hands on the pulse of the nation. ✓

Indirect popular control over the Executive

The executive should have sufficiently long duration of power to make it interested in the administration of the country. A very short term of office of the executive leads to "an intolerable vacillation and imbecility." Moreover, short tenures necessitate a frequent recurrence of elections, which disturb the normal life of the nation. Hence, the practice of the election of the President of the United States for four years has much to commend in it. In states having the cabinet system of government, the executive remains in a power so long as it can command the support of the Legislature. In France, frequent changes in the cabinet have led to much political disturbance.

The Executive head must not be changed frequently

✓ Considering all these points, we cannot but admire the wisdom of Hamilton, who observed : (The ingredients which constitute energy in the executive are,—first, unity ; secondly, duration ; thirdly, an adequate provision for its support ; fourthly, competent powers. While those which constitute safety in the republican sense are, first a due dependence on the people, secondly, a due responsibility.)

Four requisites

II. Classification of the Executive

According to the mode of choice, executives may be divided into three classes—hereditary, elected and nominated. But Dictatorship forms a class by itself.

The hereditary executive seems to be no longer in keeping with the spirit of democratic government. In England, Italy and Belgium hereditary monarchy has been retained, indeed, as an integral part of the political institutions, but the

monarchs of these states are nominal rather than actual heads of the executive. The institution of titular monarchy **Hereditary executives** "tends to introduce into the administration of the government elements of stability, permanence, continuity, and experience and in the relations of the state with foreign power it tends to add a certain prestige which is not without weight in diplomatic intercourse." But in spite of its advantages, it is looked upon as a survival of a past age. The last Great War has swept away the autocratic monarchies of Russia, Germany, Austria and Turkey. The only big state where the monarch still retains some amount of actual power is Japan.

Elected executives 'may be classified under three heads—those which are directly elected by the people ; those **Elected executives** indirectly elected by a body of intermediate electors ; and those elected by the Legislature.

Direct popular election of the executive prevails in a number of South American Republics and in the states of the United States. The President of the U. S. A. is in practice elected by popular election, though the constitution provides for the election by an intermediate body of electors. The advantages claimed for direct popular election are, that it creates an interest in public affairs on the part of the masses and secures the election of a chief magistrate in whose ability and integrity the people have confidence. **Direct election is not suited for a big state** But the disadvantages of the system are many. First, it is not possible for the citizens to know much about the candidate, if the electoral area be a large one. Secondly, the elective system breeds intrigue and corruption and throws the whole machinery of government out of gear just before the election. Thirdly, party feeling is accentuated and in South America it not unfrequently leads to bloodshed. Moreover, it opens the way to intrigue and intervention by foreign Powers.

Indirect election of the executive through an electoral college is employed in the Argentine Republic, Chile, Mexico and some other Latin American Republics. Such a system was also adopted in the United States, but **Indirect election may lead to direct election** the electors of the Presidential election now vote as members of a party, and as such they have turned the indirect election into a direct one. This is the danger to which this method is peculiarly liable.

Election of the executive head by the Legislature is a type of indirect election. This method is followed in France and Switzerland in the election of the President. The merits of this system are, that the members of the Legislature are likely

to make a wiser selection than the masses, and that there would be close correspondence between the executive and the legislature. In countries with parliamentary executive the cabinet is the indirect choice of the legislature. American writers, to whom the independence of the executive is a first principle, object to this method on the ground that it will impair the independence of the executive, and make him subservient to the will of the legislature. They also point out that as the legislature is concerned with law-making, it should not assume such an important function as the election of the executive.

Election by
the legisla-
ture ensures
democratic
control

Executive heads are nominated by the British Government to all the subordinate governments in the British Empire. In independent states, if any authority enjoys the power of nominating the executive, that authority becomes the supreme executive and not the nominated one.

Nominated
Executive

From the discussions on the mode of choosing the executive it will be evident that the classification of the executive into hereditary, elected and nominated is not a satisfactory one. The hereditary executive is invariably the nominal head of the government; some of the elected executive heads, as the French President, is also the nominal head; even amongst the nominated executives, the Governors-General of the British Dominions are nominal heads. But as students of political constitutions we are more concerned with the real executive than the nominal. The only satisfactory basis of classification of the executive is the relation of the executive with the legislature—whether it is under the control of Parliament or not.

Illusory
basis of
classification

III. Types of Parliamentary Executive

Comparison between the English and the French Cabinet

Both in England and in France the real executive is the cabinet, with a Prime Minister at its head, which is responsible to the elected Chambers. But in several important respects, the French Cabinet is different from the English Cabinet. The Premier in France enjoys far less power than his counterpart in Britain. The French Premier can indeed appoint and dismiss ministers, but he must be very cautious in the exercise of his powers. He has to depend upon the support of a coalition of a few groups and cannot afford to displease any. There is no party strong enough to form a majority in the Chambers. Consequently, crises are frequent in the French Cabinet. In Britain, a cabinet crisis is usually followed by a dissolution and fresh election;

Divergence
due to
difference
in party
system

but in recent years crises have become rare in the English Cabinet. But in France, dissolution of the legislature before the expiry of its statutory term of four years is extremely rare. When a ministry resigns, merely a re-grouping takes place in order to obtain the support of a majority in the Chamber. In England, a member of the cabinet which has just been driven out of power very seldom accepts post in the cabinet of the rival party. But in France, we frequently find a politician who held a portfolio in the cabinet, just resigned, taking up another in the new one. The cabinet in England is formed on some party principles, but in France it is maintained by the distribution of government favours. The average life of a French Cabinet, since the foundation of the Third Republic, has been only ten months, while an English Cabinet lasts usually for more than three years. In England, theory of collective responsibility of ministers to Parliament has long been established; in France, the Constitution provides that ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Chambers for the general policy of the government and individually for their personal acts. But in practice the French Cabinet stands or falls together.

Collective
responsibility

Contrast between the French and German Cabinets

After the last War many states adopted the cabinet system. Of these the most important was Germany. The German Cabinet differed from the French Cabinet in many respects. The French Premier is bound to consult his colleagues in formulating the general policy, and makes large concessions to them in order to secure their adherence. The German Chancellor (Prime Minister) enjoyed far greater power. The German Constitution laid down that "the Chancellor of the Federation determines the main lines of policy for which he is responsible to the Reichstag. Within these main lines each federal minister directs independently the department entrusted to him for which he is personally responsible to the Reichstag." Thus, unlike the French and English Premiers, the German Chancellor was solely responsible for the general policy of the Cabinet. Another remarkable point of departure from the principle of the English and the French Cabinet system is to be found in the fact that in the German Cabinet an individual minister was liable to be called upon to resign. "The Chancellor of the Federation and the federal minister require for the administration of their office the confidence of the Reichstag. Any one of them must resign, should the confidence of the House be withdrawn by an express resolution." Cabinets in Germany were as unstable as those of France. But while the French Cabinets have fallen very often

The German
Chancellor
has got far
more power
than the
French
Premier

merely for personal conflicts the German Cabinets fell mainly on difference of opinions in foreign policy. Within twelve years no less than four cabinets had to resign for this reason. Political parties in Germany were far more strongly organised and disciplined than those in France. At present the Nazi party has acquired complete ascendancy in Germany. This has contributed to the stability of the executive in Germany.

The Nazi
rule in
Germany

In Australia, a federal ministry is deliberately elected by the Lower House. If this House withdraws its confidence from the minister or the ministry as a whole, he or it must immediately resign and a new ministerial election takes place. The constitution of Czecho-Slovakia contained some provisions for imparting stability to the parliamentary executive. These provisions stated that a vote of 'no confidence' in the Ministry by the Chamber of Deputies would be valid only when more than half the members were present, if there was a 50 per cent majority and if the vote was taken by roll call. Further, such a motion for a vote of "no confidence" must be signed by not less than a hundred deputies before it was introduced.

The Aus-
tralian Cabinet

IV. Contrast between the American and the French President

"There is," wrote Sir Henry Maine, "no living functionary who occupies a more pitiable position than a French President. The old Kings of France reigned and governed. The constitutional king, according to M. Thiers, reigns, but does not govern. The President of the United States governs, but he does not reign. It has been reserved for the President of the French Republic neither to reign, nor yet to govern." Though this statement is couched in hyperbolic language, yet it is substantially true.

Weakness
of the

The French President is elected for seven years not by the people but by the two Houses of the French Parliament sitting together as a National Assembly at Versailles. He can be re-elected, though a re-election has been rare. The President of the United States is now popularly elected, though the intention of the Fathers of the constitution was to secure indirect election through an electoral college. He is elected for four years, and can be re-elected. He can be impeached by the House of Representatives for "treason, bribery or other high crimes." The trial is held by the Senate, where a two-thirds majority is required for conviction. The French President can be impeached

The Ameri-
can Presi-
dent is
elected by
the people
and is
therefore
more power-
ful

for treason only, but a simple majority is sufficient for convicting him.

The French President has a formidable array of powers on paper only. (He cannot act in any executive matter except through his Ministers, who must, by the constitution, countersign every decree.) One writer has humorously pointed out that only his letter of resignation and his letter thanking the Assembly for his appointment do not require the countersignature of a minister. There is, indeed, a Council of Ministry of which the President is the head, but as this Council is responsible to the Chambers it becomes a Cabinet Council of which the Prime Minister is the head. This fact explains the cause of his weakness. Another cause which has contributed to his weakness is his election by the Legislature, and not by the people. As he owes his position to the Legislature he cannot act independently against it. The powers of the President of the U. S. A. are very real, though the exercise of them varies greatly with the personality of the President, and in times of crises they can become greater still. He is the real head of the executive. The members of his cabinet, appointed by him, are responsible to him, and not to the Legislature. He sees to the proper execution of the laws, appoints judges, ambassadors and other high officials of the state with the consent of the senate, and can remove any officer from his post.

Both the American and the French Presidents enjoy considerable power in foreign affairs. Both are the commanders-in-chief of the army, navy and air forces of their respective countries. Both represent their respective states in the sending and receiving of ambassadors, ministers and in the negotiation and conclusion of treaties. Minor treaties can be concluded by both the Presidents without consulting the Legislature. The Power to declare war belongs to the Legislature in both the countries, but in both the cases executive action may bring negotiation to such a pass as to make war almost inevitable. But it must be noted that in times of civil and foreign wars the American President becomes the virtual dictator of the nation. The constitution empowers him to do everything necessary for overcoming the enemy. During the Great War, President Wilson, obtained and used powers concerning almost every aspect of national life.

The President of the French Republic has got the power to summon, adjourn and prorogue the Houses. He can adjourn the chambers at any time, though not for a period exceeding a month, nor for more than twice in a session. He

has the theoretical right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, but he has not exercised it since 1877. Similarly, he has got suspensive veto, which he has never used. The President of the U. S. A. does not possess the power to summon or adjourn the Congress. He or his ministers cannot take part in the business of the Congress, but the President can get a member of the Congress to embody his ideas on a certain subject in a bill. He can influence the Legislature by his Annual Message, which he himself or his deputy reads before the Congress. After a bill has been passed through both the Houses, it cannot become law until the President signs it. If he vetoes the bill, it must be passed in each House by a clear two-thirds majority before it can be enacted.

The powers of the French President are more or less theoretical

In conclusion it may be observed that the position of the French President resembles more that of the King of England than of the President of the U. S. A. He has been called "a constitutional king for seven years." Though he does not enjoy anything like the prestige of the English monarch, yet in two respects he exercises greater power. Owing to the existence of a large number of groups in the French Legislature all ministries are formed by coalition. The President takes a leading role in the formation of each coalition and he wields a considerable influence in the selection of ministers. Moreover, the king in England is debarred by convention from attending any council of ministers, but the French President presides over the Council of ministers which often meets to deliberate over matters of general policy.

The French President is like a constitutional king

V. Comparison between the American President and the English Premier

(In the modern world the two most powerful functionaries of Government are the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of England.) The President is directly elected by the people for a term of four years. He cannot be removed from office during these years. The English Premier is the indirect choice of the people. The electorate puts him in office by voting for the party headed by him. He retains his position only so long as he commands the majority in the Legislature. The President is more definitely the Head of the Nation than the Prime Minister. "The eyes of the whole people," says Bryce, "are fixed upon him even if he be a man of less than first-rate quality, whereas in Parliamentary

The English Premier is nominated by the king.

The President attracts greater attention

countries it is only striking personalities such as Pitt or Cavour or Bismark that excite a similar interest and exert a similar authority."

The American President is the head of the executive department only. The Prime Minister is not only the head of the executive but also the leader of the Legislature. (If the majority in the Congress belong to the party opposed to that of the President, it is just possible that the President might not get those bills enacted which he thinks necessary for efficient administration.) (The power of the Prime Minister over taxation is much greater than that of the President, who may not get the money needed for carrying out any policy which the Congress disapproves.)

The Premier is the head of the Legislature as well

The sphere of action of the President is much more restricted than that of the Premier. But within that narrow sphere the President is absolute. He need not consult his cabinet nor regard its advice as the Prime Minister must. He is the master of his cabinet; but the Prime Minister is only the chief of his colleagues in the cabinet. Sir Sidney Low asserts that the

The President has greater control over his cabinet

English Prime Minister is more powerful than the American President as he directs and controls all the forces of the state and through his predominant influence in the Legislature can create, alter and repeal laws, and can impose taxation which the American President cannot. But this statement is true only when the Prime Minister has a solid majority at his back. President Roosevelt is certainly much more powerful than Mr. Churchill.

IV. The Swiss Executive—A Type by itself

We have discussed above the two types of the Executive which are generally found in democratic states. But the Swiss Constitution presents an example of a type peculiar to itself.

This type has been called the collegiate system. Its peculiarities will be fully discussed in the chapter on the Swiss Constitution. Here we may quote an observation of Bryce to show the necessity of studying it closely.

"It would be hard to introduce such a system in any country where the passing of laws has been long associated with party strife, and where the distrust of opponents, intensified in our days by class sentiment, makes each side suspect whatever proceeds from the other; but since alike in France, in America, and in England the constitutional machinery that exists for investigating, preparing, and enacting legislation on economic and industrial topics has failed to give satisfaction, light upon the problem of improving that machinery ought to be sought in every quarter."

The collegiate type of Executive

Merits of the Swiss Executive

VII. The Executive Powers

The executive powers in the normal constitutional state to-day may be classified as follows :

- (i) Diplomatic power—which relates to the conduct of foreign affairs. Powers of the Executive
- (ii) Administrative power—which relates to the execution of the laws and the administration of the government.
- (iii) Judicial power—which relates to the granting of pardons, appeals, etc., to those of crimes.
- (iv) Military power—which relates to the organisation of the armed forces and the conduct of war.
- (v) Legislative power—which relates to the drafting of bills and directing their passage into law.

The diplomatic or treaty-making power is neither purely executive nor purely legislative. In the United States the executive makes negotiations, which are to be ratified with or without amendment by the senate. The House of Representatives exercises an indirect control through its right to give or withhold its consent to legislation which may be necessary to carry out a treaty. In Great Britain the power of diplomatic negotiations is exclusively in the hands of the executive. Parliament only makes laws to perfect the treaty or carry it into effect. In France the Chambers cannot modify or amend treaties submitted for their consideration and must approve or reject them as a whole. In all states the executive appoints and receives diplomatic representatives. Extent of diplomatic power is different in different states

The executive directs and supervises the execution of the laws in all states. The head of the executive can appoint, control and remove all his subordinates. Within the field of civil administration lies also the power of issuing regulations or ordinances in matters which have not been dealt with by the Legislature. Control over appointments

The French make a distinction between the political or governmental functions and the purely administrative functions of the executive. The political functions include such matters as the summoning and opening of the legislative chambers, the conduct of foreign relations, the disposition of military forces, the exercise of the rights of pardon, etc. "The administrative authority, on the other hand, embraces all those matters which have to do more directly with the strict administration of the government, such as the appointment, direction, and removal of officers ; the issue of instructions and Administrative functions

ordinances ; and, in general, all acts relating more directly to the execution of the laws.

The executive controls in every state the army, navy and air forces. The pardoning power belongs to the executive in all states. "One man", says Hamilton, "appears to be a more eligible dispenser of the mercy of government than a body of men."

Military powers

VIII. Relation between the Executive and the Legislature

It has been shown in the chapter on the Separation of Powers, that there can be no absolute separation between the executive and the legislature. The executive exercises some legislative powers such as the right of assembling, dissolving and adjourning the legislature in many states.

Legislative powers of the Executive

In all constitutional states the executive has some kind of veto power. Everywhere it initiates legislation either directly as in Parliamentary countries or indirectly, through Annual Message, as in Presidential form of government. Usually the legislative functions of the executive are regulated by state rule or common law. On the other hand, the executive is controlled to a lesser or greater extent in every state by the legislature.

The Legislature controls the Executive

IX. Veto Power and its utility

The veto power of the executive requires some elucidation, as it is the most important legislative power of the executive. The veto power means the power of the executive to disapprove acts of the legislature. The chief objects of the veto are "to prevent hasty and ill-considered action by legislature" (Garner). Lord Bryce points out that in the United States the veto of the President in federal legislation and of the State Governor in state legislation is valued as curbing the tendency of legislature to pass faulty measures either from a demagogic purpose to carry favour with some large section of the citizens, or at the bidding of powerful business interests which can get at the individual representatives or at the local party leaders who command a majority in the legislature.

Objects of veto power

There are three forms of the veto—absolute, qualified and suspensive. The veto power is absolute where the legislature cannot overcome it by any process whatsoever. Such a veto belongs to the King of Great Britain in constitutional theory only. The British Crown virtually parted with its right of dissent from the Houses two centuries ago. The Governor-General of India exercises absolute veto.

Three types of veto powers

A veto is called qualified where it may be overridden by the legislature, provided an extraordinary majority of the members, usually two-thirds, concur in repassing the measures disapproved. The President of the United States possesses such a veto power. The suspensive veto is that which compels the legislature to reconsider the measures passed by it and disapproved by the President. In France, if the President sends back any measure to the Legislature, its members can make it a valid law by passing it by an ordinary majority.

Qualified
vetoSuspensive
veto

X. Increase in the Power of the Executive in Modern Democratic States

Increase of the power of the executive authority at the expense of the legislative body and sometimes of the judiciary is the characteristic feature of the politics of the twentieth century democracy. As early as 1922, when the dictatorial governments had not been formed, Lord Bryce observed in his *'Modern Democracies'* the "growing disposition to trust one man, or a few led by one, rather than an elected assembly." The chief reasons for the increase of the power of the executive are the quantitative increase in the functions of the government and the importance of economic questions, which can be dealt with thoroughly either by the legislature or by the public in general. The State, which previously had regarded as its main task the provision of internal and external defence, the administration of justice, and the maintenance of the army and police system, had to undertake a constantly increasing number of other duties on account of the development of industries. Building roads, bridges and railways, the development of communications, provision for schools, museums, and research institutes were undertaken by the State. With a view to improve human and animal hygiene, medical and preventive measures were introduced, and hospitals and Public Health Departments were set up. Various measures have to be adopted for the development of agriculture, forestry, fishery and animal breeding. Extremely difficult tasks like the regulation of river and inundation areas, the augmentation of fertile areas, the testing of seeds, marketing the agricultural produce, making trade agreements with foreign countries, regulation of currency, credit and prices, have been taken up by the State. All these tasks belong to the sphere of the executive. The problems involved in these tasks are concerned with technical economic questions. The general public are not fitted to deal with such questions.

Extension
of the
sphere of
governmental
activity

The Legislature is over-burdened with work. The initiative in making the laws has to be taken by the government. Measures

not favoured by government have little chance of being passed, because the vast mass of legislation introduced by the government in every session requires the whole time of the Legislature. The Legislature finds no time to lay down, nor is it competent to deal with, the intricate details regarding the measures it passes. It empowers the government departments to issue rules and regulations which are binding on citizens. Thus, in England the Factory Act of 1937 gives power to the Minister of Health to make special regulations for any industry he may think fit. The Town Planning Act of 1925 gives power to the Minister to decide whether or not land is likely to be used as building land ; and he has been made the final judge in any dispute over whether "any building or work contravenes a town planning scheme." In 1935, the government of Belgium was granted power to issue decree laws, not requiring the consent of the Legislature, to deal with the economic situation.

Another cause of the growth of the execution is the increasing rigour of party discipline over the members. If the government is to be efficiently carried on through the system of opposed parties, the party leaders must be able to depend on the votes of their followers. The leaders of the majority party or the coalition party form the government and they generally pass measures which they think proper.

The tendency to the increase of power of the executive is noticeable not only in Parliamentary governments but also in the Presidential government of the U. S. A. There has been a steady growth of the power of the President since the election of Roosevelt in 1933. His attempt to modify the legal checks which the American constitution has placed on the power of the President, is a clear example of the modern tendency to extend the power of the executive. The power of the Central government too, has grown at the expense of the States. The facility of communication has tended to destroy the basis of separation of the different states. The policy of President Roosevelt to accept responsibility for economic conditions and to use the whole resources of the nation to cure the depression, cuts across State rights and removes large areas of administration from State control.

Thus, the relations between the executive, legislature and judiciary which were co-ordinated and in balance in the nineteenth century, have lost the equilibrium in the twentieth century. During the war the power of the executive is all the more pronounced. The strategy and the plans of action in dealing with the enemy are in the hands of the cabinet and the army leaders.

Power of the executive to make rules and regulations

Rigour of party discipline

Growth of the power of the President in the U. S. A

Loss of equilibrium among the three powers

Executive authority in Dictatorial States

Modern Dictatorship means the centralization of government in the hand of a single man. In theory, he is absolute, and is restrained by no legal and constitutional rules. The Legislature is packed with the members of the party of the Dictator. Election to the Legislature degenerates into a farce. It merely demonstrates the fact that the government has the approval and co-operation of the people. None but a member of the party is allowed to stand as a candidate. Citizens, who have served a period of probation are accepted as members of the party. Members of the party are required to conform to strict political orthodoxy. The Dictator controls his party in a more personal and a closer degree than he can control the general administration. The party is the effective instrument of controlling the Legislature.

Subordina-
tion of the
Legislature

Judiciary has also been subordinated to the executive in the Dictatorial states. (As the independence of the Judiciary is the corner stone of democratic government, so the control of justice is an essential safeguard of dictatorship.) Control is exercised by the creation of a special court for trying political offences, by the power to appoint and dismiss judges and by creating the post of lay assistants to help the judge, even in non-political cases. This third method has been specially adopted in Italy and Germany. These assistants are naturally persons particularly attached to the regime.

Control
over
Judiciary

In the Dictatorial states the ministers are responsible to the Head of the state. The institution of ministerial counter-signature which secures the responsibility of ministers to Parliament is unknown in Dictatorial states. The whole administrative machinery is controlled and directed by the Dictator. Dictatorship gains in strength and efficiency by the centralization of authority, but the death of the first Dictator or his conspicuous failure in any direction brings chaos and confusion in the state.

Ministers
reduced to
the position
of clerks

CHAPTER XV

✓ ADMINISTRATION

1. Politics and Administration

Administration is really government in action. It is the executive, the operative and the most obvious part of government. An ignorant Indian villager may not know anything of the constitution of the country, but the Daroga is a living reality to him. The science of politics includes a study of administration no doubt, but administration lies outside the proper sphere of *politics*. Who shall make the law, and what shall the law be are problems of *politics*; but administration concerns itself with such questions as how law should be administered with enlightenments, with equity, with speed and without friction. Politics, according to Bluntschli, is state activity in things great and universal, while administration is the activity of the state in individual, and small things. "Politics is thus the special province of the statesman, administration of the technical official."

Distinction
between
the two

Constitution
and
Administration

The distinction between Constitution and Administration should also be noted. A constitution concerns itself only with those instrumentalities of government which are to control general law. But the concern of administration is with every particular application of general law. "Public administration", observes Woodrow Wilson, "is detailed and systematic execution of public law. Every particular application of general law is an act of administration." The assessment and rating of taxes, for instance, the hanging a criminal, the transportation and delivery of the mails, the equipment and recruitment of the army and navy, etc., are all obviously acts of administration; but the general laws which direct these things to be done are as obviously outside of and above administration."

Democracy implies government by public opinion. The proper sphere of public opinion, however, is to superintend the greater forces of formative policy in politics and administration. If public opinion tries to supervise the daily details and to settle administrative discipline, it will prove a clumsy nuisance. The administrative services like the traditional Indian wife must not look beyond their husband, the responsible head of their respective departments, but they should take particular care not to do anything which might antagonize public opinion and thus put their

Public
opinion and
Administration

departmental head into difficulty. The ideal to be aimed at should be to have "a civil service cultured and self-sufficient enough to act with sense and vigour, and yet so intimately connected with the popular thought, by means of elections and constant public counsel, as to find arbitrariness or class spirit quite out of the question."¹

IV. Principles of Organization of Administration

Laski holds that in organizing the administrative departments five principles should be observed. First, a minister should be placed at the head of each department and he is to be responsible to the Legislature for the work of his particular department. If a board is set up to look after the department, responsibility for the errors and credit for the good work cannot be easily fastened on any one. If one man is in charge of the department, the Legislature can ask him to explain why a particular step was considered necessary.

Responsible Minister

The second principle is that there should be adequate financial supervision over each department. An officer, second in importance to the permanent head of the department, should be responsible for all payments made by the department and for making a close examination of the cost of carrying out the proposals made by the department. This is secured in England by the Treasury. The Treasury is divided into eleven divisions and three branches and the duties are distributed among them in the following manner :

First Division : Internal Finance, including internal debt, loans, banking, currency and coinage, revenues, parliamentary financial procedure. Attached to this Division are the Treasury officers of Accounts who act in a consultative capacity on all questions relating to accounting principles and methods. *Second Division* : Foreign Finance, including external debt, reparations, foreign and colonial currencies. The *Financial Inquiries Division* investigates into economic and financial questions. *Third Division* : Social Services, etc., including Housing, Health, Labour, Pensions, Police, Transport. *Fourth Division* : Education, Arts and Science, Trade, Agriculture, Fisheries, etc. *Fifth Division* : Material and Policy questions relating to the Navy, Army and Air force, Foreign, Dominion and Colonial services, etc. *Sixth Division* : The superannuation of Civil Servants, compensation for injuries, etc. *Seventh Division* : General questions affecting the Civil Service, except superannuation. *Eighth Division* : Personal questions relating to the Navy, Army and Air force, including Civilian personnel employed by these departments. *Ninth Division* : Establishment questions relating to the Post Office, Stationery office, Office of works ; services carried out by these departments ;

Financial scrutiny and organization of British Treasury

Industrial wages, etc. *Tenth Division* : Establishment questions relating to Colonial office, Dominions office, Foreign office and the services carried out by these departments. Home office Inland Revenue department, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Transport, and certain other departments. All questions relating to Museums and like Institutions are also dealt with by this Division. *Eleventh Division* : Establishment questions relating to the departments responsible for Agriculture and Health Board of Trade and certain other departments. Outside the division organisation are the following branches : (1) The Accounts Branch, which is an executive accounting section under an Accountant and Deputy Accountant. (2) The Investigation Branch, which consists of three officers who conduct investigations in connection with the simplification of office methods and processes, and the introduction of office machinery and labour-saving devices throughout the Public Service. (3) The Chief Clerk's Branch, which is responsible for the clerical, registration minor administrative and messengerial duties connected with the departments. In May, 1943, the government promised that in every department the work concerned with organisation and methods will be given a new importance. Mr. I. J. Pitman, a Director of the Bank of England, has been appointed to be Director of Organization and Methods at the Treasury. This is an encouraging step towards a greater recognition of the need for methods of departmental administration suited to the demands of modern government and modelled upon the best practice of modern management.

The third principle in the organization of departments is the need of associating members of the Legislative Assembly with the actual administration of the country. This may be secured by appointing a committee of members of the **Committee system** Legislature for each ministry. The members of the committee should possess some specialized knowledge of the department concerned. The committee is not to initiate policy, nor to prevent the introduction of legislation proposed by the ministry, but to scrutinise, warn and encourage the work of the department. Such committees ensure a greater responsiveness on the part of the executive to the opinions of the Legislature, prevent the minister from becoming a dictator, and bring his official staff into contact with the outside world and thereby prevent the typical errors of bureaucratic government from being committed.

Fourthly, there should be definite arrangement for co-operation between the different departments. Government is an organic whole ; it cannot be divided into water-tight compartments.

Organization into different departments is necessary for bringing specialised knowledge to bear upon administrative problems, but that does not mean the total separation of one from others. The need of continuous consultation **Co-ordination** between the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Labour, between the Department of Overseas Trade and the Foreign office is very great. In the Provincial governments of India there is a deplorable lack of co-operation between the different departments. The welfare of villages depend on the concerted action of the Agriculture, Industries, Co-operative movement, Irrigation, Veterinary, Medical, Education, and Public Health departments, but there is no means for bringing them together at present.

The fifth principle is that there should be a special department for research and inquiry into administrative problems. Such a department should plan out the lines of possible policy and collect the facts needed to develop those lines in all their relationship. Henry Fyrol in his memorable paper entitled "The Administrative Doctrine in the State" lays special emphasis on the importance of organising such a department. He observes: "The Administrative Doctrine supposes the presence in all big undertakings of a permanent Council of Improvement charged with the duty of discovering improvements of which the undertaking is capable and pursuing their realization under the ægis and authority of the supreme chief. An organism of this kind seems to me indispensable to enable us to study and realize the reforms of which the governmental undertaking is perhaps more in need than any other. In order to overcome the resistance offered to reforms by ignorance, routine and particular interests, what is needed is a strong will and continuous action. Momentary manifestations in which the superior authority plays but a poor part, cannot produce serious results. Continuous action demands a special

**Need of
research and
investigation**

Theory of General Administration

The activity of the executive power is generally referred to as "administration". American writers draw a line of distinction between the functions of direction, supervision and control on the one hand, and execution on the other. Willoughby distinguishes the functions of administration in the following way: "When we examine the operation of the organs of administration we find that the activity of the stage organs divides itself into two groups. We may call primary or functional the activity which is performed by an organ in order to realize the purpose for which

**Functional
and Institutional
activities of the
execution**

it was established (e.g., the object of the police is the maintenance of order, that of a school—teaching, that of a hospital—medical treatment, etc.). Institutional activity, on the other hand, is that which the organ itself must perform in order to exist and to operate as an organ.” To this category belong, for instance, the appointment of personnel, the arrangement of the work of an organization, such as the schools or police, and the provision of buildings, and material equipment, the payment of personnel, the conclusion of contracts for public supplies, disciplining of personnel, the replacement of persons on sick leave, the filling up of vacancies, the utilization of available appropriations, the keeping of financial records, the drafting of reports, etc. Functional activity is special and technical and varies according to the branch of service. Institutional activity, on the other hand, is similar to all branches of administration.

Fyrol drawing analogy from the principle of Scientific Management in business divides the essential operations of government into the following six groups :

- (1) Technical operations (production, manufacture, transformation).
- (2) Commercial operations (purchase, sale, exchange).
- (3) Financial operations (procurement and administration of capital).
- (4) Operations of security (protection of goods and persons).
- (5) Accounting operations (inventory, balance-sheet, prime cost, statistics, etc.).
- (6) Administrative operations proper—foresight, organization, command, co-ordination, control.

Fyrol uses the term “administration proper” in a narrower sense than Willoughby, because the functions of the sixth group are peculiarly the functions of the head of the executive.

The five elements of administrative function—foresight, organisation, command, co-ordination and control are explained and defined by Fyrol in the following way. “The essence of *foresight* is planning. An accurate and complete knowledge of the past and the present enables us to draw conclusions respecting future probabilities and possibilities and respecting development, improvement or reduction. *Organization* is the determination and realization of the general structure of the undertaking in keeping with its objects. It means giving the whole its proper form and each detail its proper place, determining the frame and filling it with content, assuring a precise division of administrative labour, giving the undertaking every necessary performance and accurately determining its sphere of activity. It is in this

way that organization carries over into life the theoretical conceptions of foresight. Execution is commanding and insuring co-ordination. *Command* means bringing into action all the organs which foresight considers necessary and organization has created. With command, the role of authority and responsibility, of initiation and discipline is begun in all phases alike. But the giving of orders would not suffice to insure the execution of the will of the chief unless they were supplemented by the effort to insure co-ordination. *Co-ordination* means the introduction into the whole of harmony and equilibrium and the giving of things and acts their due proportions. It means the application of means to the end, the unification and levelling of the various efforts, the establishment of a close connection between the several sections or departments which though they have different tasks, meet in the common aim. *Control* is what is meant by an inquiry into results. To control is simply to convince ourselves that at all times everything is carried out in keeping with the accepted programme, the order given and the principles in force. The work of control compares, discusses, judges, and endeavours to enhance foresight, to simplify and strengthen organization, to increase the perfection of command and to facilitate co-ordination."

IV. Elementary Constituents of Bureaucracy

The term 'Bureaucracy' is of French origin. In the 17th century important branches of administration were entrusted to individual ministers, each of whom had a so-called 'bureau' at his command in which business was transacted by several higher and lower officers who acted as subordinates of respective ministers. As there was frequent change of ministers, the chief clerks shaped and dictated the policy to the ministers. The chief clerks thus acquired a preponderent influence which was often abused to the disadvantage of general interest of the state. This form of government was contemptuously termed bureaucracy. In every modern state the highly complex business of administration is now performed by a host of officials, and this body is collectively known as bureaucracy.

There are six constituents of a bureaucracy, namely, (1) centralization of control and supervision, (2) safeguards for the independence of judgment of each member of the organization, (3) keeping of records and file, (4) secrecy, (5) differentiation of functions and (6) qualification for office.

Certain functions are allotted to regional or local authorities in every state. But the Central authority must act as an intermediary and integrator between technically and regionally differentiated functions. A hierarchy of officials is needed to bring

about unity of policy and uniformity in administration. The hierarchical system implies flawless subordination. But the principle of differentiating and distributing functions limits the absolute domination of higher officials over the members of

Hierarchy lower rank. A higher official will hesitate to reverse the decision of a lower official, when he feels that the latter has a better knowledge of the facts in detail. But at the same time there are in every administrative hierarchy some rules of discipline. A gross breach of discipline is punished with degradation or removal from office. The punishment, however, should not be awarded until one has been formally accused, indicted, examined and pronounced guilty, either by a regular court or by a court composed of his peers.

Keeping of records and file has become absolutely necessary in all forms of government, because precision and continuity are essential to effective administration. Officials have got a tendency to follow precedents. Rigid adherence to precedence gives rise to red-tapism. Certain amount of secrecy, too, has got to be maintained by officials for the sake of preventing wire-pulling and jobbery. The bureaucracy should be neutral and independent towards political parties.

**Record,
secrecy
and
neutrality**

V. Development of Professional Civil Service

The increase in the functions of government and the growing complexity of the administrative work have made it necessary to have a professional civil service. It consists of techni-

**Causes of
growth of
professional
Army**

cally trained persons who enter the service of the state, and remain in office, irrespective of change of parties in power, till they attain the age of superannuation. The appointment of permanent technically qualified officials has been due to the desire to increase efficiency. To enable the civil servants to give all their time, energy and attention to the business of the state, provision has been made for pension not only to themselves after their retirement but also in some cases to their widows and orphans.

The professional Civil Service was instituted in England in 1855, when the Civil Service Commission was established. This body arranges entrance examination for candidates for all openings in the Civil Service. There are two classes of Civil Service—

In England Executive and Administrative. The function of the Executive class is to perform the operations developed and determined by laws, rules and practice. Officers of this branch are recruited at the age of 18 or 19 after finishing a secondary school examination. The Administrative class is recruited

from the brilliant University graduates, who enter the service between the ages of 22 and 24. The duties of this class of officers "are concerned very largely with the formation of policy, the revision of existing practice or current regulations and decisions, the recognition and direction of the business of government and co-ordination and improvement of government machinery and the general administration and control of the department of the public service. For the performance of these duties, the government places stress upon intellectual capacity, an understanding of relationships, and personal ability to direct and to manage. These officers must understand the British traditions, the subtleties of distinction, the careful balancing of ideas and the avoidance of irrelevant contentious matters, in the handling of delicate situations." The present war has thrown much new burden on the shoulders of the Civil Service. The present personnel of the service, whether in England or in India, is not experienced or competent in the matters of industry, trade and finance, which are increasingly the concern of governmental direction. In England the defect has been partially remedied by the appointment of temporary officials with training or experience in these fields. The experience of the war-time shows the need of extending the ambit of peace-time recruitment so as to include men of such technical qualifications. Arrangements should be made to bring in, at the proper stage and at the appropriate salary, men from the professional and business world outside.

In the United States of America the professional Civil Service was instituted in 1883. A Committee was appointed in 1936 to devise means for increasing the efficiency of the Civil Service. The committee suggested (1) that more than one hundred separate departments, commissions and boards of the ^{In the} U. S. A. government should be consolidated within twelve regular government departments, which would include the existing ten departments and two new departments, a Department of Social Welfare and a Department of Public Works. (2) The merit system should be extended to the whole Civil Service including administrative posts—a change involving $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakh positions. (3) The three planning agencies should be strengthened in order to render more effective assistance to the President in his administrative responsibilities.

The importance of professional class of administrators is seen best in the change of attitude in Russia towards them. Lenin and his party were determined to put an end to the bureaucracy for ever. Consequently, the Bolshevich party made the following demands: (1) That every member of the Soviet ^{Growth of professional Civil Service in Russia} should be required to co-operate in the performance of some definite tasks of the State administration; (2) that there should be a constant rotation in the work, so that every

member should have an opportunity to acquire experience in each branch of the administration ; (3) that the whole body of workers should be gradually initiated into the work of the State administration. But the Soviet government had to change its opinion after twenty years of experience, and to admit the necessity of securing permanence of tenure and technical efficiency. Thus writes Stalin : "It may be said decidedly that nine-tenths of our troubles and defects are due to a faulty organisation of the control of execution. In order to enable the control of execution to attain its object, however, two things at least are needed—first, that the control of the execution should be systematic and not desultory, and secondly, that the control of the execution in the Party, Soviet and economic organisations and in all their branches should be under the direction, not of inferior persons, but of persons possessing the necessary authority who are the heads of the organisations. Of popular importance is the proper organisation of the control of execution in the central organs—the ministers. To this end in 1934, *A Soviet Control of Commission* was organised. It has 40 members and its jurisdiction extends to the whole territory of the Soviet Union. It is divided into sub-commissions and has representatives in the Member States, in the provinces and in the districts which are entirely independent of the local organisations."



Administrative Machinery in Indian Provinces

The administrative machinery in Indian Provinces is cumbrous and ill-fitted to the times. There is a good deal of overlapping of work between different departments. There is hardly any co-ordination between them. Take for instance the scheme of rural uplift. Active co-operation is imperative between the departments of Health, Education, Agriculture, Public Works, Industries, Co-operative movement and Local Self-government in effecting any improvement in the villages of India. But unfortunately there is no machinery to co-ordinate the activities of these departments of government. It has been rightly pointed out that "one of the difficulties which had led to delays, impediments and frustrations in the past was the fact that the administration, like Topsy, had just 'grown up'. The functions of government had been changing but as fresh fields of governmental activity were taken over no opportunity had been taken for an over-all review of the machinery of government and fresh activities had allotted somewhat indiscriminately."

The first step towards a scientific distribution of work between the governmental departments was suggested by the Bengal

Administration Inquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Archibald Rowlands, now Finance Member, Government of India. The committee suggested measures which have to be adopted in order to eliminate the wastefulness and inefficiency of the haphazard and unco-ordinated system of administration which had grown up in Bengal. The report of the committee took full account of the shift in the emphasis of governmental activities brought about in recent years and made recommendations intended to place in the hands of government a machine working in such a way that the formulating and execution of policy for the betterment of the people of Bengal through the optimum utilization of its human and material resources could proceed without getting into knots such as had so often strangled it in recent years.

The Bengal
Administration
Inquiry
Committee,
March, 1945

In accordance with the recommendations of the Rowlands Report the Bengal Government have announced in October, 1945 that a reshuffling of portfolios has been effected to reduce overlapping. A Chief Minister's department has been created to co-ordinate governmental activities, including development.

Action
taken by
the Bengal
Government

The Chief Minister's department is concerned with maintenance of the constitution ; conduct of elections to and relations with the legislature ; everything comprised in the general term "personnel management" ; provision of common services to all departments of government ; and general co-ordination of all governmental activities. On the "nation-building" or development side, the Chief Minister's department would include a development office in charge of a development Commissioner having the rank of Additional Chief Secretary charged with the duty of stimulating the preparation of development plans by the various departments, scrutinizing them when made and integrating them into a coherent plan for the province. If successfully worked out, Bengal would be the only Government in India to include within the Secretariat organization a unit which will discharge the duty of keeping the government machine up-to-date and of conducting a running check-up on the efficiency of its working.

The Chief
Minister's
Department

The Chief Minister's department would also contain a Chief Secretary's office charged with the general co-ordination of other governmental activities. There will be an Establishment Branch and an Organization and Methods Branch in this office. The Establishment Branch would deal with all questions of personnel management, conditions of enlistment, recruitment, discipline, etc. The Organization and Methods Branch would be charged with insuring that both in

Chief
Secretary's
Office

higher organizational level and also on the procedural side the activities of government departments should be so conducted that the maximum result might be obtained from most economical expenditure of manpower and time. Another function of the Chief Secretary's office would be to administer the "common services", including Publicity. This branch would concern itself, among other things, with duties such as providing residential and office accommodation, supplying stationary, furniture, office machinery and equipment, furnishing departments with such statistics or translations as they required and administering government printing presses.

The Home Department will remain responsible for the maintenance of public security, peace, order and tranquillity with the consequent administration of the Police and Jails. **The Home Department** for all activities involving relations with foreign powers; for matters of ceremonial precedence; and also for the regulation and control of the means of transportation. This will be the department dealing with any item which does not clearly fall to be assigned elsewhere.

The Finance Department will be responsible for the management of public finance, the maintenance of public credit and collection generally of public revenues. **The Finance Department** It will cease to be responsible for personnel management which will be handed over to the Chief Minister's department.

The Judicial and Legislative departments will continue to discharge their present functions and the judicial department will take over also registration of marriages and of deeds and documents. **The Judicial and Legislative Depts.**

The Department of Land and Land Revenue will concern itself with the definition of rights in or over land; the incidence of land tenure; land acquisition; the collection of revenue and cesses; the constitution and regulation of rent and revenue courts. **The Dept. of Land and Land Revenue**

The Department of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries will be responsible for the development and optimum utilization of the animal and vegetable resources of the province and when such problems mature, for the regulation of agricultural employment and promotion of the welfare of agricultural labour. "Forests" logically come to this department as part of the province's "vegetable resources." **The Dept. of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries**

The Department of Commerce, Labour and Industries will be in charge of the promotion and regulation of industry, trade and commerce; regulation of non-agricultural employment; promotion of labour welfare. **The Dept. of Commerce, Labour and Industries**

and regulation of the technical training of artisans and craftsmen.

The Education Department will continue to be responsible for the promotion and regulation of educational and cultural development, including youth welfare, and generally for charities and charitable and religious endowments and funds.

**Education
Department**

The Local Self-government Department will continue to discharge the duties of promoting health. The two are so inextricably connected that it is not possible at present to separate them.

**The Dept. of
Health and
Local Self-
Government**

The functions of the Department of Co-operation, Credit and Relief are the promotion and regulation of co-operative activities, the regulation and provision of agricultural credit and the relief of distress.

**The Dept. of
Co-opera-
tion, Credit
and Relief**

The Department of Works and Buildings will continue to discharge the functions now performed by the Roads and Buildings Branch of the Communications and Works Department.

**The Dept.
of Works
and Build-
ings**

The Department of Irrigation and Waterways will be charged with responsibility for the development and regulation of the province's inland water resources with the object of preventing and controlling floods and water-logging, providing and administering irrigation works, maintaining waterways and producing water-generated power.

**The Dept. of
Irrigation
and Water-
ways**

The Department of Civil Supplies will continue to be responsible for the supply and distribution of essential consumption commodities.

**The Dept. of
Civil
Supplies**

CHAPTER XVI

THE JUDICIARY

I. Functions of the Judiciary

The welfare and security of the average citizen depends on the prompt, certain and impartial administration of justice. It is the Judiciary which is the shield of innocence and the impartial guardian of every private civil right. The chief functions of the Judiciary are to ascertain and decide rights, to punish crimes, and to protect the innocent from injury and usurpation. In all countries the Judiciary decides the application of existing law in individual cases. But in those countries where laws have not been codified, as in England and the United States, the judges not only interpret but also make laws. Where the letter of the law is silent, the judges are called upon to attach to it the meaning which may be considered reasonable and consistent with the general principles of morality and public policy. Their decisions become precedents for future cases of similar type.

The Judiciary interprets and makes laws

In countries living under a rigid constitution the Judiciary takes its place side by side with the Executive and the Legislature as a co-ordinate department of government. **In the rigid constitutions the Judiciary acts as the interpreter of the constitution** "When questions arise," says Bryce, "as to the limits of the powers of the Executive or of the Legislature, or—in a Federation—as to the limits of the respective powers of the Central or National and those of the State Government, it is by a court of Law that the true meaning of the constitution, as the fundamental and supreme law, ought to be determined, because it is the rightful and authorised interpreter of what the people intended to declare when they were enacting a fundamental instrument. This function of interpretation calls for high legal ability, because each decision given becomes a precedent determining for the future the respective powers of the several branches of government, their relations to one another and to the individual citizen.

In the rigid constitutions the Judiciary acts as the interpreter of the constitution

The nature of judicial functions demands that the judges ought to possess great legal acumen, faithfulness to the constitution, firmness of character and, above all, honesty and independence.

Qualifications of judges

In monarchical states "the independence of the Judiciary is essential to protect the people from the arbitrary interference and oppression of the crown and also to prevent the judges from being reduced to a position of cringing subserviency to the executive." In republics

Necessity of securing independence to the Judiciary

the independence of the Judiciary is also essential for protecting the constitution and laws against the encroachments of party spirit and the tyranny of faction. When grave political issues excite party feeling, the courage and uprightness of the judges become supremely valuable to the nation.

✓ II. Independence of the Judiciary

The independence of the Judiciary depends upon three factors ; (1) the inducements offered to meritorious men, (2) the methods of selecting them, and (3) guarantees for the independence of the judges when appointed. The inducements which should be offered are good salary, permanence in office and social status. The tenure of judges in the majority of constitutional states is permanent, that is to say, they hold office while they are "of good behaviour"—i.e., not guilty of any crime known to the law.

Methods of
securing in-
dependence
of the
Judiciary

In Switzerland the judges are elected for six years by the two Federal chambers, sitting together ; but as re-election is frequent, the tenure is as good as permanent. In some of the States of the U. S. A. judges are elected by the people for a short term. This has led to all sorts of abuses and corruption. Popular election of judges is subversive to the honesty and independence of the Judiciary. The elected judge is sure to show favour to his party-men even in judicial administration. Moreover, the voters are not fitted to choose whether one candidate is more learned in law than another.

Election of
judges

In France candidates for the Bench are selected by competitive examination under the direction of the Minister of Justice and they are promoted from one grade to another according to seniority and merit. They can not be removed either by the Legislature or the Executive but only by the final court of appeal called the Court of Cassation, acting through a committee of seven judges. In Great Britain judges are appointed by the Lord Chancellor.

Recruitment
by examina-
tion

The independence of the Judiciary in England has been established by the Act of Settlement (1701). According to this Act the judges have been given security of the tenure of office. They are appointed by the Crown on the recommendations of the Lord Chancellor and they hold office during good behaviour. Their removal is possible only on a joint address of the two houses of the Legislature, namely, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The judges of the smaller courts may be removed from office by the Lord Chancellor for gross misconduct but this power is rarely exercised by the Lord Chancellor.

The Act of
Settlement

✓ In the United States the Federal judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and are **Irremovable except by impeachment.** Thus, the independence of the Judiciary has been secured in most cases by giving them a security of tenure which raises them above the exigencies of political expediency.

Impeachment of Judges

✓ III. The Organisation of the Judiciary

In modern states the Judiciary may be organised in three different ways, (i) it may be elected by the Legislature ; (ii) it may be elected by the people or (iii) it may be appointed by the Executive. The practice of election by the Legislature prevails in Switzerland but it does not work well, for it leads very often to the appointment of party candidates and thus leaves out really capable men. **Three modes of organising the Judiciary** The system of popular election exists in many of the states in the U. S. A. The obvious defect of the system is that the masses hardly possess the requisite capacity to test the qualification of a person which may make him an efficient judge and they often elect incapable judges ; the judges thus appointed seek to win public approval and as such make themselves poor judges indeed by playing to the wishes of the populace. The system of appointment by the Executive has been found by practice to be most satisfactory and this system has been adopted in most of the states.

In the Judicial system of every country there are generally two sets of courts, namely, Civil and Criminal. **Civil and Criminal Courts** The civil courts have a supreme court at the head and so also the criminal courts. Below each of the highest courts in each category, there are lower courts with defined jurisdiction, both pecuniary and territorial.

There is an important difference in the composition of courts in the Anglo-Saxon countries and those existing in the continental countries. In the Anglo-Saxon countries like England, every court excepting the appeal courts has a single presiding judge while courts in the continental are presided over by a number of judges. **Difference between the English and the Continental Judiciary** The continent system thus provides a safeguard against the arbitrary decisions of a single personality, but the Anglo-Saxon system is liable to this contingency. But it should be noted that the continental system involves large expenditure on the part of the government. Further, judges in the Anglo-Saxon countries go on circuit from place to place but the continental judges do not.

Comparison between the English and the French Judicial system

In England the decisions of judges are generally regarded as binding on later judges in similar cases. The judges exercise essentially legislative authority, as their decisions form the case-law. But in France the judges are expressly forbidden to build up case-law. (The cause of this difference is to be found in the fact that in England these laws are not wholly codified, while in France they are codified.) In the administrative courts of France, however, precedent is acquiring the status of law.

French judges can not make case-laws

In England there is no separate court to decide cases between officials and private citizens as it exists in France. In England a single judge often hears cases, but in France there is a bench of judges in every court except the very lowest. The judges in England are recruited from bar but in France from those who have no connection with the active practice of law. The Judiciary in England is a separate branch of government, but in France it is regarded as a branch of civil service. Neither in England nor in France is the judge empowered to declare a law unconstitutional.

Administrative Courts in France

The French judges are members of the Civil Service

Comparison between the English and the American Judiciary

In the United States of America as well as in England judges are appointed by executive authority. The Lord Chancellor nominates the judges in England, while the President appoints the Federal judges with the consent of the Senate. The English judges can be removed by a petition by both the Houses of Parliament; in the U. S. A. the customary mode of removal is by impeachment, that is, through the preferment of charges by one chamber of the Legislature, usually the House of Representatives and trial by the other.

Appointment and removal

In England the Lord Chancellor, a member of the cabinet, is the highest Judicial dignitary in the land. But in the United States there is no representative of the Judicial body in the executive and vice versa.

The Lord Chancellor of England

It is in its relation to the Legislature that the Judiciary of the U. S. A. presents a complete contrast to that of England. The judges in England are bound by the laws passed by the Parliament. They have no competence to pronounce upon the legality or otherwise of the laws enacted by the king in Parliament; while in England the Parliament is supreme. In the U. S. A. the constitution

In the U. S. A. the judges can declare a law ultra vires

itself is supreme. This fact makes the Judiciary of the U. S. A. a co-ordinate organ with the Legislature and the Executive. The federal judges have it as their prime duty to safeguard the constitution and to treat as void every legislative act, of either Congress or a state Legislature, which is inconsistent with the constitution. They cannot, indeed, abolish such a law, but they are bound to treat it as void in all cases before the court arising out of it. De Tocqueville speaks very highly of this system in the following words.

{ The American system
guarantees
civil liberty

"I am inclined to believe that it is at once the most favourable to liberty as well as to public order and forms one of the most powerful barriers which have ever been devised against the tyranny of political assemblies." The Judiciary in the U. S. A. has a competence far beyond that of the Judiciary in England. }

✓ In both the countries the judges contribute to the growth of the law by adding case-law. Another point of difference in the judicial organisation of the two states is worth noticing. The Congress has no judicial function, except in trying cases of impeachment. The House of Lords is the final court of Appeal in England, though the Judicial work is done not by the ordinary peers but the Lords of Appeal.

✓ VI. Comparison between the Judicial system of the U. S. A. and Switzerland

Both the United States of America and Switzerland are Federal states and their Judicial systems have something in common. The Federal Judges in the U. S. are appointed for life or during good behaviour by the President. (The Federal Judges in Switzerland, fourteen in number, are elected by the Federal Assembly for six years. But they are usually reappointed. As the supreme court in the U. S. A. decides cases relating to controversies between different states, or between the union and a state or between a state and a citizen of another state, so does the Federal court in Switzerland possess jurisdiction over disputes between cantons and cantons and between cantons and individuals or corporations.)

But the impotence of the Swiss Federal Court is unique among federal states. The Supreme Court in the U. S. A. is the guardian of the constitution. It can pronounce a law passed by the Congress unconstitutional, but the Swiss Federal Court has no such interpretative power. (It is a provision of the Swiss constitution (Art. 113) that every statute passed by the Federal Assembly must be accepted as valid.)

{ The Swiss
Federal
Court is
very weak

VII. Relation of the Legislature to the Judiciary

According to the principle of separation of functions, the Legislature makes laws and the Judiciary interprets and applies those laws to specific cases. But sometimes one usurps the functions of the other and as such has some controlling influence on the activities of the other.

In certain countries the Judiciary is entitled to declare the laws passed by the Legislature null and void when these laws are found to be in excess of the powers vested in the Legislature by the written constitution. In the J. S. A. the Judiciary is really the custodian of the constitution. Judiciary as the custodian of the constitution (In England and France, however, any law enacted by the Legislature cannot be invalidated by the law courts, for in these countries the political sovereignty of the people as expressed through the Legislature is regarded as inviolable.) Besides, the Judiciary by its interpretations of law and their application to particular cases creates rulings and conventions which are practically regarded as laws. Usually they are called "Judge-made" laws.)

On the other hand, the Legislature exercises certain functions on the Judiciary. In England, the Upper House of the Legislature, namely, the House of Lords is the supreme court of appeal. In practice, however, this function is exercised by the six law-lords and the Lord Chancellor. In certain other countries also the Upper Chamber acts as a tribunal to hear the impeachments against high executive officials. The Legislature exercises some Judicial functions The Senate in the U. S. A. and France constitutes itself into a tribunal to try executive officials charged by the lower House of the Legislature. The Judiciary is often appointed by the Legislature. In the U. S. A. the federal judges are appointed by the executive but the appointment must be sanctioned by the Senate.

R VIII. Relation of the Executive to the Judiciary

We have already seen that for the administration of justice, the Judiciary should possess a large measure of independence of the Executive, so that the Executive may not exercise undue interference with the functions of the Judiciary. Immunity of the head of the Executive This independence does not, however, imply that the Executive is always subjected to the control of the Judiciary. It is almost a recognised public law that the Chief Executive should be exempted from the jurisdiction of any court or magistrate so long as he remains in office. For instance, the President of the U. S. A. is immune from judicial control. But he is responsible to the Senate when that body becomes a court

for the specific purpose of trying the President. Even in that case also the jurisdiction is limited to the removal of the President from the office and his disqualification from holding public office again. His personal liberties cannot be restrained by any order of the court. But as soon as he becomes an ordinary citizen divested of public office, he is subjected to the control of the judiciary as a private individual.)

At the same time, the orders and regulations issued by the President may be scrutinized and even declared invalid if anybody questioning their validity applies to the court for redress. The subordinates of the Chief Executive, however, are not exempt from the jurisdiction of the Judiciary. The court may freely exercise control over them whenever they are found guilty of violation of rules of the constitution. Even the fact that they acted according to the orders of the President cannot be a defence in their favour. Thus, it is evident that as the Chief Executive has to carry on administration largely through the subordinates, the Judiciary has indirectly a large measure of control on the activities of the Executive.

It has been contended that the Executive should not be given supreme authority for that may lead to tyranny. Experience and reason show that a large measure of authority should be vested in the Executive. For, if the Executive is controlled by the Judiciary, then the efficiency of the Executive must necessarily suffer. If a water-tight division of functions is attempted, unnecessary conflicts between the Judiciary and the Executive are bound to occur. The Executive is in a position to hamper the execution of the processes issued by the Judiciary, and the Judiciary also if bent upon resisting the Executive orders, may create troubles in smooth working.

{ Position of
the Presi-
dent of the
U. S. A.

{ The subor-
dinate Exe-
cutive is
amenable to
the control
of the
Judiciary

{ Conflicts
between the
Executive
and the
Judiciary
should be
avoided

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL PARTIES

I. Bases of Party Division

Political parties are organised bodies with voluntary membership, whose concerted energy is employed in the pursuit of political power. Fellowship under a leader, lectures, meetings and committees, common festivities and material gain in the form of 'spoils' impart the cohesive force to the parties. But "the special cohesive element", writes Finer, "of a political party which differentiates it from other groups and causes political parties to differ among themselves, is their dogma of the Good State, and their desire and struggle for the power to realise its implications concretely in the institutions and behaviour of all."

Gettell defines it as a group of citizens, more or less organized, who act as a political unit, and who by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carry out their general policy. A party is often contrasted with a faction and the latter is defined as "any constituent group of a larger unit which works for the advancement of particular persons or policies". But, in practice, the boundary between factions and minor parties is one to be determined by convenience rather than by logic. Parties may be formed on the basis of religion, form of government, nationality, class interests or some general questions of vital interest to the state. In the sixteenth century parties were divided into the Catholics and the Protestants and in modern India they are sometimes divided into Hindus and Muslims. In the seventeenth century the contest between the king and the people gave birth to political parties in England. In the nineteenth century parties were organised on the continent to uphold a particular form of government, such as the Republican, Monarchist, etc. Parties usually follow nationalities. Different classes such as Labour and Capital, Zemindar and Ryot, Brahmins and non-Brahmins may form rival political parties.

Definition
and lines of
division

In modern states political power has been transferred from the monarch and nobles to the people. So the dividing lines between parties are tending to be economic. In the old Whig and Tory parties in England there were poor as well as rich men in each party. But now the rich and the poor have generally joined the opposite camps. The result has been to accentuate class sentiment, making a sharper division than what previously existed between the richer and more conservative element in every country and that

Economic
questions
are at the
root of party
divisions at
present

which is poorer, and more disposed to experimental legislation." Division of parties based on social antagonism such as that between rich and poor, Labour and Capital, Hindus and Muslims, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, is deplorable in as much as such a division is unfavourable to the formation of a truly national opinion and, to some extent, to national unity in general.

The discussions which follow assume political parties as based on some specific practical issues which divide the citizens indeed but the cleavage between the parties is never fundamental. Such parties are to be found in England, the U. S. A. and France. In these advanced capitalistic governments all the recognised parties owe allegiance to the present constitution, and all are agreed to maintain a strong hold on their empires and to shut out the communists from power. Such parties may or may not differ much on political principles, but they are mainly held together by the prospect of coming to power.

L II. Functions of Political Parties

Parties have been described as a motive force in politics. In countries which enjoy representative government, parties furnish the organization by which, through elections, referendums, and the influence of public opinion, general will may be formulated and carried into effect.

It is the Party system which brings order out of chaos. In most of the constitutional states, constituencies are so large that it becomes almost impossible for an average citizen to choose his representative or to vote on rival candidates on the ground of merit. The parties are bent upon winning elections and they choose their own candidates. The principle of popular sovereignty requires the choice of party candidate to be made by those of the electors who belong to the party." "Discussion within a party, culminating before elections in the adoption of a platform, brings certain issues to the front, defines them, expresses them in formulas which, even if tricky or delusive, fix men's minds on certain points, concentrating attention and inviting criticism."

Each party has got some funds. Funds are often contributed by public-spirited men who expect no concrete reward for their gifts to the party. But it is also noticed that business-men, desiring tariff-favours or seeking to escape public regulation, or persons seeking title or honour, contribute handsomely to the party funds with a view to gain their selfish ends. The election expenses of poorer candidates are defrayed from the party funds. Had there been no party

organization it would have been impossible for poorer people to seek election, as election is an expensive affair now-a-days. Incidentally, the Party system is conducive to the political education of the electors. Each party must distribute handbills and pamphlets and deliver speeches in order to convince the voters of its superiority over other parties. Through these discussions even the most indifferent elector learns something.

It educates
the public

Party system holds together the members of a representative assembly who profess the political opinion for which the party stands, so as to concentrate their efforts on the advocacy of its principles and the attainment of its objects.

It holds to-
gether mem-
bers of
Legislature

In the United States of America the Party system performs a highly important function. Had there been no well-organised parties in the United States the separation of powers between the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary would have made the constitution almost unworkable. Parties act there as a unifying force, which by controlling the various organs of government, secures harmonious and consistent policy and administration.

Parties in
the U. S. A.
perform
highly useful
functions

In consideration of the highly important functions performed by the Party system we must endorse the view of Leacock that 'far from being in conflict with the theory of democratic government, party government is the only thing which renders it feasible.' Had there been no party organizations, by whom would public opinion in such vast populations as those of the United States, France or England be roused and educated and directed to certain specific purposes? Who would have given political literature to the voters, stirred them out of apathy, arranged public meetings and reminded them of their duty to vote? Work in the Legislature too becomes easier because of the party discipline which binds many members together. "A modern democratic state without this somewhat artificial and yet essential unanimity would become a brawling crew of individual opinions."

It brings
about arti-
ficial but
essentially
necessary
unanimity

III. Merits and Demerits of the Party System

Advantages of the Party system will be apparent from its influence on the working of modern democracies as discussed in the previous section. But some political theorists have brought certain serious charges against the Party system. We shall now discuss the validity of these charges.

The critics of the Party system accuse it of artificially promoting unanimity and disagreement among opposing groups which do

not really exist. (Prof. Goldwin Smith) says that where two political parties dispute the field, it presumes "a bisection of human nature" which is untrue. Another charge against the Party system is that it transforms the Legislature in Parliamentary countries into a battlefield. The deliberations of Parliament become a personal struggle of the Ins and Outs, in which the interests of the country are forgotten. It is further asserted that it prompts each party to make promises and put forward plans whose aim is not to benefit the country but merely to attract popular support. (That is to say, pledge first principle afterward.) (Party system gives opportunity to some self-seeking political adventurers to exploit in their own interest the general body of citizens.) Then, again, the Party system has been accused of debasing moral standard. It is alleged that in one way or another the sentiment of party solidarity supersedes the duty which the citizen or the member owes to the state. Elected representatives are under the iron discipline of party leaders at whose bidding they have to vote on all measures in the Legislature. Party system encourages loyalty to party at the expense of loyalty to state. It keeps out of office some of the ablest men of the state, i.e. the opposition leaders. It leads to excessive pandering to the people and suppression of truth. It also leads to bitterness of feeling during election times. The most serious charge against the Party system is that the party machine is under the control of the rich people who exploit the rank and file of their organization for promoting their own selfish interests. In raising funds a party incurs obligations which compromise its effectiveness as the defender of the interests of the people.

In reply to the first charge it has been pointed out by Lecky that there are naturally four kinds of men—those who wish to return to the methods and institutions of the past (reactionaries), those who wish to retain those of the present (conservatives), those who wish to reform present institutions (liberals), and those who desire to abolish them (radicals). If for the sake of achieving their objects the two former classes and the two latter together act jointly in political matters, "we get a division into two great political parties, resting on fundamental psychological principles." In reply to the second charge it may be said that the parties formulate and organize public opinion and thus secure weight for popular voice. Discussions in the Legislature thrash out the merits and defects of the proposed measures and evoke public criticism, which cannot be ignored by the responsible party leaders. It must be remembered that an organised party with recognised leaders has a character to lose or to gain. If either the Ministerialist Party or the Opposition play false to the nation its chances in the next election would be very bad indeed.

There can be no doubt that the party discipline impairs the independence of members, but this defect is counterbalanced by certain merits of the Party system. ("If there were no party voting," observes Bryce, "ministers would not know from hour to hour whether they could count on carrying some provision of a Bill which might in appearance be trifling, but would destroy its coherence. Perpetual uncertainty and the weakness of the Executive, which uncertainty involves, would be a greater public evil than the subordination to his party of a member's personal view in minor matters.") He further adds that party discipline imposes a needed check on self-seeking and corruption of members. Certain other defects have been pointed out by the critics.

It imparts
stability
to the
Executive

(Party system harmonises the activities of the various organs of government, e. g., in the United States.) It prevents hasty legislation by enabling both its supporters and the Opposition to express their views on the point. The party organization selects candidates for public offices, determines party issues, raises party funds, brings the voters to the polls on election day, conducts or criticises the government, and trains persons for leadership.

Useful work
done by
parties

Certain forms of Party system, however, must be pronounced as reprehensible. We have already shown that when parties are based on social antagonism such as Hindus and Muslims or Zemindars and Ryots or Labour and Capital they destroy national solidarity. Then again, national party issues are often carried to the election of local bodies, such as the Country Council, District Board or Municipality, which bodies have got nothing to do with nation-wide questions. Such a perversion impairs the efficiency of local bodies. The 'Spoils System' as practised in the United States, France, Canada and Australia is another serious defect of the Party system. The victorious party turns out even the best men of the defeated party to make room for its own adherents. This system gives rise to inefficiency and political corruption.

Reprehen-
sible forms
of parties

Double Party vs. Multiple Party System

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the electorate was small, being confined to richer classes of people, who were all agreed about the general objects of the State. Two parties were organised in England and the U. S. A. on the basis of minor differences in principles. "The double party system," observes A. N. Holcombe, "is doubtless a convenient system for contented peoples, but it is not an efficient system for the expression of public opinion when the variety of opinion and intensity of conviction are great." It is

Causes of
the rise of
multiple
parties

on account of the intensification of conviction of economic groups and the extension of electorate that the people in almost every state on the continent were divided into a large number of parties or groups. Proportional representation was adopted in many states after the first World War with a view to secure to each party adequate representation in Legislature according to its numerical strength. The emergence of the Labour Party in Britain interfered with the traditional working of the double party system.

Prof. Ramsay Muir believes that the three-party system is quite natural and favourable to freedom of opinion. He advocates the formation of the Right, the Centre and the Left Parties. These three will correspond, according to him, to the British Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties.

(The Three party system)

"In almost all countries," he observes, "those who take a serious interest in politics may be divided into three types ; first, those who do not desire any great changes in the social order ; secondly, those who desire great changes, but only in a Socialist or Collectivist direction ; those who desire great changes, but not in a Socialist direction—rather in the direction of creating the conditions within which individual enterprise can operate with most advantage to itself, and with least restriction of the liberty of

(Defects of Double party system)

others." He further argues that the bi-party system destroys the prestige of the Legislature and gives rise to the dictatorship of the Cabinet. "It has disturbed the working of our system of government," observes Prof. Muir, "by dividing Parliament into two serried and disciplined armies—a majority whose primary aim is to keep a party government in office, and a minority whose primary aim is to discredit it in order to replace it.) This gives unreality to the proceedings in Parliament and has greatly weakened its prestige in the eyes of the nation. Because the Opposition will seize every possible opportunity of discrediting the Government, the Government party must swallow all its scruples, and support the Government in all it does, abdicating the duty of frank and candid criticism except when it is not likely to have any serious result."

We admit that the division of the representatives into two parties raises many unreal issues and destroys the prestige of Legislature but the group system on the Continent has not made the position of any continental legislature more eminent and respectable than that of the British Parliament. On the other hand, under the multiple party system the representative's freedom of manoeuvre tends to discredit any government by making it uncertain of the steady allegiance upon which alone an important political programme can be carried through.

(Defects of Multiple party system)

If there are three parties in the state, either one single party

will gain a strong majority in the election or no party will be able to secure a majority. In the first case there will be little difference between the bi-party and the tri-party system. If no party gets a clear majority, either a coalition government or a minority government shall have to be formed. Coalition government enjoys less prestige, because its mandate comes from the various Parliamentary groups which form the coalition instead of directly from the people, as is the case when a party comes into power under the double party system. It is less powerful, because of the lack of unity in the aims and objects of the leaders of parties. Moreover, coalition governments are notoriously unstable.

Coalition
Government
and its
defects

But a coalition government, whether of two or more than two parties, has got some advantages over a single party government. A coalition government is more flexible, since it can be dissolved and recognized without a fresh election. It is more favourable to deliberation, because its component groups have more opportunity for reflection than the supporters of a rigidly organized major party government. The public can make its influence felt to a greater extent upon a coalition government because its components have greater freedom of action than the members of a single party. During the last Great War the multiple party system of France stood the strain better than the English system. But Magyar points out the cardinal defects of the Multiple Party System in the following words: ("Compromises have to be observed so thoroughly and to such a degree that serious action, the solution of great national problems, is rendered impossible, since the moment there is divergence of opinion between the parties on any question, the coalition falls to pieces and the government has to resign. Unanimity is attainable in many cases only negatively in the determination not to solve some questions or to postpone attempting the solution.")

Advantages
of Coalition
Government

Prof. Laski, however, holds that the existence of two party system is the best method of working representative government.

It enables the electorate to choose the government directly and to fasten the responsibility for action taken on a determinate group of persons. "If we assume that parties seek for power that they may translate into action the principles they profess," he observes, "the more direct and decisive the choice of the electorate has to make, the better is the function both of the electorate and of the Legislature likely to be performed." (Parties may be formed on religious, nationalistic, economic and even on personal grounds. But it is the economic interest which is, now-a-days, the predominant cause of division into parties. Other interests may merge themselves into the two parties advocating opposing economic interests.

Laski's
advocacy of
Double party
system

But in that case each party will become a federation of groups, which again will tend to destroy the unity and coherence of the party

Political Parties in England

England was the traditional home of the two-party system in course of the seventeenth century, the Cavaliers and the Roundheads, supporting the rival authority of the Crown and Parliament respectively, developed into the Tory and the Whig parties. Soon after the passing of the First Reform Act (1832 A D) the Tories and the Whigs changed their names into the Conservative and the Liberal parties respectively. But on the question of the repeal of the Corn Law the old party lines were blurred out and England remained practically without well-organised parties between 1846 and 1865. After the passing of the Second Reform Act (1867) Disraeli and Gladstone recognised the Conservative and the Liberal parties respectively. But shortly after this, the Irish Nationalists formed a party of their own. Under the leadership of Parnell, they joined hands sometimes with the Conservatives and sometimes with the Liberals with a view to secure the greatest possible concessions to Ireland. The Irish Nationalists, however, could never be strong enough to form a ministry by themselves. So, practically the two party system retained the motive force in English politics till the conclusion of the Great War. After the war the Labour party, which was gradually gathering strength from the beginning of the present century, came to the forefront. In 1924, the Labour party formed a government, but as it did not command the majority in the House of Commons, it had to resign after a ministry of nine months only. Then the Conservatives formed a ministry and held power till 1929. The General Election of 1929 returned Labour as the largest party indeed, but the combined strength of the Conservative and the Liberal parties was greater than their own. Under these circumstances Labour formed its second ministry indeed, but it could hold power only up to the year 1931. In that year there was a split in the Labour party itself, the majority of the party refused to submit to the leadership of the late Mr Ramsay Macdonald. In the General Election which followed the Conservatives secured the majority, but their leader, Mr Baldwin consented to serve under Mr Ramsay Macdonald, who became the Prime Minister for the third time. Mr Baldwin became the Prime Minister as the head of the Conservative party after the General Election of 1935. He resigned his office in May 1937, when Mr Neville Chamberlain became the Prime Minister

In September, 1939, the Cabinet was reconstituted and some seats were given to the Liberals.

Each of the three parties has a strong organisation inside and outside the Parliament. In each constituency there is a local committee of each party. Each has a central organization, located in London, with an office and a paid staff. The central offices guide and control the local committees, distribute propaganda literature through them and raise funds for the whole party. The candidates are generally chosen by the local committees with the advice of the central office. Inside the Parliament, each party has got a number of whips, whose business it is to bring the members together at the time of voting in the Houses.

Organisation
of parties

✓VI. Parties in the United States of America

The organisation of political parties is one of the three chief contributions made by the United States to political science as an Applied Science, the other two contributions being Rigid constitutions and the use of Courts of Law to interpret them. Fathers of the American Constitution never thought of the possibility of the rise of political parties in the United States. But from the very beginning of the Federal Constitution the questions which successively formed the bases of party division were the authority of the Federal government, Tariff policy and slavery. As the Federal senators were chosen by the Legislatures of the states, each National party fought every election on party lines in order to obtain in the state Legislature a majority which would secure the choice of senators of its own persuasion. It would be noticed that the state Legislatures were not directly concerned with national issues, on which parties were divided. From the states the habit of carrying on all sorts of elections spread to cities and counties. "It became a principle to maintain the power of the National parties in all elected bodies and by all means available, for the more the party was kept together in every place and on every occasion for voting, so much the stronger would it be for national purposes." The party organization further required that all offices down to the humblest ones were to be bestowed on the members of the party only.

Origin of
American
Parties

Introduction
of the 'Spoils
System'

✓The two parties that exist in the U. S. A. are called the Democratic and the Republican. There is no collective adherence to any single principle or policy in any party. Both the parties are opportunists, adopting their policy on current questions to the circumstances of the day, and mainly governed in their selection of political opinions by the

Democratic
and Republi-
can Parties

probability of political success. Both the parties have got Liberal and Conservative Wings. , , ,

The organization of political parties in the U. S. A. is unusually strong for three reasons. (1) Disjunction of executive and legislative power in the constitution naturally calls for a bond of union in the shape of a party organization. (2) The extent of territory is so great that some organization is needed to select candidates for Presidentship, State governorship and other elective posts. (3) The theory of popular sovereignty favoured the election of most of the executive and judicial officers, so the prize to be obtained by a victory in elections is tempting enough to promote party organizations.

Party organization is based on the primary meeting of all members of a political party within a given electoral area for the purpose of (a) selecting party candidates, (b) naming delegates to sit in a party convention, and (c) appointing a committee to take charge of local party work.

But in the last century the Primaries were attended by very few men and became tools in the hands of unscrupulous bosses. The manifold evils of the system have been recently remedied in every state by different laws. In all the states the Primary has been turned from a private party meeting into a public meeting, at which the citizens are entitled to vote (a) for the selection of party candidates for various state offices and senatorships without an intermediary convention, (b) for the selection of delegates to a party convention, (c) for the election of members of the local party committee. What strikes us as a new departure from European politics is the legal recognition of Party as a public political institution. The State Laws provide that due public notice shall be given of the time and place of primary elections, that the election shall be by ballot, and that the expenses shall be paid by the state. In some states it is the practice to hold "Open Primaries" at which the voter, by the use of the secret ballot, may cast his vote for one of the parties without declaring to which party he belongs. In other states, "Closed Primaries" are established and the admission to vote here implies some test of party allegiance. In the Presidential election voters in the Primaries are called upon not only to elect the members of the National Convention, but also to register their "preference" for a particular Presidential candidate. Thus the recent reforms have introduced the principle of direct nomination for all offices, from the highest down to the lowest.

ryce describes the peculiarities of the Party system in the United States in the following words :—"In France legislation

and administration are carried on not by one party but by combination of groups frequently formed, dissolved, and then reformed. In England, party conflicts fought all over the country come only once in three, four or five years, at a General Election; and when one party goes under and another comes to the top, only some thirty or forty persons change places, so the general machine of administration seems but slightly affected, and few are those who directly lose or gain. Party policy, moreover, rests with half-a-dozen Parliamentary figures on each side, i.e., the leaders of the two Houses and their closest advisers and associates, whereas in the United States the National Convention is the supreme exponent of party doctrine and policy, universally recognized as the party oracle, though its deliverances may, in practice, be conveniently forgotten. Thus the American system, though it purports to regard measures rather than men, expands nearly all its efforts and its funds in getting men into places, and though it claims to give voice to the views and will of the whole party, does in reality express those of an oligarchy which becomes, subject to the necessity of regarding public opinion, the effective ruler of the country, whenever the party holds both the Legislature and the Executive.)

Importance
of the
National
Convention

VII. Party System in France

Party organization in France differs from that of the English-speaking countries in three important respects. First, instead of two or three well-organised parties we find a number of party groups in France. (In the United States, the two parties alternately secure the control of the government, but in France, a ministry is formed by a coalition of several groups, because no single group is strong enough to outnumber all the others.) In England, if the Cabinet loses the confidence of the House of Commons all the members of the ministry resign and none of them accepts office till his party has again been called to form a government; but in France, a member of the defeated ministry takes office in the succeeding ministry. This shows that allegiance to party is less strong in France than in England or America. The notorious instability of French ministries is primarily due to the coalition of separate groups whose mutual support is given purely for reasons of expediency.

Existence of
a number of
Groups

The second characteristic of the French Party system is that though the parties are more or less organised in the Chamber of Deputies, yet they do not extend over the country at large. No party group in France has an organization ramified through all the constituencies like the three parties of Great Britain or the two historic parties of the United States.

French
party orga-
nisation is
not wide

Another distinguishing feature of the French Party system is that the local committees are not formed or elected by a vote of all the members of the party, (A few minor officials or ex-officials, shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, teachers and journalists constitute a self-appointed committee to carry on the election campaign in favour of this or that candidate. Such a state of affairs is due to the fact that the French citizens are less definitely committed to any one party than they are in the English-speaking countries.)

In France, the Republic Democratic Federation, formed in 1903, acts as the real Conservative party. It is aggressively nationalistic, is opposed to the separation of Church and State, and is against the civic discrimination against the clergy. Its adherents in the Chamber of Deputies usually join the *Groupe de l'Union républicaine démocratique* and in the Senate the *Gauche républicaine* and the *Groupe de l'Union républicaine*. These are the principal right and centre parties. On the left are the Communists, the Socialists and the Radical Socialists. The Socialists aim at the Socialization of the means of production and exchange. The Radical Socialists select their adherents from all classes.

The adherence of members to their group is not absolutely fixed. The members of the different groups may change their adherence during a legislative season. A new group may be organized and draw its members from several sources. "Save for the groups of the extreme right and the extreme left," observes Lindsay Rogers, "there are no easily discernible differences of doctrine or programme. The groups are important in that in proportion to their number they are represented on the grand commissions of the Chamber. A Deputy not infrequently chooses his group solely because he will, thereby have a better chance of securing a place in an important Commission. The members of a group may see eye to eye with the Prime Minister on foreign policy but oppose him on domestic policy."

A)

Rise of One Party System

Causes of failure of Party System in Continental Europe

No important state in Continental Europe except France, has succeeded in carrying on its government successfully under the double or multiple party system. In Russia, Germany and Italy there is to-day only one Party. The reason why the Party system, as understood in England, the U. S. A. and France, has failed in Continental Europe is that the essential conditions of success of

Lack of
common
social
objectives

such a system were lacking there. The fundamental condition of success of party government is that the electorate must have in common the same general social objectives and political ideals. If they are rent by fundamental cleavages as to what they expect of government and if they would rather die than deny themselves those objectives, party government becomes impossible. After the Great War, the difference in the objectives of the electors became irreconcilable.

Moreover, party government is not the most effective system for implementing authority. It is a device for recognising diversity of opinion and rivalry of leadership. The party which can promise most and can hypnotise the people best by means of propaganda gets power in its own hand. Once coming to power it may not care to make good its promise. The electorate must be able to consider its own best interests and those of the nation. But if the electorate is not characterized by a high degree of national unity, cultural harmony and racial and religious toleration it becomes impossible for them to be in agreement with one another about the best interests of the nation. Such unity, harmony and toleration were wanting in the post-war continental states. Let us take into consideration the circumstances which led to the breakdown of democratic government and the rise of one party rule in Italy, Germany and Russia with a view to illustrate the general causes stated above for the failure of Party system.

Lack of
unity and
harmony
among the
electorate.

✓ If we analyse the political condition of Italy before the rise of the Fascist Party we find that many causes were at work to discredit the government by Party system. First, the Pope forbade the devout Catholics to participate in politics as he did not recognize the Italian State which had deprived him of territorial possessions. This step reduced the orthodox Catholics into an irreconcilable minority and it is needless to say that such an intransigent element is incompatible with any Party system. Secondly, the political parties tended to become gangs of henchmen rather than effective national organizations. The people, imbued with the feudalistic attitude, supported their deputies for the favours the latter were able to secure from the ministers as the price of Parliamentary support. The ministers with a view to get an adequate support in the National Legislature played one bloc against another. This meant, in practice, the construction of political programme on the basis of personal favours. The Socialists were numerically the strongest party in the State in 1919. But there was no unity amongst them. One group abused the other and could not think of a concerted programme. The Fascists attacked the Socialist groups with brute force in various localities and ultimately secured the control of the Government.

Causes of
rise of the
Fascist
Party in
Italy

In Germany, too, under the Weimer Constitution of 1919 aggressive, irreconcilable groups spent most of their energy in rendering each other ineffective. The Weimer Constitution gave the people the right to elect the chief executive of the nation, the Reich President and its legislative body, the Reichstag. The Reichstag was elected on the basis of proportional representation. Thus, the constitution guaranteed that every group of any importance in Germany's complex national life would have a chance to be heard. The centre of gravity now shifted from the executive to the legislature. The constitution made the tenure of the Chancellor and each of his ministerial colleagues dependent upon the confidence of the Reichstag. But in the Reichstag there were a dozen parties and they had no common objective amongst them. Political action became possible only by exhaustive negotiation and compromise between the conflicting economic interests of the different groups. Coalitions which appeared to have the confidence of the Reichstag lasted only so long as divergent interests cared to maintain agreements which had been worked out behind the scenes. Under these circumstances cabinets were formed and dissolved in close succession. Between 1919 and 1933 some thirty cabinets were formed. The instability of the executive and the ineffectiveness of the legislature threw more of the task of governing upon the bureaucracy. A growing proportion of the people, composed of the middle class as well as Communist and Socialist workers grew increasingly impatient with such a system of government. Meanwhile the latent crisis of the German national economy had assumed the appearance of acute decomposition. There was acute economic distress; the number of unemployed was mounting month by month. At that moment the people groping in the dark turned towards the National Socialist German Workers' Party which polled 65 lakh votes in the September election 1930. In the election of 1933 the National Socialists won no less than 288 seats out of 647 seats in the Reichstag. Now this party, popularly known as the Nazi party, suppressed the Communist and the Social Democratic parties and became the only party in the state.

Complete disorganization of the government and the existence of fundamental difference between Bourgeoisie political parties gave opportunity to Lenin to capture the machinery of government as the head of the Bolshevik party. In 1918, Lenin substituted the name of Communist Party for that of Bolshevik.

(Causes of rise of the Bolshevik Party in Russia)

social object

Italy, Germany and Russia no other party than the official recognised or tolerated. In Italy, Germany and the dictatorship of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin respec-

tively is founded upon party dictatorship. The existence of the party organization in these countries differentiates the dictatorship from the personal and military dictatorship of the past. "No Roman Emperor," observes Calvin B. Hoover, "had either the resources of the party organizations or those of mass propaganda upon which to rely. Consequently, the completeness with which the economic, political and social structure can be controlled by Stalin, Hitler or Mussolini could hardly have been paralleled by the power of any Caesar."

A single party gives rise to Dictatorship

IX. Political parties in India

The most striking characteristic of the political life in India is that it is under foreign subjection. As such all political parties have got the common objective of freeing the country from foreign rule. The British political parties are designed to take part in the working of a system of government which they accept, whereas Indian political parties aim at obtaining a reorganisation of the state on a basis which would permit them to participate in government. The Central government in India is still undemocratic in as much as the executive is not responsible to the legislature. Under such circumstances political parties cannot look forward to the responsibilities of office in the Central government. In the provinces, however, well organised political parties have appeared with the setting up of responsible government in the provincial field.

Difference with the British party system

The most important political party is the Congress. The Indian National Congress, however, does not like to be called simply a party. It claims to be the only national organisation of the country representing all classes and communities in India. Party divisions of the western type cannot flourish in India so long as she does not become an independent nation. Majority of those who want to see India freed from foreign control have joined the Congress. The Congress has succeeded in captivating the imagination of the masses. It has got a closely knit organisation. Every town, every *thana*, every sub-division and every district has got its own Congress Committee. Any body who subscribes to the Congress creed and pays an annual subscription of four annas can become a member of the Congress. The primary members elect the All-India Congress Committee, which meets from time to time to decide upon the most important items of policy. The President of the Indian National Congress is elected only for a year. He nominates the members of the Working Committee. A sort of inner Cabinet seems to have

The Congress

developed within the Congress Working Committee. The entire Congress organisation is subject to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. In the west, the leaders of parties are invariably members of legislature and the leader of the party which secures a majority of seats forms the government. But the Congress does not consider the Parliamentary activity as the chief item in its programme. It was able to capture a majority of seats in seven out of eleven provinces in 1937, but great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad did not care to become Prime Ministers. They preferred to devote their time and energy to the pushing up of the constructive programme, the chief items of which are village uplift, Khadi promotion, production of communal harmony and amelioration of the lot of the Harijans.

The Communist party has gathered some strength in industrial areas during recent years. Majority of its leaders come from the rank of intellectuals. The Communist doctrine has a great appeal for idealistic young men. The workers of the Communist party are well-disciplined and hard-working and they are inspired by the spirit of self-sacrifice. But they have got little chance of capturing any large number of seats at the polls. The party has been working so long from within the Congress, but it has decided to resign from the A. I. C. C. recently. The Communist party in its election programme, published in October 1945, sets forth its objectives as follow : "Abolition of landlordism, nationalisation of land, redistribution of land to make the economic holding, and to make large-scale co-operative farming possible. Usury to be banned. All agricultural credit to be only through co-operative state banks. Private trade in peoples' food will be banned, peoples' state to ensure direct purchase system to the peasant at fair prices. Large-scale mass peasant initiative to be directly aided by the peoples' state for starting a network of co-operative sales and purchases societies to buy from the peasant his surplus produce at a fair price and making available to him daily necessities at cheap rates." The party further states that in a free India there should be freedom for all that there should be food for all and the land should belong to the peasants.

Mr. M. N. Roy has started the Radical Democratic Party. It has got branches in almost all the important cities. The party has been able to get the support of some labour constituencies. But there is little chance of its securing an important position in the legislature in near future.

Mr. Jinnah has revitalised the All-India Muslim League to

to foster the interests of Muslims everywhere. Under his able direction the League has become a very powerful political organization. During the last election (1937) the League was principally concerned in protecting the status of Muslims in those provinces where they were in the majority. The League is now fighting the election on the question of Pakistan. The League has persistently refused to make any compromise with the Congress on this issue.

The Muslim League

The Hindu Mahasabha opposes the League idea of dividing Hindusthan into two parts. It does not like to conciliate the Muslims on this issue and opposes the attempt of the Congress to come to an understanding with the League. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee is now the President of the Mahasabha. He has succeeded in galvanizing the organisation of the Mahasabha. The party is contesting the election in every province.

The Hindu Mahasabha

Mr. H. V. Hodson has published a penetrating analysis of the political groupings in India in the Fortnightly Review of May, 1939. In this article he observes that the struggle for coming democratic power can be conveniently analysed as a triangle of forces, the three apexes being the Princes, the Muslims of the Muslim League, and the Congress as the overwhelmingly dominant political group in British India. There are, of course, other groups (e.g., Sikhs, Europeans, Untouchables, Indian Christians) but their importance is secondary. The 'Untouchables' might become in the future a powerful political force, specially with a widening of the franchise.

Struggle for power

The triangle formed by the three main groups is one of mutual antagonism. The communal problem is to be considered as a resultant of this triangle of forces, and of the struggle for coming power. The Muslims are anti-Hindu in this struggle for the grasp of political power. But, adds the writer, the nationalist sentiment comes to the top as soon as the anti-Hindu sentiment is removed. The Muslim League is as firm in its demand for complete independence as the Congress is.

Common objective

Agitation for the democratisation of the States is fostered by the Indian National Congress, observes Mr. Hodson, for a definite purpose—capture of power at the federal centre. The Congress claims to speak for the whole of British India and has justified its claim to the extent of forming the government in seven (eight) of the eleven provinces. Yet, with all its power it sees no chance of forming a majority government at the centre of the promised Federation. As a pact with the Muslims is unlikely, the Congress turned to the possibility of securing a majority by way of

Likely Party-divisions in the coming Federal Government

democratic representation for the States. "If the bulk of the States come to be represented in the federation by elected members, then the Congress will have the chance to form a government of All-India. If it seems certain that the Congress do not see in the federal scheme, as eventually introduced, the opportunity of obtaining effective power in All-India Parliament, they will put into operation the whole machinery of civil disobedience and political obstruction which is capable of bringing all but the bare rudiments of Government to a stand-still."

The above analysis shows that there is clear divergence of views between the three contestants for power in the coming Federation. It is unlikely, therefore, that these three parties along with the minor parties will coalesce into two political parties of the British and American model. The divergent interests may either form themselves into political groups of the continental type or with the increase of Fascist tendency in this country there may be only one party—the Congress.

Outlook
for the
future

CHAPTER XVIII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

VI. Distinction between Local and Central Government

The powers of government may be distributed in two ways—either territorially or functionally. Where the whole state is divided into small areas and each area is charged with the performance of specific duties peculiarly necessary or suitable for it, it is called territorial distribution of powers; where the powers are entrusted to different authorities, each organ being selected so as to perform best the work entrusted to it—that is called functional distribution. These two methods are not alternative, but may be used together in the same state.

Two principles of division of power

The functions of Central government are of a general nature affecting the whole state. These are of such a character as to conduce to the common good of the whole state.

The functions of Local government are special to a narrow locality and they provide for the satisfaction of the subordinate ends of man. The Central functions require for their fulfilment wider outlook, humanitarian ideas, cosmopolitan sympathy, and a wide knowledge of the principles and fundamentals of government. The Local functions require, for their fulfilment, local experience and knowledge of details. Examples of Central functions are relations between state and state, general peace of the whole world, national education, administration of justice and any other function essential to maintenance and well-being of the whole state. Examples of Local functions are provision of local conveniences, local sanitation, vocational education, etc. The Central government is responsible to a wider and superior public opinion, while the Local government is responsible to the opinion of the neighbours who have no concern with the larger affairs of the state. The Central government lays down the principles of action, and the Local government applies those principles to the details of man's daily life. There are many functions which are both general and local in their character and their control should be divided between Central and Local government, e. g., taxation, education, etc. Nearly all modern states have a Central and several Local governments and they are joined together either in a union or in a federation.

Functions of Local and Central Government

Concurrent functions

Local institutions contribute more substantially to the political

education of the people than the National government. It is in the District Board and Municipal councils and Union Board committees that the people most easily learn the first lessons in the art of governing themselves. Local institutions more important than National Government Democracy finds a more congenial soil in a country where the local institutions enjoy a large measure of independence than where they are controlled by the Central government. Moreover, the local institutions have a greater vitality than the National government. The transformation of England from monarchy to republic in the 17th century did not bring any change in the government of boroughs or parishes. The American Revolution of 1775 or the German Revolution of 1918 did not affect the character of government in the American or German towns in rural areas.

R II. The Relation between the Central and Local Government

The experience of every country shows that it is necessary for the Central government to exercise control and supervision over the Local government, but the controlling power should be exercised consistently with the freedom of local authorities. The legitimate function of a central authority is not to curtail or altogether destroy the independence and the power of initiative of the local bodies but, on the contrary, to train, stimulate and invigorate them. A central authority can apply the fruits of experience of one local authority to another, can warn a local authority if it takes a step which has failed elsewhere and so far as local conditions permit, bring about an approximation to uniformity of standard in the administration of various local authorities consistent with the individuality of each. It can check extravagance in one locality by setting examples of economy derived from another. It can calm party bitterness, correct abuses where they exist and infuse a high standard of efficiency and public spirit into the administration. On no account, however, should a Central government directly take over the legitimate functions of a local authority with the object of performing them better.

The limits of the administrative power of a local authority may be prescribed by the Central legislature leaving perfect freedom of action to the local authority to be exercised according to the will of the local people and the conditions and needs of the locality. The administrative powers of the local authority may be prescribed by the Central government according to its own estimate and conception of local needs and wants. The Central government should exercise a general supervision over Local government affairs.

III. Functions of Local Government

The functions of Local government are to provide such tangible utilities as are of general benefit in a particular area, and indivisible among the separate citizens. The most important function of Local government is to provide for public health and safety. Maintenance of public health depends on good and clean roads, conservancy service, drainage, bridge, parks, etc. It is also necessary to take precautions against disease by inspecting food and water, giving inoculation against contagious diseases, etc. The local authorities should also provide organisation against fire and see that buildings are constructed in such a way as to promote public health and convenience. The western countries entrust generally the function of providing safety against crimes to the local bodies. The local authorities not only control the local police force but also maintain a special judicial machinery for dealing summarily with minor cases. But in India the police is entirely under the control of the Provincial government.

To satisfy
purely
local needs

The next important function of local bodies is to deal with public charity and with the maintenance of hospitals, asylums and correctional institutions. In India some local bodies maintain hospitals, but none is empowered to provide for the poor. These local bodies also provide elementary and secondary education, vocational training, libraries, museums, etc. On the continent of Europe there are local bodies which control theatres and opera houses. Last of all, the municipal authorities supply public utilities, such as water, gas, and electric light, markets, docks, harbours, and local transportation. In India only the big municipalities undertake some of these duties.

To make
arrangement
for education,
poor relief and
public utility
services

IV. Relation between Central and Local Finance

The revenue and expenditure of both the Local and the National governments are determined by the extent of functions they are called upon to perform. Upto the beginning of the nineteenth century the local expenditures were limited in a large measure to the care of the poor, with very slight addition as for roads and miscellaneous purposes. But on account of the Industrial Revolution and the spread of democratic influence there came a rapid increase of expenditures for education, for improving the health and sanitation of the community and for developing the general welfare. These expenses were overwhelmingly local in character, although there

Increase of
expenditure
of local
bodies

has also been a tendency of late for the Central government to assume to an increasing extent some of the same functions. The consequence has been that on the whole, the local expenditures have become in many ways quite as important as the central expenditures.

The revenues of Central or National government are usually collected from taxes levied on the principle of ability to pay : whereas the local finance is generally derived from fees, special assessments and prices of all kinds charged on the principle of benefits conferred or cost incurred. The Central or Provincial government supplements the income of local bodies by the grant of subventions in India, Canada and Australia. This, however, makes the local bodies entirely dependent on the Provincial or Central government. There are four other methods of allocating funds between the Central government and local bodies.

Principle of division of revenue between the Central and Local Government

✓ The taxes are assessed by local authorities with addition for the use of the Central or Federal government in the U.S.A. Revenues are derived mainly from the general property tax, levied upon real and personal property alike. The same tax is utilised for both local and central purposes.

Practice in the U.S.A.

In France taxes were assessed by the central authority with additions for local purposes before 1917. At present the local revenues in France consist of one per cent addition to the state income-tax.

In France

✓ In Great Britain there is separation of sources of revenue. Certain taxes are utilized for central and others for local purposes.

In Great Britain

The proceeds of the customs revenue and income tax are utilized for the nation, while the local revenues are derived almost exclusively from the local rates or real estate taxes. A portion of the yield of Death Duties collected by the Central government is reserved for the local bodies. The British practice of separation of sources is in conformity with the actual divisions of governmental functions and activities and it ensures greater flexibility and adaptation of means to the end, whereby each locality may be better able to adjust its fiscal system to its own fiscal needs. But a complete separation may introduce fiscal embarrassment. The surplus of one kind of revenue should be utilized for making good the deficit in the other.

Sources of Income of Local Bodies

In England

In England upto the year 1888 subventions from the Central government in aid of the local rates were voted annually in

Parliament and were appropriated to specific services, e.g., pauper, lunatics, salary of teachers in poor law schools and of medical officers, etc. But in 1888 a reform was effected in local government by which the system of grant-in-aid was abolished and a share of certain revenues was assigned to the local governments, e.g., excise, licence, probate duties, etc. A modified form of grant was re-introduced in 1896 by the Agricultural Rates Act by which the owners of agricultural lands were exempted from certain rates and the local authorities were compensated by a grant from the Central government.

The rest of the local revenues in England comes chiefly from direct taxation or from municipal services. The local rates are assessed on the annual value of real property, and not on personal property, tangible and intangible as in America. The local authorities seldom make the valuation, but follow the valuation made by the National government for the raising of income-tax, or that of poor law authorities. The local authorities can borrow with the sanction of the Central government.

In France

In France the local bodies levy a sort of internal customs duty, called the Octroi, on articles like wine, beer, spirits, oil meat, combustibles, fodder and building materials. This hampers trade and is expensive in collection. The rest of the local revenues comes from sur-taxes on real estate, houses, doors and windows, and on business. The "principal" of these taxes are taken by the National government, and the sur-taxes given to the local bodies. These sur-taxes are levied and collected by the National government; so it may be said that the general council of the Department has no power of taxation.

In the U. S. A.

In the United States, the county and township authorities draw all their financial support from the proceeds of a direct tax laid on real and personal property—land, houses, buildings, horses, carriages, furniture, stocks and shares, mortgages, bonds, etc. The method of assessment was such that the New York commissioners described the tax as a "tax upon ignorance and honesty." The method is described as follows: "The state authorities computed the amount of the direct tax needed for their purposes, and divided it up among the counties in the proportion of the value of assessed property in each. To the sum thus called for each county added the amount needed for its own use and then distributed it in like manner among its townships, again according to the propor-

tionate value of the assessed property in each. To this sum the township added what was needed for its own purposes, usually the largest amount of all. The total thus reached was distributed among all the property-holders of the township according to their proportion of assessed property ; in other words, the total of the assessed property was divided by the total tax to be collected, and a tax rate was thus obtained which was levied on all the property.

In India

The total income of District Boards in India is 16½ crores of rupees. Thirty per cent of revenue of District Boards consists of rates and cesses levied upon agricultural land in addition to land revenues. They are also empowered to impose taxes on companies and professional men. Other sources of income are pound receipts, tolls on vehicles, ferries and bridges. Government makes subventions, to the extent of about 25 per cent of the income of District Board. In England the state grant constitutes 48 per cent of the total income of the County Councils. Receipts from markets, shops and other properties considerably add to the revenues of District Boards. Municipal revenues are derived from taxes and rates on land and buildings, animals and vehicles, professions, trades and callings, toll on roads, ferries, and Octroi duties on articles of consumption entering the town. Revenues from municipal property, and sale proceeds of trees and land-produce also add to the income of Municipalities. Grants from provincial government form a substantial portion of the municipal revenue.

VI. Local Government in England

The whole of England is divided into sixty-three administrative counties including the administrative county of London. With ^{areas of local government} these counties are urban and rural districts. An urban district which has received a municipal charter becomes known as a borough. There are more than three hundred boroughs in England, many of which contain a few thousand population, and a few are great industrial communities like Manchester and Liverpool. When a borough attains fifty thousand population or more it is usually taken out of the county and becomes known as a county borough. A county borough is treated as an administrative county by itself. The county council has power to organize any of its parts which becomes thickly settled into an urban district. There are several parishes in each urban and in each rural district. Thus, there are five principal areas of Local government in England, namely, the administrative county, the borough, the urban district, the rural district and the parish.

The governing organ of a county is a County Council, consisting of (i) a Mayor, elected by Councillors and Aldermen for one year, of (ii) representatives elected by the rate-payers for three years and of (iii) Aldermen elected by the representatives of rate-payers for six years. The number of Aldermen is one-sixth of the number of representatives. A County Council supervises the work of the rural district councils ; maintains main roads, bridges, asylums, reformatories, industrial schools and other county buildings ; performs various duties with reference to county policing and distribution of old-age pensions, and controls the education of county. The county police is controlled by a standing joint committee, composed of the representatives of the County Council and of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The County Council has power to levy a county rate or tax.

Composition and function of County Council }

Committees

The council is divided into committees. The number of committees depends on the extent to which the administration is differentiated, for instance, there may be committees for each of these functions—buildings, water works, markets, lightening, property and lands, public health, regulation of food, road, finance, etc. Besides there is usually a "General Purposes Committee" which arranges business for the monthly meetings of the council, initiates or discusses new schemes and enterprises and generally undertakes any work that does not appertain to any of the standing committees.

Functions of Council Committees }

The council takes no direct part in the administrative action but confines itself to deliberative duties and to controlling, ratifying or disapproving the work of the committees. It makes the committee work and does not do the work itself. Its control is ensured in two ways :—(1) Every committee must make its estimates for the year and get them accepted by the council ; (2) every transaction of every committee and every payment made must be subsequently approved by the council. The council also passes standing orders for regulating its own procedure and bye-laws for the guidance of citizens.

Function of the Council }

Paid officers

In the English system the paid officers and servants are the executive instruments of local autonomy. The principal municipal officers are (1) the town clerk, (2) the treasurer, (3) accountant, (4) surveyor, (5) medical officer, (6) chief constable. The officers are purely executive organs, who take their orders from the committees which are the specialised administrative organs.

Whole-time servants }

Each rural district has a council elected by the voters. These

councils look after public health, water supply and minor roads and grant certain licences. The urban district councils have more expensive functions than those of rural district councils. The district councils have no aldermen. The borough council is composed of a mayor, aldermen and councillors sitting together. But in it the number of aldermen is one-third of councillors, and not one-sixth as in County Councils. The mayor may be chosen from outsiders or from amongst members of the council. The borough council is the executive and legislative authority combined. Its functions are to adopt by-laws, determine the local tax rate, prepare and vote the budget, appoint all officials and supervise the work of municipal departments. Here too, much of the work is done through committees.

Government in Rural and Urban districts and in Boroughs The success of the English government is due to the combination of laymen who become councillors with the expert officers, whose tenure of office is generally permanent, and to the absence of the spoils system in the local administration.

Causes of success in Local Government The Central government exercises control and supervision over the local bodies through six national departments—namely, the Ministry of Health, the Home Office, the Board of Education, the Ministry of Transport, the Board of Trade and the Electricity Commissioners. Besides these, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries has supervisory powers in relation to markets. The actual work, however, is in no case directly done by any of these Central departments. "They merely advise, inspect, regulate, give approval or withhold approval."

VII. Local Government in the U. S. A.

"The large freedom of action", observes President Wilson, "and broad scope of function given to local authorities is the distinguishing characteristic of the American system of government." The system of local government in the U. S. A. may be studied best by dividing it under two heads—rural and urban.

Township Plan in the New England States

The rural government may be classified under three heads—the town or township plan, county plan and the mixed system.

Rural Government in the New England States In the New England States the primary government is the historic "town" or township. The citizens of the township meet once a year (with extra sessions, if necessary) to elect the officers of the township for the ensuing year, to vote on the prospective expenditure of money

and the basis of its assessment. The officers thus elected are three to nine select men, the town clerk, the treasurer and the assessors, collectors of taxes, school-committee men and minor officers. These carry on the administration during the year. But in places which have got large population, elected municipal government has been set up. The townships are grouped into counties. But the county has got very little power. It merely apportions taxes for county purposes among the towns, looks after county buildings and county roads, etc.

County Plan in the South

In the south the county is much more important than the townships. The county officers are elected by popular vote and consist of a board of commissioners, which has under it a treasurer, an auditor, and superintendents of education, roads, and the poor. The judicial work of the county is carried on by the elected sheriff, clerk, coroner, attorney and minor officers.

The Southern
County
Officers

Mixed Plan in the Middle and Western States

A combination of county and township systems is found in the middle Atlantic Commonwealths and in the greater number of Western Commonwealths. Functions are divided between the county and townships according to the nature of the business and both are governed by elected officials.

The municipal government is equally democratic. "In some states (Virginia) the city government excludes the county, in others the county remains, forming a part of the city, or including the city as part of itself." The government of the city is carried on by the City Council and the elected mayor with a large number of subordinates, partly elected, partly appointed. But the City Council has not got as large power as its counterpart in England enjoys. The mayor is not elected by the council as in England but by the people. Moreover, the Commonwealth legislatures enact such detailed municipal legislation and restrict so much of its financial power as to diminish much of the scope of activity of municipalities. The modern tendency in America is to entrust more power to the executive (the mayor) than to the council. The object of this plan is to fasten responsibility on one man. Higher salary and longer tenure are also being assured to the elected officers to prevent corruption.

Extent of
democratic
control

VIII. Comparison and Contrast between the English and American methods of Local Government

In England the administrative staff of the Local government,

including the chief executive officer or the town clerk, treasurer, chief constable, borough engineer, medical officer of health, are appointed by the County Council. These officers are not indeed given civil service protection against removal, but they are kept in office as long as they remain efficient. But in the U. S. A. the local officials are appointed by the mayor. The mayor selects some of those prominent workers by whose support he was elected. With the end of the term of the mayor officials appointed by him are also turned out. This is called the spoils system.

In the United States of America, the State government does not interfere with the local bodies. In England the Central government through its various departments exercises supervision and control over the local bodies. "Central control over Local government in England," observes Munro, "is administrative in character and extremely flexible. In the United States we are making it legislative, and hence more rigid. The English plan is to provide that some central board of bureau shall determine whether local authorities shall do this or that. The American plan is to settle the matter by law, not by leaving it to official discretion. But the needs and capacity of all local bodies are not the same; hence the English system is more suited to the requirements of each locality."

In the U. S. A. the municipalities can borrow up to a limit fixed by the state constitution or by a law of the state. In England there is no such fixed limit but the local body must obtain sanction of the government before it can borrow a single shilling. In this system there is very little danger of wasting of borrowed money, while in the U. S. A. some municipalities may spend it on unnecessary things or may be forced to dispense with desirable things.

IX. Local Government in France

Local government in France assumes an entirely different character from that found in England and the U. S. A. The local bodies in these countries enjoy a large measure of self-government, whereas the French system of local administration is a highly centralized one. "Municipal Home rule has no place," it has been said, "in French political philosophy."

For the purposes of Local government, France has been divided into eighty-nine Departments. Each Department is subdivided into a number of Arrondissements, which again are divided into Cantons and Communes. There are altogether 170 Arrondissements, each with a sub-prefect and a council. The number of Communes is 37000, each with

an elected mayor and a council. In the pre-revolutionary period there was complete centralisation of authority in France. This feature has been retained in Local government, though for a short time under the constitution of 1791 each unit of Local government was made practically independent. In 1799, Napoleon again established the centralised system of administration. Reason for centralisation may be found in the following words: 'It enables us to fill the local posts with our friends, safe men who will serve us at a pinch. It prevents local bodies which might be at a given moment disaffected from becoming local centres of open resistance or secret conspiracy. If such bodies commanded large funds or controlled the police, or were in any way strong and conspicuous enough to influence the masses of the people, those might be a danger. We must not give them the opportunity.'

Causes of
centralisation
of
authority

A Department in France has a corporate personality indeed, but it enjoys a very limited amount of self-government. There is no right of a Department which cannot be taken away by the French legislature. A Departmental council has got no control over the prefect, who is its executive head. In each Department there is an elected council, chosen by universal suffrage, each canton returning one member who sits for six years. As the number of cantons in each Department is not the same, the numerical strength of the council varies from Department to Department. There are two sessions of the council in each year, one lasting for a month, the other a fortnight. If an extra session is called, the sittings must not exceed one week. When the council is not in session the routine work is carried on by an executive committee known as Departmental commission. The Departmental council serves as the legislature of the Department. It can make regulations relating to poor relief, traffic, public buildings, etc. But its actions may be overruled by the central authorities at Paris. It votes the budget, which is prepared in the office of the prefect. The budget provides funds for the maintenance of the prefectures, the court houses, the prisons, roads, bridges, etc. The characteristic feature of the French system is that the council merely deals with the administrative policy, but it has no hand in the actual administration, which is left to the prefect.

Departments
and
their
councils

The prefect is at once the agent of the Central government and the head of the executive in the Department. He is assisted by his confidential assistant, secretary-general and other officers, appointed by the authorities at Paris. The prefect is in charge of the various public services operating within his jurisdiction—main highways, bridges, jails, poor-houses, and hospitals, together with certain phases of public

Position
of the
Prefect

and sanitary work, education, the raising of recruits for the army, the taking of the census, the maintenance of public order, the tobacco monopoly, censorship, etc., etc. He also supervises the government of the communes. But it must be remembered that he himself is controlled in every sphere of his activity by the Minister of the Interior. The Departmental council cannot take up any question for discussion which has not previously been approved by the prefect. He prepares the budget, which is of course submitted to the council for approval. But when it has once been approved it is he who spends the money without any reference to the council. As regards the multifarious functions of the prefect it has been well said that "Just get yourself born in France, and the Prefect will do the rest."

The prefect carries on his multifarious duties with the help of sub-prefects, who are stationed at each Arrondissement. The sub-prefects, however, have no independent powers. There is an elected council in each Arrondissement, but it has no function except sitting as the body for electing senators. It cannot make any law, nor can it vote any money.

There is no distinction between rural and urban areas in the scheme of local government in France. Large towns like Paris and Marseilles and a little hamlet containing fewer than fifty inhabitants are alike communes. A commune is a municipality holding property as a corporation. It has a communal council, varying in size from ten to thirty-six members, unpaid and elected for four years by universal suffrage. The elected representatives elect from among themselves (and not

the mayor of the commune. The mayor is the chairman of the council of the commune and performs administrative functions both as the agent of the Central government carrying out the directions of the prefect, and as the executive in matters falling within the sphere of the communal council. In some of these matters the prefect can interfere to annul the acts of Maire or Council, and he may suspend either or both, from office for a month. The Central government can remove the mayor from his office and dissolve the council altogether. These peculiar powers of the Central government show the lack of autonomy of the communes in France. The commune has got wide functions, and its council can regulate by deliberations all the affairs affecting the commune. There are trained officers to carry on the administration in large communes. "The French cities have been better governed, on the average," says Munro

"than the cities of the United States. There have been few municipal scandals of any consequence. The city's money has been honestly spent, and good value has been obtained for it. The grosser forms of malfeasance and peculation, which have been so common in the cities of the United States, are virtually unknown in France. Contracts are fairly awarded to the lowest bidder ; the spoils system has been kept in control ; the officials of the various departments have been given security of tenure ; and the police have remained honest."

Contrast
with the
municipal
administra-
tion in the
U. S. A.

Centralised vs. Decentralised System of Local Administration

Administrative centralisation is in vogue in France and Germany, while local autonomy prevails to a great extent in the U. S. A. and to a less extent in England. In the English system, the local authorities are regarded as separated grafts of the parent tree : in the continental system they are still its branches. In the former case there is no vital connection between the Central and Local governments ; in the latter there is such connection and the latter draw their sap and vitality from the former.

Difference
between the
two systems

The centralised system is usually in the hands of a governing class whose interests are distinct from those of the population, because they have less contact with the people, and they draw their inspiration from and are responsible to the superior officers on whom they depend for their promotion rather than on the public opinion.

Characteris-
tics of the
centralised
system

In the decentralised system the officials are taken at intervals from the people who are accordingly more responsible to the popular will. There is no specially trained governing class as in the centralised system distinct from the rest of the population.

Decentra-
lised system

The centralised system possesses the merits of efficiency and economy and the officials are well-trained and experienced men with strict discipline and solidarity. This tends to make the centralised system bureaucratic. The greatest vice of bureaucratic system is that it sacrifices popular will to mechanical efficiency, and individual feelings, merits and sentiments to the statistical average furnished by precedent. The decentralised system secures the means of political education to the people, although it might sacrifice economy and efficiency in administration.

Respective
merits and
demerits

CHAPTER XIX

COLONIAL AND DOMINION GOVERNMENT

I. Meaning of the Term 'Colony' and the Old Colonial Policy

The term 'colony' is loosely used to embrace various classes of distant territories subordinate to or dependent on a parent state. A colony, however, properly means a body of people formed by migration to a distant region, where they support themselves by industry and the produce of the soil, and are under the protection and attached to the mother-country.

Definition of the term

In the ancient world the Greeks established communities in Asia Minor, on the coast of Africa, in Italy, and in France. A close connection, based mainly on sentiment, was maintained between these emigrant communities and the states from which they had removed. But the colonies were usually politically independent of their mother-country.

Peculiarity of Greek colonies

The Romans established colonies in different parts of their empire to keep the subject population in military subordination to Rome. The principle of responsibility to a Central government was brought to its greatest perfection in the policy of Rome. The *colonia* was of the municipal institutions of the empire, having its own governing corporation dependent on Rome. There were various grades of colonies—some having high privilege of Roman citizenship, and others having the citizenship of a humbler grade.

Centralised policy of Rome

The Spaniards acquired vast dominions in America at the beginning of the modern age. They governed these colonies by sending a staff of civil and military officers. So long as Spain remained a first rate power, she kept her colonies in strictest subordination. A new chapter in the history of colonial government has been opened by Great Britain in the present age.

Oppressive Spanish system

II. Motives of Colonization

The forces which have contributed to the colonization of Africa and Australia in the modern age may be broadly characterised as economic, political and religious.

The Industrial Revolution created problems, which the nationalists tried to solve by colonial expansion. It was held by

many political economists that raw materials should be drawn from the colonies and finished goods sold to them. High protective duties should be imposed on foreign goods in the colonies. Moreover, the surplus capital of the highly industrialised states sought investment at high rates of interest in the colonies.

**Economic
value of
colonies**

The new imperialism of the modern age has been closely associated with the idea of nationalism since the states believed in the superiority of their own culture and in the desirability of extending it to inferior peoples. Another political motive of imperial expansion was the belief that the highest duty of every state is to aim at the extension of its own power. The German writers Trietschke and Bernhardt were the chief advocates of this belief. A third political motive was to increase the reserve of military manhood. The Industrial Revolution and improvement in medical science increased the population of the states of Western Europe. The surplus population could not find employment at home and migrated to other countries. Statesmen thought that this 'drain' of man-power could be checked by establishing colonies.

**Colonies
bring power
and prestige**

The zeal of missionaries to convert the heathens to Christianity has been a powerful factor in the development of new Imperialism. The resistance to the activities of the Christian missionaries by the natives has often been followed by violence to the former. The violence has provoked retaliation by the European powers and paved the way of establishing European rule over the natives.

**Missionary
activity**

III. Evolution of the British Colonial Policy

The history of British colonial policy dates from the reign of James I. The settlers were privileged companies, with royal letters patent, but in reality they enjoyed virtual independence. But their independence was restricted in two ways. First, the executive and judicial officers in the colonies were not appointed by the colonists themselves but by the crown in England. Secondly, the regulations by which their foreign trade was governed were determined not by themselves but by the British Parliament. Representative institutions being divorced of responsibility bred discontent amongst the colonists. The result was the loss of the first Empire of Great Britain in America.

**The old
colonial
system**

The policy of Great Britain towards the colonies for some fifty years after the loss of America, shows that she had failed to interpret the lessons of that misfortune correctly. Pitt's Canada Constitutional Act divided Canada into two provinces and granted to each of them an elected

**The problem
of
Canada**

Legislative Assembly and a nominated Legislative Council. But neither the executive government was made responsible to the Legislature, nor was the mercantile subordination given up. Thus the mistake of the policy towards the thirteen American colonies was repeated in Canada. The result of this mistaken policy was seen in the rebellion of Canada in 1838.

It was only after the publication of the Durham Report that England began to change her conception of the Empire. This

**Loss of faith
in colonisa-
tion**

change was brought about by a combination of several factors. First, the general public of England were heart-sick at the American failure. They believed that

the colonies, when sufficiently developed, were sure to break away from the mother-country, just as the ripe fruit drops from the tree. The expenses of the defence of the colonies, and the troubles of projecting them against foreign aggressions caused the British people to think of the colonies of an expensive encumbrance. Hence the British politicians thought that the wisest policy to pursue was to facilitate their development, to place no barrier in the way of self-government, and to enable them at the earliest moment to start as free nations on their own account. Economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo held that colonies were not really advantageous to England. Moreover, the strength of the belief

**Relaxation
of control
over colonies**

in the idea of self-government also led the British statesmen to grant self-government on the fullest scale to the colonies. These ideas were translated into action by the repeal of the Navigation Acts (1849), by the completion of the free trade programme in England and by the acquiescence of Parliament in the establishment of responsible government in Canada. All these events took place near about the year 1850. Responsible government was introduced in Australasia between the years 1855 and 1875. It was conceded to Cape Colony in 1872, to Natal in 1893, to the Transvaal in 1906 and the Orange River Colony in 1907.

The British Commonwealth of Nations

The older British Empire may be said to have existed down to the moulding of the Australian Federal Commonwealth in 1900

**Members of
the Com-
monwealth**

and of the South African Union in 1909. The advance to full nationhood of Canada and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, is the supremely characteristic development of the Commonwealth of Great Britain. No imperial system, past or present, could embody a similar group of daughter countries. They are the unique British contribution to the difficult craft of colonial expansion.

The Dominions have long been independent as regards their

internal affairs, if we except the single restraint of the Privy Council in London as the final authority in legal and constitutional affairs. The economic and fiscal independence of the Dominions is absolute. Their taxation is their own; they impose tariffs at will; they lock their doors against British immigrants. And since 1931 the Dominions have held the position of equal partnership with Britain, fixed and defined by the Statute of Westminster.

The Statute
of Westmi-
nster 1931

This Statute of Westminster sets forth the principle that each British Dominion enjoys equality of status within the Commonwealth of nations, being in no way subservient to the government of Parliament in London. It provides that the governments, and in certain cases the Parliaments, of all the Dominions shall give their approval to proposed measures affecting the Crown or the welfare of the nations concerned.

Equality of
status

IV. Character of the British Empire

The British Empire is at present a complex organization, in which the form of government is of great variety, ranging from the autocratic rule of a Governor, as in Gibraltar, to complete autonomy under a system of fully responsible government in the Dominions. The Empire contains thirteen million square miles, which constitute a quarter of the land surface of the earth. It comprises more than five hundred million inhabitants making up a quarter of the population of the world. Of the 500 millions of people within the British Empire, over 430 millions represent subject peoples of non-European race, held under more or less autocratic rule. Of the 70 millions of the white race, 20 millions occupying the four overseas Dominions constitute 1/10th part of the earth's population but occupy no less than 1/4th part of the earth's surface. The term 'Empire' refers to the whole of the King's dominions, while the expression 'Commonwealth' is restricted to an association, within the empire, comprising the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions.

Empire
and Com-
monwealth

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State are referred to as the self-governing Dominions within the British Empire. But the relation existing between the United Kingdom and each one of these Dominions is not exactly the same. Thus the preamble to the Status of the Union Act, 1934, declares that it is expedient that the status of the Union of South Africa 'as a sovereign independent state as hereinafter defined' should be adopted and declared by Parliament. The Irish Free State has abolished the Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown, has

The
Dominions

prohibited all appeals from Irish Courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, has abolished the post of the Governor-General, and by the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935, has deprived Free State citizens of the common status of British subject.

Newfoundland was regarded as a Dominion up to the 15th February, 1934 ; but now its status is that of a Crown colony.

Newfoundland It is administered by the Governor acting on the advice of Commission of Government, composed of himself as Chairman, three persons drawn from Newfoundland, and three from the United Kingdom. There is no popular assembly and the Legislative Council consists entirely of officials.

Southern Rhodesia has not yet acquired Dominion Status, for its native affairs and international relations are still controlled by the Government of the United Kingdom. But in other respects it has got responsible government. **Southern Rhodesia** Southern Rhodesia is willing to form a union with Northern Rhodesia and the elected members of the Legislative Council of the latter are also in favour of this scheme. If amalgamation is ultimately realized, the Nyasaland Protectorate might be joined to the two colonies.

India forms a class by herself. She is not yet a full and equal member of the Commonwealth. Her defence, foreign relation and many other important affairs are still controlled by the British Government. **India and Burma and Ceylon** In Burma too, the Governor retains control of defence, ecclesiastical affairs and external affairs. In Ceylon three official members responsible to the Governor administer such matters as external affairs, defence, finance and justice.

Next comes the Colonial Empire, comprising approximately 19 lakh square miles and 5 crore people of diverse races. To this may be added 8½ lakhs of square miles, populated by 84 lakh people held under mandates from the League of Nations by the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Approximately 80 per cent of the colonial empire is in the continent of Africa. The units of the colonial empire may be classified roughly as Crown colonies, mandated territories and protectorates. The Crown colonies are territories that have come into the possession of the Crown by conquest, cession, occupation or treaty. Provision for the government of Crown colony is made from time to time in Letters Patent and the Instructions to the Governor. The government of the Crown colonies may be sub-divided according to the type of legislature. In the Bahamas, Barbados and

Bermuda the legislature consists of an elected House of Assembly and a nominated Legislative Council. British Guiana, Jamaica and Mauritius have Legislative Councils consisting partly of elected, partly of nominated, and partly of official members but the official members are not in a majority. In the other colonies there is usually a majority of official members. Finally, there are a few dependencies in which legislative authority is vested in the Governor alone. The colonies are usually administered by officials responsible to one of the Secretaries of State. But the Secretary of State has no direct executive authority in the colonies; his power is exercised through the Governor or the Commissioner. The Governor is subject to the closest supervision by the Secretary of State and the Colonial office. But in the colony itself his power is limited only by an Advisory Council whose advice he is not bound to accept. The Governor's chief lieutenant is the Colonial Secretary, who is to be distinguished from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Colonial Secretary is in close contact with the Governor, the Civil Service, the Legislative Council and the general public. "It is of the essence of colonial administration that the Government retains final control over the legislature: thus is the ultimate control of Parliament ensured."

Besides Crown colonies there are some Mandated Territories and Protectorates. The Mandated Territories were formerly under the possession of Germany and Turkey. ^{Mandated territories} They are administered like colonies subject to the terms of the mandates and the obligation to report to the League each year on their administration.

Protectorates may be divided into two classes—colonial Protectorates and protected States. "The essential characteristic of the Protectorate," writes Keith, "is that the Crown assumes and exercises full sovereign authority, though <sup>Protecto-
rates</sup> without annexing the territory. In the case of the protected States the sovereign authority belongs to the sovereign of the State, and not in any sense to the British Crown, and the role of the latter is derived from treaty arrangements with the States which do not confer any sovereignty over them but give powers and duties in respect either of both internal and external affairs, or the latter almost exclusively." The Protectorates of the Crown, except the Federated Malay States, are governed in the same general way as colonies.

✓V. Dominion Status

The Imperial Conference of 1926 clearly defined Dominion Status in the following words:—"Great Britain and the

Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status in no way subordinate to one another, in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.)

In External Affairs

The Dominions first acquired the right to settle their own commercial policy. In 1879 the right of Canada to conclude separate commercial treaties with foreign countries was recognised. During the Great War the Imperial War Conference (1917) recognised the right of the Dominions to a share in the control of foreign affairs. Since 1918 the Dominions have aimed at the abolition of every sign of dependence on England. They signed the Treaty of Versailles as separate nations and became members of the League of Nations. They vote and act independently of England in the League. Since 1920 Canada has had her own representative at Washington. The Imperial Conference of 1926 laid down the procedures of concluding commercial and political treaties by the Dominions. Bilateral treaties, affecting the interests of one Dominion alone, may be concluded with a foreign power, provided that no active obligation of any kind is imposed on any other Dominion without the latter's consent. Multilateral treaties can be concluded at International Conferences alone. Canada entered into separate conventions with foreign Governments regarding the control of Radio. In 1932 there arose a case regarding regulation and control of radio communication in Canada and in pronouncing judgment on it, Viscount Dunedin held that the Dominion has power to enter into separate agreements with foreign powers. Thus the treaty-making power of the Dominions has been judicially acknowledged.

There is only one limitation on the independent power of settling the foreign policy by the Dominions. The Dominions are included within the British Empire, and so when Great Britain would be involved in any war the Dominions would be automatically involved in war. But a concession has been made to the spirit of independence of the Dominions in the fact that any Dominion which does not like to participate in the war might be in a state of "passive belligerency." It cannot be said whether in actual practice this nice distinction between active and passive belligerency can be maintained at all.

J. H. Morgan in his book "Dominion Status" has made a

subtle distinction between "external relations" and "foreign relations." Some writers hold that the Dominions, ever after the Statute of Westminster, 1931, cannot have any "foreign relations," they can have only external relations. But it may be pointed out that the Status of Union Act 1934 makes it perfectly legal for the Union of South Africa not only to remain neutral in a war in which Great Britain is a party, but also to supply goods to the nation against whom Great Britain might be fighting.

Distinction
between
External and
Foreign
relations }

In Internal Affairs

The internal sovereignty of the Dominions has been recognised by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The veto power of the Crown or the Governor-General or Governor, as the case may be, cannot be used in practice to nullify a law passed by a Dominion Legislature. The Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 laid down that any colonial act which was repugnant to the provisions of any act of parliament should be regarded as null and void. But the Statute of Westminster has repealed this law and the Dominions can now legislate on any matter in any way they like. "It is hereby declared and enacted that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation." Section I of the Statute provides that any further laws regulating the succession to the throne and the Royal Style and Titles "shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of the Dominions as of the United Kingdom." No act of the British Parliament would be binding upon the Dominions without their consent. The Dominions can regulate their own coasting trade and establish their own courts of Admiralty. The Judicial committee of the Privy Council is in theory the highest court of appeal for the Dominions. But no appeal can be made to it by any subject of any Dominion without the special sanction of the Dominion concerned. Hitherto the post of Governor-General in each Dominion has been filled by an Englishman. But recently an Australian was appointed Governor-General of Australia. All these changes point out the virtual independence of the Dominions.

Significance
of the
Statute of
Westmins-
ter

But the crucial point regarding independence is whether a Dominion has got the right to secede from the Empire. Keith is of opinion that the Dominions being "autonomous communities within the British Empire" cannot legally secede; but the Dominion Legislatures are constitutionally capable of passing any law, including separation from the Empire. Keith held in 1916 that "If it is really the will of a Dominion to sever themselves from the Imperial control and to set up as an independent power, it is impossible to believe that the Imperial Government would forbid the carrying out of this desire,

Right of
secession

though it would doubtless take steps to secure that the desire was a deliberate one, representing the decision of a real majority."

The Statute of Westminster did neither confirm nor deny the right of Dominions to secede from the Commonwealth. It recognised no official bond between members except the Crown, and that might mean anything or nothing, for the King being a constitutional Monarch must rule by the advice of his Ministers in Ottawa and Canberra (capital of Australia) as much as by the advice of the Ministers in Westminster. If the former were to advise the succession of their nation from the Commonwealth presumably His Majesty could put nothing in their way. This would be specially applicable to the Union of South Africa where the Royal right to disallow Acts has in 1934 been formally abolished. Keith points out that the Statute of Westminster was approved by both Houses of Parliament of the Dominion of Canada on the understanding that it did not derogate from the right of any Dominion to secede.

"Economically and socially", it was declared in the United States Department of Commerce Report of 1924, "Canada may be considered as a northern extension of the United States." "Serious-minded Australians", declared Prime Minister Bruce of Australia in 1925, "are beginning to wonder whether we are safe in depending solely on the British Navy." Nor is it merely a question of defence. Now financial bonds between the U. S. A. and the British Dominions have been forged. The U. S. A. has displaced Britain as the chief foreign investor in Canada. In 1925 Australia, previously financed exclusively from London, drew a loan of 100 million dollar from New York. "The Dominions" said General Smuts in 1934, "have even stronger affiliation towards the U. S. A. than Great Britain has. There is a great community of outlook, of interests and perhaps of ultimate destiny between the Dominions and the U.S.A."

VI. The Abdication Crisis and the Dominions

The Statute of Westminster empowering the Dominions to approve or disapprove the proposed measures affecting the Crown was put to test in the abdication crisis of December, 1936. King Edward proposed that he would like to contract a morganatic marriage with the twice-divorced woman Mrs. Simpson, by which the issue of the marriage would be excluded from succession to the throne. But there is no morganatic marriage in English law. Mr. Baldwin, the then Prime Minister of England, consulted the Dominion Governments by cable and telephone. There was no time for a summoning of Dominion Parliaments. The Statute of Westmins-

**Peculiar
case of the
Union of
South Africa**

**The problem
before the
Common-
wealth**

ter provides that 'any alteration in the law touching the succession to the throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.' But, the alteration of the succession, according to Keith, could be automatically effective in all the Dominions, without the expression of the assent of their Parliaments, because the preamble quoted above is only a declaration of constitutional propriety, and not of formal law. Canada, however, endorsed the abdication by means of an executive order-in-council and the Canadian Parliament in the new session passed an one-clause Bill altering the succession to the throne in accord with the British Act. ^{How it has been solved} South Africa merely conveyed to London the assent of the Union. The Australian Parliament alone found itself in a position to adopt a resolution approving the Abdication Act on the same day as the passing of the Bill at Westminster. De Valera took advantage of England's difficulty by speedily putting through certain changes in the constitution of the Irish Free State. But he promptly accepted the new king. The action of the different Dominions shows the working of the Statute of Westminster.

CHAPTER XX

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

I. Is the State only a means to an end or an end in itself ?

The Hindu philosophers of ancient India regarded the Rastra or the state as a great means to the realisation of the highest end. To them the individual was an end in himself and his self-realisation was the highest goal of social existence. The individual could realise himself in and through the state. Dharma, Artha and Kama, known as Trivarga could be attained through political discipline (Rajadharma) and Moksha or Nirvana depended on the proper realisation of the worldly prospects of life.

The Hindu
conception
of the
State

The Greeks considered the state as an end in itself. Aristotle compares the state to the human body and the citizens to the bodily organs, because the individual is not full and complete without the state. The individual, according to him, is not only as dependent on the state as a hand or foot is dependent on the body, but also exists only in its life, and has no meaning or existence apart from its life. This conclusion he states in the proposition that the "State is prior to the individual."

The Greek
view

Hegel regards the state as a collective person, a majestic being, a sort of God whose thoughts are not our thoughts and whose ways are not our ways. The state has a mind which is more real than the mind of its members and which works in history towards the fulfilment of its own purpose. Individuals are merely its temporary instruments, and epochs are but the revelations of its creative will.

The
Hegelian
concept of
the State as
a mystical
entity

But there can be no rational justification for attributing such supernatural qualities of the state. The state is an organisation created by the community, has no right and no welfare of its own apart from the community. The state is only an instrument to serve the purposes of its members. MacIver has well observed that the Hegelians regard humanity as something more than men, nationality as something more than the members of a nation. They suggest that it is possible to

The State
cannot be
an end in
itself

*Thus says the Mahabharata

सर्वस्य जगल्लोकस्य राजधर्मः परायणम् ॥

त्रिवर्गो हि समासक्तो राजधर्मेषु कौरव ।

मोक्षधर्मस्य विषयः सकलोऽत्र समाहितः ॥

work for humanity otherwise than by working for men, and to serve nationality otherwise than by serving the members of a nation. The Totalitarian State of Italy and Germany has adopted the Hegelian view of the State to a certain extent. Thus says Mussolini, "We were the first to state, in the face of demo-liberal individualism, that the individual exists only in so far as he is within the State and subjected to the requirements of the State and that, as civilisation assumes aspects which grow more and more complicated, individual freedom becomes more and more restricted. The sense of the State grows with the consciousness of Italians, for they feel that State alone is the irreplaceable safeguard of their unity and independence ; that the State alone represents continuity into the future of their stock and their history." A fundamental difference thus exists between the democracies and the dictatorial governments regarding the concept of the state. The ancient Indian tradition and our system of liberal education make it impossible for us to subscribe to the Hegelian view of the state

Mussolini
upholds the
Hegelian
view

✓II. The ends or purposes of the State

Aristotle justifies the state as a necessary agent for securing man's truest happiness. He conceives the truest happiness to consist in the complete rational exercise of one's powers. Happiness is thus a different thing for beings differently constituted. To the plant or to the animal it consists of the simple satisfaction of physical and material needs. To rational man, however, it means, in addition to this, the proper exercise of all these artistic, ethical and intellectual faculties which belong to them as the highest products of nature. Such life, according to Aristotle is possible only in that complex order called the state and this for three reasons :—

State
securing
happiness

✓ In the first place it is only through the establishment of a supreme political power that an orderly and peaceful existence is rendered possible. Secondly, it is only in social and political life that there is furnished that diversity of interests and that variety of life which are essential to the complete life. Thirdly, the state is required for the men's happiness in that it is through education and training which public life affords that there is created in the citizen the ability and the moral disposition to live the good life.

Good life

Garner is of opinion that there are three different degrees of ends of the state namely : (1) the original and primary, (2) secondary and (3) ultimate and highest. He observes : "The original, primary and immediate end of the state is the maintenance of peace, order, security and

Primary
object of
State

justice among the individuals who compose it. This involves the establishment of a regime of life for the definition and protection of individual rights and the creation of a domain of individual liberty, free from encroachment either by individuals or by associations, or by the government itself. No state which fails to secure these ends can justify its existence." The state is one of the many associations in the community. Each association pursues its ends or objects in its own way, but it is the state which gives a form of unity to the whole system of social relationships. It is the purpose of the state to deliver men from the grosser perils of competitive stress in the endless struggle of their self-centred pursuits.

(Secondary object) The secondary end of the state is to secure national welfare, the development of the national genius and the national life. The state must undertake to promote those common interests which cannot be performed by mere individual efforts.

(Highest end of State) The highest end of the state is the promotion of the civilization of mankind at large. If a state is bent upon aggrandising itself at the cost of other states it will not only inflict injury on others but also will ultimately do incalculable harm to its own citizens.

✓ III. Limits of political control

(Freedom of opinion) It is necessary to discuss first what are the limits to political control, to know what things are outside the sphere of the state before we can understand the true business of the state. If the purpose of the state is to develop the personality of its citizens it must respect personality.

With a view to fulfil that purpose the state should not seek to control opinion, no matter what the opinion may be. But the state should not tolerate any opinion which urges law-breaking, because the first business of the state is to maintain the fundamental order which finds expression in law. Such a restriction, however, does not jeopardise the liberty of opinion, because a man may denounce a law to his heart's content while still recognizing the duty to obey it. In pursuance of its purpose of developing personality, the state should not, according to MacIver, exercise the dangerous office of censor, "an office which treats men as though they were children."

The state cannot turn all moral obligations into legal obligations. The sphere of morality is distinct from the sphere of political law. There is one legal code for all, but moral codes vary as much as the individual characters

of which they are the expression. Sometimes it is seen that some religions or bodies ask the state to coerce those whom they themselves cannot persuade.

✓ The state cannot directly change custom and fashion. Customs have not been created by the will of the state; and the state cannot destroy the rooted customs of the citizens.

The failure of the Sarda Act prohibiting child marriage shows that custom, when attacked, attacks law in turn. Custom and fashion

But the state can change the conditions of life out of which a particular custom had originated. Moreover, in cases of clear necessity as for example in child sacrifice or the Sati rite, the state may adopt an exceptional remedy for a dangerous disease.

The state cannot create culture, because the culture is the expression of the spirit of a people or of an age, and it is sustained by inner forces far more potent than political law. Culture

A clear understanding of the limitations of the power of the state is of paramount importance now-a-days, because the Totalitarian states of Russia, Italy and Germany have set before themselves the task of regulating opinion, creating new morality and evolving a new culture. Under the First Five-year Plan in Russia the only subjects allowed to be treated in literature were planned socialism, industrialization and collectivization of agriculture. But in 1932 the rigours of censorship were relaxed. In 1937 on the occasion of the centenary of death of Pushkin, a revival of the literary classics of Russia was noticeable. Pushkin who had been denounced as "a writer of the nobility," was recognised as the pure and abundant source of all Russian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. Claim of Totalitarian states to control morality and culture

IV. The Functions of Government

The functions of government are classified by Garner as (1) essential, normal or constituent functions, which include those which must be performed by every government; (2) natural but unnecessary functions which the state may leave unperformed or unregulated without abandoning a primary duty; and (3) functions which are neither natural nor necessary; these include those which may be performed by private enterprise at less cost. Examples of such functions are the conduct of railway traffic, and establishment of experiment stations, liquor dispensaries, art galleries, banks, universities of learning, etc. To call these functions neither natural nor necessary is simply pedantic. Garner's classification

A better classification has been suggested by Willoughby Gettel. They have divided the functions of government into essential and optional. The optional functions have again been subdivided into socialistic and non-socialistic.

R "It is admitted by all," says Willoughby, "that the state should possess powers sufficiently extensive for the maintenance of its own continued existence against foreign interference to provide the means whereby its national life may be preserved and developed, and maintain internal order including the protection of life, liberty, and property. These have been designated by the essential functions of the state and are such as must be possessed by a state, whatever its form." The functions necessary for the maintenance of peace and order are to provide for the protection of person and property, to fix the legal relations of the family, to regulate the holding, transmission and interchange of property, to determine contract rights and liability for debt, to define and punish crime and administer justice in civil cases. To carry out these functions funds are necessary. So the rising of taxation and the expenditure of revenue are also the essential functions of the state. In order to protect the citizen against foreign aggressions army, navy, warships, armaments or war, arsenals, etc., are necessary. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to maintain these also.

Optional functions are those which are performed by the state not because their exercise is a *sine qua non* of the state's existence but because their public administration is supposed to be advantageous to the public. They are such that if left in private hands they would either not be performed at all, or poorly performed. Of these functions are non-socialistic and some socialistic in character.

✓ Non-socialistic functions are those which do not restrict the field of private enterprise and at the same time confer great benefits on the people. Examples of such functions are the maintenance of scientific and statistical bureaus, the care of the poor and helpless, the protection of public health and morals, and the "conduct of various undertakings which would be unprofitable as private ventures but which are required by the common interest."

✓ Socialistic functions are those which can be performed either by private enterprise or by the government. Examples of such functions are the construction of railways, roads, bridges, excavation of canals, maintenance of markets, docks and pie banking operations.

These theories of the functions of government were promulgated under the influence of Individualist philosophy. Since the war of 1914-18 it has come to be recognised that the state cannot promote good life where there is vast inequality of income among the different classes of society. It is necessary to bring about some sort of economic equality through the agency of the state. The first business of the state, indeed, is to maintain order, but order does not merely mean prevention of confusion and chaos. To insist on order without any qualification is to make of the state a 'police state'. The true political conception of order extends to the protection of the weak against the strong. Protection includes the establishment of a minimum standard of living, so that the mere requisites of health and decency shall not be denied to any merely because of the accident of birth or misfortune. The state stands for the common interest of all. It must promote the common interest by protecting the consumer against the monopolists, the worker against the exploitation by capitalists, the small businessmen against the unfair competition of large scale business, and the 'big business' against the competition of the foreigner. The modern state is no longer a mere 'police-state' simply maintaining law and order and protecting the life of citizens against foreign invasions and internal commotions. It has become in every country the 'welfare state.' It is now recognised by all schools of political thinkers that the business of the state is to maintain order, not for the sake of order, but for the sake of protection, conservation and development.

The state must protect the community against the encroachments of monopolists, against social disturbance and economic dislocation through economic crises, and against social, religious and partisan pressure. It should promote and develop the physical conditions of life by regulating hygienic requirements, and the housing, occupational, and recreational conditions of health. It should conserve and devise means for the utilization of the natural resources. With a view to develop culture it should establish national museums, assist scientific research and promote non-controversial cultural aims. The interests of the community require that the state should promote industries, agriculture and commerce in such a way as to benefit all classes of citizens. Both the Laissez-fairist and the Collectivist agree that these are desirable business of the state, but they differ as to the method by which these results can be obtained. Now we proceed to give an exposition of the views of these two schools.

V. The Laissez-Faire Theory

Individualism as a political doctrine had its origin in the

latter part of the eighteenth century as a reaction against the evils of over-government in Europe. It was one of the leading tenets of the Physiocratic school of economists that the state ought not to interfere with the economic activities of the people. They demanded freedom of trade and industry. Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" gave stimulus to the doctrine. Later the doctrine was defended by various other English economists, notably Cairnes, Ricardo and Malthus. It also counts among its supporters philosophers like Mill, Spencer and Sidgwick. These writers greatly emphasize the importance of the so-called private rights of property, life and liberty and hold that the province of government should be strictly limited to the protection of these rights.

Growth of individualism

Mill maintains that "the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively, in interfering with the freedom of action of any of their number, is self-protection—that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilised community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." The German writer Humboldt holds that the state should pursue no other object than that which the individuals cannot pursue of themselves, namely, security. Spencer enunciates his famous law of justice in the following words: "Every man shall be free to do that which he wills, provided he does not infringe the equal freedom of any other man."

Law of Justice

Evils of restriction upon free action

It is argued that consideration of justice requires that the individual shall be let alone by the state in order that he may realise fully and completely the ends of his existence. It is believed that every restriction upon the free action of the individual tends to destroy his sense of initiative and self-reliance and weaken his responsibility and character. "The true end of man, or that which is prescribed by the immutable dictates of reason," observed Humboldt, "is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole." Over-government, adds Humboldt, not only diminishes freedom, but superinduces national uniformity and a constrained and unmatured manner of action, by its tendency to reduce society to a dead level. The highest civilization, say the *laissez faire* advocates, has been developed under individualism, a system which has produced more material and educational progress than could even have been produced under paternalism.

Individualism promotes highest type of civilization

The theory has been supported on the so-called scientific principles too. It is in harmony with the principle of evolution.

It has been maintained that each individual should be left alone to work out his destiny, so that there might be the survival of the fittest. If the government does not artificially prop up the weak, the unfit elements of the society would be automatically eliminated.

It leads to the survival of the fittest.

The upholders of Individualism put forward arguments also to show that the policy of non-interference is economically sound. Thus Cairnes observes: "Laissez-faire assumes that the interest of human beings are fundamentally the same, that that which is best for the interests of one is the best for others, that the individual knows his interests in the sense in which they are coincident with the interests of others and that in the absence of coercion he will in this sense follow them." The individualists believe that unrestricted competition will enable the producers to produce at the least cost, the consumers to buy at the lowest price, and the labourers to dispose of their labour to the best advantage. Thus competition will develop the highest human possibilities by enabling each individual to do that for which he is best fitted.)

Every person knows his interest best.

The Individualists also adduce many historical examples to show that the policy of excessive regulation by government has been mischievous and detrimental to the interests of society. Mill is of opinion that the great majority of things are worse done when done by government than when done by individuals. History bears witness as to the attempts made repeatedly by the state to fix prices of food and clothing and of many other commodities, to regulate the wages of labour and restrict certain trades exclusively to members of the guilds. The extent to which the governing classes interfered with the freedom of industry and the mischief which that interference produced were so remarkable, as Buckle puts it, as to make thoughtful men wonder how civilization could have advanced in the face of repeated obstacles.

Government work inefficient.

Lecky summarises the advantages of governmental interference in the following words:—"There is the weakening of private enterprise and philanthropy; a lowered sense of individual responsibility; a diminished love of freedom; the creation of an increasing army of officials, regulating in all its department the affairs of life; the formation of a state of society in which vast multitudes depend for their subsistence on the bounty of the state. All this cannot take place without impairing the springs of self-reliance, independence, resolution, without gradually enfeebling both the judgment and the character. It produces also a weight of taxation which, as the past experience of the world abundantly shows, may easily reach a point that means national ruin."

Disadvantages of governmental interference.

Against these attacks on the policy of state regulation and interference it may be pointed out that the state is not a necessary evil and that the functions of the state are not merely repressive in character. According to Spencer the assumption by the state of the right to enforce sanitary regulations, as for instance, those of drainage and of preventing the spread of contagious diseases, would be unwise. He bewails the interference of the state in the regulation of factory labour and employment of women and of children and condemns even the monopolization by the state of the sole right of coining money. But it is obvious that in matters of compulsory education, sanitation and the like, the very persons upon whom coercion is needed are least qualified to judge the value of the conduct such compulsion demands. These people do not know their interests and must be compelled, in the larger interests of society to conform to certain regulations.

The chief fault of the *Laissez-faire* advocates is that they belittle the benefits conferred by the state and extol individualistic enterprise by exaggerating the evils of state regulation. In short, they over-emphasize the importance of the man at the expense of the group.

The arguments of the *Laissez-faire* theorists are based on the past mistakes and abuses of the Government. "It is, however, wholly wrong to take the position," as Garner has put it, "that because governments made mistakes in the past or because their agents have sometimes abused the powers entrusted to them, they cannot be trusted in the future".

The state is not necessarily hostile to freedom; an extension of state activity does not imply that the liberty of the individual would be destroyed. Under well-organised and wisely directed state action individuals find ample scope for the development of their moral, physical and intellectual capacities. The state helps to increase opportunities and thereby develop individual's latent abilities.

Moreover, genuine competition is possible only where the contesting parties possess comparative equality of strength. If they are unequal in strength, as in the case of the struggle between Capital and Labour, the weaker party would be simply crushed out of existence. As regards the pseudo-scientific argument of survival of the fittest, it may be pointed out that the policy of allowing the physically weak and educationally backward people to be ruined is manifestly abhorrent. The struggle for existence does not lead to the survival of the fittest in the highest sense of that word.

In conclusion we may state that as industrial society develop

and increases in coherence and complexity, the social interests—those affecting the people in general—will become more numerous and important and an enlightened policy will demand the subordination of the individual interests to the common welfare of the community. But this does not mean that the individual should subordinate all his purposes to the state. A wide opportunity for purely voluntary grouping of individuals and for the constant making and adapting of associations as new common purposes develop, is essential to positive realisation of common good.)

Individual interest to be subordinated to common welfare

VI. Break-down of the Laissez-faire Theory

In the latter part of the nineteenth century technical revolution, standardization of products, scientific management, and organization of marketing increased the scale of business organisation. As the size of firms began to increase, some measure of monopolistic control was assumed by them. This weakened the economic power of the consumer. But at the same time the extension of democratic principle was vesting the consumer with political power. The consumer now demanded that the intervention of state should not be confined merely to negative control like the passing of factory acts but also be applied to the positive promotion of economic ends. The attempt to maintain a clear line of demarcation between economic and political affairs, on which the doctrine of Laissez-faire rested, became thus impracticable.

Extension of franchise

Jevons and the Austrian school of economists gave a new orientation to the Laissez-faire theory. They do not hold like Adam Smith and Ricardo that the self-interest of each producer makes for the maximum production of economic values. They argue that the free play of consumers' demand under a competitive system leads

New orientation of Laissez-faire theory

to the production of goods and services in such a way as to create the maximum sum-total of human satisfactions. They dislike state intervention because it interferes with the free expression of consumers' demand by altering the conditions of supply and price. The basis of the Laissez-faire theory is that the consumer is the best judge of his own satisfactions, and that these are measured by the prices which he is prepared to offer for the various goods put forward for sale. But if incomes of consumers are unequal the price-offers are not measures of equal satisfaction expected by them ; and hence the free play of consumers' demand cannot result in maximum sum-total of satisfaction. The state, therefore, should aim at a re-distribution of incomes through legislation, setting-up a minimum wage or through highly progressive system of

Need of equitable distribution of income

taxation. Even when there is a satisfactory distribution of income within the community, the state has to intervene in raising the price of such articles as alcoholic liquors, the excessive consumption of which is not at all desirable and in reducing the price of articles like water.

Moreover, in the modern industrial world, where there is an increasing tendency towards combination among producers of almost every type, price-fixing has become more and more

(Price
fixed by
producers

a function of production rather than of demand. In the case of articles whose demand is elastic, the combination

of producers fixes the price by adjusting the quantities of goods which they place on the market to their knowledge of the condition of consumers' demand. The state has, therefore, to regulate and control the combination of producers in the interests of consumers. It is now being recognised that any state in which the economic sphere is left largely uncontrolled is necessarily a class society tilted to the advantage of the rich. Such a state, therefore, lacks that necessary basis of unity which enables men to compose their differences in peace. At present there seems to be

(State
intervention
becomes
unavoidable

unavoidable necessity of government regulation—whether in the interests of manufacturers, growers, workers or consumers—of commercial, financial and industrial relationships. To-day the consumer appeals to

the state for protection against monopoly, the worker demands safeguards for labour, the small businessman cries out against unfair competition while 'big business' seeks tariffs against the foreigner. The state feels the constant impact of opposing economic forces. It cannot stand still. It must enforce regulation, but the regulation may be effected either under Capitalism or under Socialism

✓VII. State Regulation under Capitalism

we find democratic states like the U. S. A., under the guidance of President Roosevelt and France under the Leon Blum ministry

(Economic
planning
vs.
competition

as well as Fascist States like Italy and Germany alike undertaking economic planning while retaining the framework of capitalism. All these states are trying

to regulate by means of a comprehensive plan all the vital matters which have in the past been settled by individual or group competition. According to their plan, competition is to be eliminated but the ownership and management of majority of industries are to be left in private hands. The state, however,

Comprehensive
regulation

through appropriate organs is to decide how much of each kind of goods to produce, what prices to put upon them, what pay to accord to their producers, how much to set aside for capital accumulation, and how much to

devote to immediate consumption. The difference of such a system with Socialism is that it seeks to preserve the existing class-divisions and inequalities of income by maintaining private ownership in the means of production.

Prof. G. D. H. Cole thinks that capitalistic planning is a highly paradoxical idea. If the state directs production according to a comprehensive plan the capitalist shareholders and directors become superfluous and functionless because they remain no longer even nominally responsible for directing the course of production and investment. According to him, "the fatal weakness of controlled capitalism is that, moving still within the orbit of the profit system, it is compelled to subordinate its use of the available factors of production to the exigencies of private profit-making. This causes it to look with very different eyes on the two 'key' kinds of income—profits and wages. For, whereas profits appear to it as an undiluted good—the stimulus par excellence which causes production to be undertaken—as well as a necessary element in the available supply of purchasing power, wages on the other hand appear to it evil as well as good. They are good, in that they are a form of purchasing power, necessary to create a demand for the products of industry; but they are also bad, in that they are a cost which the businessman has to incur, and therefore a deterrent to production. For it inevitably seems to the businessman that the higher the wages, the less is the prospect of profit, and the smaller the incentive to expand production to the furthest point compatible with the supply of productive resources."

Dilemma in
capitalistic
planning

From the standpoint of pure theory it seems that the argument of Prof. Cole is unassailable. But it cannot be denied that Germany, Italy, and the U. S. A. have been able to increase their productive capacity tremendously even within the framework of Capitalism.

Success of
capitalistic
planning

II. Socialistic or Collectivist theory of Functions of the State

While the Individualists want to restrict the functions of the state to the narrowest possible limits, the Collectivists or Socialists hold that the government control of the means of production and distribution is essential to the welfare of individuals and society. The term Collectivism has been used as the general concept of which Socialism, Communism and Anarchism are special variants. (Collectivism seeks to place under the control of the state not only the economic enterprises of individuals, but also the activities of a multitude of economic groups, corporations and monopolies, trade-unions and co-operative societies and leagues of producers and traders.) The term

Collectivism
and
Socialism

Socialism has left a deeper imprint on the public mind than Collectivism. Socialism implies an organisation, which by substituting collective or government control and ownership for individual ownership and management of the instruments of production and distribution, aims at securing the general well-being as distinct from the benefit of the few.) In other words, they contend for a maximum rather than a minimum of government. There are different schools of Socialism, but all schools equally agree that the task before Socialism is not merely economic reconstruction, but also educational, ethical and aesthetic reorganization of society.

The socialists claim that the economic needs of the community will be accurately estimated under Socialism and the available land, labour and capital carefully apportioned, so that just the quantity of each kind of goods required will be produced. The

{ Economic planning can be undertaken duplication of plants and excessive production of particular goods, now so common, will be avoided : the expenses of advertising and competitive selling will be saved, and finally, the production of goods that are harmful rather than beneficial to those who consume will be suspended. Unrestricted competition, says the opponents of Individualism, begets overproduction, cheap goods, unemployment and lower wages. The only remedy lies in the abolition of competition and substitution of co-operative principle, under which equality of opportunity and equality of reward will be secured.

Man being naturally weak and inclined to depravity, needs to be guided and aided by the state and protected against his own inherent frailties. (According to the Individualist

{ Case for prohibition theory of the function of government, the state should not interfere with the drinking of wine by individual at their own home.) (But the Collectivist theory of function of the state makes it imperative on the government not only to control but also to prohibit drinking altogether under certain circumstances.) The benefits of a programme of prohibition are so far reaching for national welfare in India that the government should not hesitate in interfering with the so-called rights of individual to get drunk. Dr. P. J. Thomas of the Madras University has described the results of introduction of Prohibition in Salem District in the following words : "The spending power formerly used for drink has been devoted largely for a more varied and adequate diet, better clothes, and more amusements. There has been a significant change in the items of food used by the working classes. The expenditure on tea and coffee, vegetables, curds, ghee, oils and meat has increased. The whole of the extra spending power, however, has not been used for immediate consumption ; several of the former drinkers have saved sums for

purchasing ornaments and brasswares and for paying debt. Borrowings among labourers have been less this year, largely due to the banishment of drink from marriage and other feasts. This will have healthy reactions, specially among agriculturists."

The doctrine of Socialism, moreover, is in harmony with the organic theory of the nature of the state, in accordance with which the state is to be regarded as an organism and not a mere aggregate of individuals. Finally, it is argued by the Socialists that the state has already abolished competition in certain fields. Government management and control of postal service, coinage, telegraphs, railways and other industries of a public nature have all shown the triumph of state management over individual management. Why should the state not go further and occupy the entire field. Collective ownership is supposed to be more democratic and its advocates claim that it is the only system under which a full and harmonious development of individual character can be secured.

Collective ownership is democratic

✓The Collectivists, however, over-estimate the capacity of the state. If the state owns and manages the means of production, the difficulties of administration would be enormous. Such questions as the apportionment of the labourers among the various departments of industry, the assignment of values to products and to labour, the quality of goods to be produced, the relative proportion of capital goods to consumers, can be solved only by men of highest administrative ability. It is not easy to find such men. Moreover, serious dangers would arise because of the opportunities for corruption, intrigue and personal spite. The state might be also reluctant to take risks of trying new experiments.)

The capacity of Government officials is limited

✓Besides the objections to Socialism on economic grounds, there is a strong political argument against it. It will greatly restrict individual freedom, and thereby bring deterioration of individual character. "In the absence of all self-interest and incentive", observes Garner, "individuals would have to be disciplined and driven to the discharge of their duties, and in the place of freedom we should, according to some writers, have virtual slavery." But it must be pointed out that though the arguments against a complete scheme of Socialism are strong, yet all modern states have assumed many Socialistic functions.

It restricts individual freedom

Regarding the merits of the Individualistic and Socialistic theories of state functions we may say that neither to-day represents the generally accepted view of sphere and duty of the state or of the actual practice. At no point it is possible to detect a hundred per cent Individualism untouched or unmodified by Socialism or a hundred

Variety of conditions in different states

per cent Socialism supremely different to the impacts of Individualism and its counterpart, Capitalism. The question of deciding what the state should and what it should not do is one which must be determined by the nature and circumstances of each individual case.

Prof. Garner has rightly pointed out : "If any general rule may be formulated, it must be deduced from a consideration of the question whether the purpose of state intervention in a given case is for common good ;" and "whether it can be done without doing more harm than good." If a purpose is likely to be better served under state action than under private enterprise, "no valid objection can be raised to it because it violates some abstract principle of individual liberty or some doctrine of natural rights."

IX. Collectivist Activities in Modern States

The policy of Laissez-faire or non-interference of the state led to such abysmal misery of the workers in all the industrial states, that the conviction has now grown that governments should take a greater and greater share in ordering the economic welfare of society. Collectivism or Socialistic control of some industries is now a well-established form of business organisation. The state has taken control of those industries which are of vital interests to the nation. Thus all national states own and operate their own postal system, and most of them the whole or part of their railway systems and forest land. The manufacture of arms and ammunitions is also under state control in most of the states. In

Russia the state is managing all industrial establishments and many agricultural farms. Besides these industries under state control, many municipalities own and operate their own octopoid industries. There are some cases in which the state does not own and control the business but directs it. Such are the Federal Reserve Board and the Inter-state Commerce Commission in the United States.

✓The state has taken the weak and the poor under its special care. The welfare of the poor man and the labourers has been the object of a host of Factory Acts—regulating hours and age of employment, enjoining safe and sanitary conditions of work, appointing factory inspectors, and fixing minimum rates. Laws have also been passed securing better housing and sanitation to the poorer classes. The establishment of extensive free education and granting of free medical benefits are regular features of every modern state. There are also national insurance schemes for sickness and

{ Evil
consequences
of
Laissez-faire
policy

{ Collectivist
activities
of modern
states

{ Measures
to help the
poor and
the weak

unemployment and old age pensions in most of the progressive states of the west. The state is taking a special interest in promoting commerce and industries by imposing protective duties and granting bounties.

The state in all the modern countries is carrying on vast work of constructive enterprise whose benefits will be shared by future generations. It is enforcing town-planning so that the sprawling, ill-built, congested city might no longer disfigure the face of the country. It is taking steps to conserve the forest resources and to enhance their beauties. It is carrying on fruitful experiments on irrigation, the utilization of the soil, the breeding of plants and animals, the control of insect pests. Many provincial governments in India are enforcing a scheme of consolidation of holdings and in near future will undertake crop-planning. Every civilised government is trying to mitigate the severity of economic fluctuations by its control over currency, credit and its own expenditures. Economic planning with a view to make each country economically self-sufficient has become a regular feature of the programme of almost all the states of the present day. Carrying out constructive programme

The Soviet Government is carrying out its third Five Years' Plan with the aims of increasing the total material wealth in the country and of insuring general prosperity for all citizens to a more or less equal degree. The Nazi Government in Germany carried out a plan to promote the economic nationalism of a military state. The whole plan was based on war-time economy—the production of the weapons of destruction and defence, and the security of war-supplies like cloth, food, chemicals and raw materials. The plan of the Fascist Government in Italy was modelled on similar lines with minor modifications. The Roosevelt Plan in America aimed at regulating the distribution of national dividend between the various factors of production. The profit motive in industries was limited with a view to effect a more equitable adjustment of national income and to subordinate individual interests to the needs of the community. Every kind of planning presupposes a complete control of the planning authority over all factors of production and over the fiscal policy of the State. National Planning

Functions of Government in War-time

The Pluralists regard the state as one of the associations of the community and hold that like other associations its power should be relative to function. The state, in their opinion, should not

exercise powers which may overwhelm other aspects or associations, like the church, trade union, cultural institutions etc. which fulfil other functions. But in the time of war the state does exercise the power of life and death not only over individuals but also over all associations existing within its jurisdiction. "In declaring war," observes MacIver, "the state puts a particular political object above the general ends of the family, of the cultural life, of the economic order. To secure this purpose the state disrupts the family, breaks the fraternities of science and art, confounds the church, profoundly disturbs the economic system, ruins the commerce of nations, surpasses all cultural influences, and inculcates a morality of violence, robbery, falsehood and murder, as between its members and those of its enemies, which is the direct contradiction of that on which society is founded."

✓ During the war of 1914-18 Government in all the belligerent states exercised strictest control over every aspect of life.

Similar regulation and control have been effected now on the outbreak of the present war. Governments in belligerent countries are directing and controlling production in almost all the industries with a view to make the best use of the available workers and materials. In Germany, the Nazi Government has forced women and children to work for more than ten hours a day and has prohibited the consumption of many of the necessities of life and decency like milk, butter and soap. If the war continues for a long time it is pretty certain that even in India restrictions will be put on the consumption of articles like coal, petroleum, iron and steel wares, etc. War makes it impossible for a Government to adhere to the Individualist Theory.

**Absolute
sovereignty
of State ill-
ustrated in
war-time**

**Effect of
War on the
functions of
Government**

CHAPTER XXI

MODERN TRENDS IN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT

I. The State in Socialist and Fascist Theories

Many influential schools of thought in the modern world are seeking to transform the character of the state radically. The Socialists as well as the Fascists are dissatisfied with the traditional philosophy of the state. Both the schools denounce the inaptness of legislatures of democratic countries for dealing effectively with questions of commercial, financial and industrial relationships. But they differ fundamentally in their ideal of the state. The Fascist Governments of Italy and Germany believe in centralization of authority which will lead to the establishment of the Totalitarian State. They hold the state to be omnipotent and as such capable of regulating every aspect of social life including national economy, art, religion, culture and education. The Soviet Government in Russia professes to set up dictatorship of the working class, while the Fascist Government does not dispense with the capitalist class; but in practice the state in Russia had proved to be as much Totalitarian as it is in Germany and Italy.

Two conflicting views }

There are different schools of Socialism and these schools differ largely in their attitude towards the state. (State Socialism seeks to establish state ownership of the means of production and state control of future production.) (Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, and Industrial Unionism may be created as types of co-operative Socialism which distrusts the state and fears the over-development of bureaucracy. They would like to base the industrial system upon the organization of independent producers.)

Socialist theories)

In the view of Marxian Socialism the state is simply an organ of economic exploitation. Marx holds that the state is a new institution, unknown in the feudal age. In the opinion of Engels, the modern state is "nothing more than a committee for the administration of the consolidated affairs of the bourgeois class as a whole." Both Marx and Engels believe in the theory of the withering away of the state in course of time. They explain the process of withering away of the state thus: "We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. Hence these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state must irrevocably fall with them. The

Withering away of the State

society that is to reorganize production on the basis of free and equal association of producers will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong ; into the Museum of Antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe.") In Russia, where the society is being built up largely according to the Marxist philosophy, the state is not showing, however, any sign of withering away. Stalin believes that the withering away of the State cannot take place in the near future.

We have to-day at one end of the scale the conception of the Totalitarian state, on the other that of Anarchism. Anarchism holds the historical state to be the ultimate source of exploitation and maintains that no reasonable social order can be established without its total destruction. But under the stress of post-war circumstances Anarchism, Syndicalism and Guild Socialism have lost much of their hold on the mind of the people. A fight to the end is now being fought between Democratic States and the Totalitarian States.

II. Dictatorship

Dictatorship as a form of Government has assumed great importance in recent years. If England, France and the U. S. A. are ruled by democratic governments, Russia, Italy and Germany are governed by Dictatorship. There are also other important states which have forms of government closely approaching dictatorship.

The term Dictatorship, in the constitution of the Roman Republic, signified the temporary possession by one man of unlimited power, a trusteeship regarded as necessary to enable the state to weather a crisis. Dictatorship in modern times differs from ancient Roman Dictatorship in two important respects. No Dictator in ancient Rome held power for more than six months ; whereas modern Dictators are exercising power during their whole life. In Rome the office of Dictator was bestowed in solemn, legal fashion, and at the end of the period of office, the Dictator had to give an account of his stewardship. A Dictator in modern times seizes power through a *Coup d'état* and later on legalizes the new situation by decreeing new constitutional rules, which the people are persuaded or intimidated into ratifying by plebiscite. The Roman Cæsars in Imperial Rome exercised personal and military Dictatorship, while Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini assert that they do not rule for their own pleasure but for the good of the people.

Dictatorship finds suitable soil for its growth in a country where the people have not been trained in the art of democratic government. (In such a country where either economic depression

or political or social chaos exists and the existing government cannot restore tolerable conditions, Dictatorship does arise.) The War of 1914-18 had imposed military discipline; and the concentration of authority as required for military purposes accustomed men to expect public problems to be solved by the decision of an arbitrary authority. When the military discipline was removed after the war, anarchic self-indulgence prevailed in the countries which had no long-standing democratic tradition. Moreover, problems of unprecedented difficulty with regard to maintenance of law and order, distribution of land, redistribution of burden of taxation, currency inflation, disorganisation of industry and consequent unemployment on a large scale demanded quick solution. Under such circumstances the people would welcome a strong man who brings order and settles matter not by counting majorities but by his own fiat.

Causes of
the rise of
Dictatorship

The modern Dictator retains all power in his own hands indeed, but he never omits to win popular support. Each Dictator has the party behind him. The basis of the party is gradually widened indeed, but it is not the party which devises policy. Article 4 of the Statute of the Fascist party, promulgated on the 28th April, 1938, defines the duty of the Fascist as being 'to believe' to obey and to fight. In Germany, the Nazi party has become "a corporate body of public law" since December, 1933. The party is entrusted with the task of "generating always anew the ideological energies of the Third Reich from the substance of the National Socialist idea of instilling them into the national community with the aid of propaganda and education, and of infusing them into the governmental body through a comprehensive system of offices interlocking party and state." The party is absolutely servile to the Leader, Herr Hitler, who alone "knows the right direction." Hitler's dictum is : "Authority from above as the result of leadership conscious of its responsibility, confidence and discipline from below."

Popular
support
through
party

✓ In Parliamentary countries the freedom of speech and of organization and peaceful agitation have been regarded as essential within certain limits to the conduct of public business.

But in the Dictatorial system, organization of a rival party and agitation against government measures are not allowed at all. Those who accept the underlying policy and principles of the dominant regime can of course speak freely, but they must do so within the framework of the party organization and must be prepared to accept without further question any decision reached collectively by the party. (The use of a large number of spies to detect any attempt at opposition to its policy is another characteristic of Dictatorship.)

Individual
Liberty

The system of representation in the Dictatorial states is different from that prevailing in the Democratic states. Both in Italy and

in Germany individual as such is not represented because the aim of Nazism and Fascism is not to give the individual citizens the power to make their influence felt in the determination of public policy. In both the systems there is an attempt to organize all the various functional groups within Society in subordination to the political State as the organ endowed with the overriding function of co-ordination and control.

The most important characteristic of the dictatorial state is its Totalitarian conception. In Russia as well as in Italy and Germany it is held that the state is not only sovereign in a legal sense but has also the function of regulating every department of social life—education, religion and art as well as capital and labour and the whole national economy. In democratic states there is a clear line of demarcation between 'things that are Caesar's' and 'things that are not Caesar's'.

III. The Totalitarian State

It has already been shown that Dictatorship is an expression of a new conception of the state which is known as the Totalitarian State. Though there are many points of difference between Communism on the one hand and Fascism and Nazism on the other, yet they all alike pin their faith on the Totalitarian State. The Totalitarian view of the state is that the state is absolute and omni-competent. Every phase of man's life including art, culture, morality and economic activity is within the jurisdiction and under the control of the state.

The fullest expression of the Totalitarian conception of the state is found in Mussolini's book "Fascism", in which he says:

"Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State, which stands for the conscience and the universal will of man as a historic entity. It is opposed to classical liberalism which arose as a reaction to absolutism and exhausted its historical function when the State became the expression of the conscience and will of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the name of the individual; Fascism reasserts the rights of the State as expressing the real essence of the individual. And if liberty is to be the attribute of living men and not of abstract dummies invented by individualistic liberalism then Fascism stands for liberty, and for the only liberty worth having, the liberty of the State and of the individual within the State. The Fascist conception of the State is all embracing outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have they any meaning."

Thus understood Fascism is totalitarian and the Fascist

Views of
Mussolini
on State

State—a synthesis and unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops and potentiates the whole life of people.”

Totalitarianism thus claims that individuals are not end in themselves ; the State alone is an end in itself. It is in and through the State that individuals can find the fulness of their life and true freedom. Individuals like cells in an organism are merely free to discharge the function assigned to them by the State. The natural corollary from such a conception is that there can be no civil liberties like the right of free speech, free assembly, free press and free and fair trial in a totalitarian State. Every aspect of life and activity of the individual as well as of social, economic, cultural and even of religious groups is regulated by and in the interest of a mystical entity called the State.

Implications
of
Totalitarianism

In Germany the Nazi State is equally totalitarian with slight ideological difference. Mussolini extols the state, but Hitler has denounced the Hegelian deification of the state and declared at the National Socialist Party Congress in 1934, “We command the State”. The last resort of authority is not the state but the party and its Leader. Such a claim, however, does not bear any philosophical scrutiny. In any case it is the Nazi Party or the State which seeks to control every aspect of life of the German people. The Propaganda Ministry under Dr. Goebbels exercises strict control over the National Chamber of Culture, which is the exclusive legitimate representation of all those professional associations whose members are engaged in literary production, newspaper, work, broadcasting, the motion-picture industry, theatrical and musical performances, or the plastic arts, whether as employers, employees or independent artists. The Propaganda Ministry also controls the German Academy of Politics, the Council for Commercial Advertising, the National Travel Committee, and the National Broadcasting Company.

The Nazi
State

If Mussolini deifies the State and Hitler subordinates it to the party, Karl Marx, who has largely shaped the ideology of the Soviet State, held that the State would die or wither away fairly rapidly after the assumption of political power by the Proletariat. Lenin, however, held that the death of the state will not be so rapid. According to him the total decay of the State will only take place after the complete realization of Communism, when everyone will receive what he requires according to his needs. But Stalin admits that in Russia only Socialism has been established and not Communism. “In Socialist society,” observes Stalin, “while each person is obliged to work, remuneration is not fixed according to the needs of each, but according to the quantity and quality of the work

Communist
views on
State

furnished ; therefore the salary—unequal, differential—continues to be applied there. Only when we have succeeded in creating an order permitting men to receive from society, in exchange for their labour, not according to the quantity and quality of the work done, but according to their needs, will it be possible to say that we have established a Communist society ?” Stalin has further explained that the transition from the initial, primary phase of Communism to the higher, complete phase constitutes an entire historical epoch. The Power State based on force cannot be dispensed with in Russia so long as the other countries in the world do not attain the complete phase of Communism. If the “Power State” is allowed to wither away in Russia, the neighbouring states will destroy the socialism of Russia. Thus Stalin has introduced substantial changes in the Marxist conception of the function of the State,

The Soviet Government in Russia controls art and literature so that these may be yoked to industrialism. There is no freedom of the press, no freedom of teaching. Every attempt is made to produce a dead uniformity of opinion. No deviation from the orthodox opinion is tolerated. The mass scale of trials and executions in Russia in the summer of 1937 may be compared to the Blood Purge in Germany of the summer of 1934. The record of the Soviet State for twenty-two years, of Fascism for seventeen years and of Nazism for seven years shows that terror is the normal concomitant of the totalitarian state system. “Terror in the totalitarian states,” observes Calvin B. Hoover, “attains Frankenstein proportions not simply because the state is authoritarian, but because it insists on its totality as well. Since the State claims for its jurisdiction every phase of human life, a greater number of people are subject to terror, come into contact with it more frequently and feel its pressure more intensely than would be true under a purely personal political dictatorship. Terror is the only instrument sufficiently powerful to enable the attainment of the goal of totality.”

The economic life is controlled by the State to a greater extent in Russia than in Germany and Italy. Private property has been abolished and all the means and instruments of production have been socialised. The state through its different organisations works out statistically what exactly the whole community may reasonably need and desire and communicate to each factory, or mine or any other centre of production, what share it has to bear in the total production. Leon Trotsky, one of the makers of the Bolshevik Revolution, wrote in his book “The Revolution Betrayed (1937)” that “with piecework payment, hard conditions of material

existence, lack of free movement, it is hard indeed for the worker to feel himself a free workman. In the bureaucracy he 'sees the manager in the State the employer.'

In Italy and Germany private property has not been abolished, but it has been sharply limited. In Italy a cultivator has to produce crops which Italy's need for self-sufficiency dictates. All important financial institutions are controlled by the state and the government fixes the rate of interest on individuals' savings and utilises the capital in the way it thinks best. Moreover, Mussolini has announced that he intends to nationalise large-scale industry. Similarly, in Germany before the out-break of the war the capital savings of the people were used for rearmament and other work-creating projects. The profits of industry were levied upon to pay for export subsidies.

Private
property in
Italy and
Germany

✓ All the three states, Italy, Germany, and Russia have used the economic resources of the country to attain the goal of industrialization, self-sufficiency and armed security. Militarism does not find any place in the orthodox theory of Communism but in the U. S. S. R. there are seventy-four Aeroplane factories producing annually around eight thousand planes. (Glorification of war is common to Fascism and Nazism. "Fascism," according to Mussolini, "discards pacifism as a cloak for cowardly supine renunciation in contra-distinction to self-sacrifice. War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those peoples who have the courage to face it." In Germany the school students have been militarised through their text-books. In a German Text-book written by Dr. A. Vogeler the following passage occurs : "Advantages of war. 1. For the State : (1) war is an antidote against the rotten herbs of peace, where nationalism sends everything to sleep by overcoming idealism ; (2) when patriotism is awakened the holy fire of the enthusiasm for the Fatherland is set alight ; (3) the victors acquire a predominant position of force, of prestige and of influence which is their reward ; the vanquished are not dishonoured, if they have defended themselves bravely ; (4) peoples learn to know one another and to respect each other, the exchange of ideas and viewpoints is facilitated." Such teachings indicate the relapse of human civilization to barbarism.

Militarism

Glorifica-
tion of
war

IV. Syndicalism

Syndicalism aims at putting an end to Capitalism as well as to the State and organising a society in which each industry will be

collectively managed by the workers. It views the trade union as the primary means of achieving the revolution through the general strike. The trade unions should first of all intensify class consciousness in workers by participating in the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. They will use the strike, sabotage (injuring machines in the factory), the label (asking consumers not to buy articles produced by companies mentioned by the trade union organisation) and the boycott as weapons in a spirit of militancy against the system of private property and against the state. The workers will thus be trained for the supreme act of the class struggle, the general strike, which will sound the death knell of the present industrial system and inaugurate the new social order. The general strike need not necessarily be a strike in all the industries : if the workers in Electricity, Gas and transport go on strike they can paralyse all production.

In the new social order there will be no necessity for the existence of the state. The *syndicates* or trade unions, functioning harmoniously and without external compulsion, will form a general national federation. This federation will not represent the geographical units but the functional interests of the workers. It will carry on the statistical and administrative services which are necessary for the smooth operation of the system as a whole. Thus "Syndicalism pictures the future society as a free and flexible federation of autonomous productive and distributive associations based on collective ownership and carrying on their functions in accordance with the needs of the community."

The Syndicalists accept the Marxian dogmas of class war in its most extreme form and adopt it not merely as a philosophy of history but as a plan of campaign. Like the Marxists they, too, advocate the forcible and immediate expropriation of all the capitalists and landowner. But whereas the Communists aim at seizing power both by political and economic weapons, the Syndicalists rely exclusively on direct economic action. They also differ from the Communists in this that they do not want to substitute a new proletarian state in the place of the hated parliamentary state. Their objective is to eradicate centralised government altogether. In contrast to socialists, the Syndicalists look to the welfare and domination of workers alone and not of community in general. The Syndicalists have taken over from Anarchism the concepts of a communi government, of the belief in the moral value of revolt, and the strong antipathy to militarism. "Spontaneity in feeling," wrote Ramsay MacDonald, "freedom in action, equality in co-operation within the camp : a sleepless hostility against the

enemy, carried on sometimes by guerilla tactics, sometimes by grand engagements all along the line of marshalled forces—that is the pageantry of industrial conflict which allures the Syndicalist of the factory and the workshop."

✓ The Syndicalists never cared to formulate their theory lucidly regarding the character of the society without the state. It is not clear as to how the interests of consumers will be looked after and how the peace and harmony between different categories of workers can be maintained without political authority. Criticism of the theory ("The mines for the miners, the railways for the railwaymen, and the dust carts for the dust men")—such is the common criticism of the implications of Syndicalist doctrine. The Syndicalists aver that the Proletariat need not bother too much about the consequences of its own actions or the form of government which will eventually result from them.

✓ The Syndicalist theory became very popular in France, Italy and Spain in the early years of the twentieth century. But the changes in social life in the post-war era, the growth of tendency towards reformism in France and the ruthless suppression of the Syndicalists in Italy, Germany and Spain has brought about a decline in the Syndicalist movement. Causes of decline in Syndicalism In every country to-day there is a growing tendency towards nationalism, increased state action and emphasis on immediate economic security. All the tendencies militate against the principal tenets of Syndicalism. It is being crushed at present between the upper and nether millstones of Fascism and Communism.

V. Guild Socialism

Guild Socialism stands for workers' control and self-government in industry. It is opposed to Collectivism in as much as it does not want that the industries should be conducted, when they have been socialised, under a bureaucratic system based on appointment from above. Aim of Guild Socialism It is equally opposed to Syndicalism because it does not dispense with the state and because it puts in the forefront of its programme the idea of the service of the consumer. Guild Socialists want to abolish the passive capitalists class by denying all rights to rent and interest.

The foundation of the Guild Socialist Movement was laid in 1914 when Mr. S. G. Hobson and Mr. A. R. Orage formulated the theory in their work, entitled "National Guilds." According to them each industry was to be re-organised as a self-governing public service corporation established under a charter from the State. Different schools of Guild Socialism The State would keep out of the industrial field save as a final co-ordinating

and chartering authority. The workers in each industry were to choose their leaders and were to be collectively responsible for the successful operation of the enterprises in which they were engaged. The state would have certain control over distribution and a certain share in management. According to another school of Guild Socialists the state would simply look to the interests of the consumers and for this purpose would negotiate with the Guild Congress as an equal. The Guild Congress would be a federation of different Guilds. It would take over the co-ordination of the various industries and services and thus complete the structure of industrial self-government. Each profession, and craft of industry is to be entirely autonomous. The members of each profession and craft are to be organised in the gigantic producers' guild. All the producers' guilds are to be associated in the National Guild Congress.

**Guardian-
ship of the
interests of
consumers**

The Guild Socialist plans have exercised a powerful influence on the thought of the Trade Union and Socialist movement in Great Britain. These plans were not accepted as a whole indeed ; but many elements derived from Guild Socialism passed over into the approved plans of Trade Unions. Thus the Coal Miners' Federation proposed that the coal industry should be nationalized and handed over to a governing body of which half the members were to be appointed by the Miners' Federation, and the other half by the state to represent only the technical and administrative sides of the industry itself. In 1920 the building operatives of Manchester and London took the lead in forming Guild Committees to undertake contracts with the local authorities for the building of working-class houses. The local Guild Committees were elected by the building trade unions in each small area. Over them were Regional Councils, elected partly by the craft organizations of architects, engineers, clerks, etc. and partly by the local Guild Committees. The Regional Councils were federated into the National Building Guild. The National Building Guild was responsible for finance, insurance and supply of materials ; the Regional Councils made contracts and the local committees supplied labour on building contracts undertaken in their respective areas. Foremen were also appointed by the local committees ; they were not elected by the particular workmen to whom they gave orders. Though the organisation was a democratic one, yet when the trade depression came the scheme failed miserably, mainly because of serious faults of internal administration. The Guild Socialists may not have found precisely the right forms for the exercise of control, but in one form or another a Socialist Society will have to satisfy the demand for self-government in industry.

**Experiment
of Guild
idea in the
Building
trade**

The Guild Socialists tend to belittle the sphere of the state by restricting its intervention in the economic sphere, yet it is the state which has to see that nobody takes rent or interest. Prof. Hearnshaw opines that the Guilds having monopoly in production will cease to improve methods of production and consequently production will fall off and prices will rise. Autonomy in each industry will also promote strifes. They also advocate the representation of functional groups such as those of manufacturers, steel-workers, artists, teachers, Catholics, etc. But by such a representation the general interests of the people and their common welfare may suffer. In the scheme of territorial representation, as it prevails at present, the 'pluses and minuses' of particularist and opposing aims cancel out one another. "The extreme insistence of the Guild Socialists," observes MacIver, "on functional representation becomes an attack upon the state itself."

Defects of
Guild
Socialism

Both the Guild Socialists and the Fascists preach the doctrine of functional organisation. But there is fundamental difference between the two. The Guild Socialist scheme is based on democratic equality among the members of the various services; whereas the Fascists give equal representation to the large number of employees with that of a *small number* of employers in the co-ordinating Corporation. The Fascists retain the distinction between the workers and employers, while the Guild doctrine proposes to treat the entire personnel of industry as a corporate group possessing collective rights of self-government. Moreover, the Fascists treat the functional bodies not as independent institutions but as subject to the over-riding power of the State. The supreme power over industry does not rest with the functional bodies, but with the Fascist Grand Council. In the Fascist order the functional bodies are subordinate in every respect to the Totalitarian State, while the Guild Socialists throw over the notion of the sovereign State altogether.

Difference
between
Guild
Socialism
and Fascism

✓ VI. Marxist Criticism of Capitalism

Capitalism has grown out of Individualism. It is the economic expression of the traditional democratic form of Government. In the opinion of Karl Marx the capitalist system of productive organisation is based essentially on the incentive of private profit or surplus value. Capitalism was indeed a necessary stage in the industrial development, because it was only under the control of the autocratic individual *entrepreneur* that the new technical forces could find free play. It needed a strong directive energy to concentrate the workers in factories, and to accumulate capital at the expense of

Capitalism a
necessary
historical
stage

the immediate standard of living. Co-operation of labour and the use of costly machines produced higher productivity. The capitalists exacted long hours of work from the labourers and paid small wages. The workers gradually organised themselves and protested against the attempt to transform them into beasts of toil. The capitalists were compelled by the state to reduce the hours of labour. They, therefore, concentrated upon a more intense productive system by increased use of machinery and other labour-saving devices with a view to reduce the cost of production. This step gives rise to the permanent reservoir of unemployed which characterises the industrial system. The greater use of machinery leading to standardization and scientific

Concentration of control in the hands of the few

management makes it impossible for the small capitalists to compete with large-scale business. The small employer has not indeed disappeared, but he has become increasingly an agent, sub-contractor, or hanger-on of large-scale business. The growth of joint-stock organisation has increased immensely the number of small proprietors of capitalist business, but the shareholders have very little control over the business. The control of capital and consequently of business is concentrated in the hands of a few persons. There is an increasing tendency to monopolistic combination in all industries which require a large outlay upon fixed capital. Capitalism damages the instruments of production by its wasteful use of natural resources. It adulterates the commodities it produces. According to Marx the effect of such a system on the working class is disastrous. Their personality is injured by the authoritarian control it exercises over them. Their morality is lowered because they are forced to produce adulterated goods and thereby cheat the public. Marx has drawn up a vivid, although some-what fanciful picture of the consequences of capitalism in the following words: "All methods for raising

Effects on Labour

the social productiveness of labour are effected at the cost of the individual labourer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of dominating and exploiting the producer (labourer). They mutilate him into a fragment of a man; they degrade him to the level of an appendage to a machine. Every remnant of charm in his work is destroyed, and transmuted into a loathsome toil; he is separated from the intellectual possibilities of the labour process in the same degree that science, as an independent agency, becomes a part of it. They distort the conditions under which he works, and subject him, as he labours, to a despotism made the more hateful by its meanness. They transform his life-time into working-time, and his wife and child are dragged beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of Capital. But all methods for the production of the surplus value are, at the same time,

methods of accumulation ; and every extension of accumulation becomes again a means for the development of those methods. It follows, therefore, that as Capital accumulates, the lot of the labourer, whether his wage be high or low, must grow proportionately worse. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agonised toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole." We have quoted this long passage to show the reason why Marxism makes such a strong appeal to the western workers.

Marx believed that Capitalism is built upon inherent contradictions and contains within itself the seeds of inevitable decay. As the labour-saving devices are used in an ever-increasing degree, the labour-power required declines gradually. The expensive plans can be operated at a profit, over and above the interest-charges involved in their construction, only if they are able to work full time, and to find buyers constantly for their full output. Buyers cannot be found at home for the increased products because of the decreased purchasing-power of the masses resultant upon the existence of a large number of unemployed persons. The result of this is over-production and under-consumption. This is the root cause of the ever-recurrent crises, which throw thousands of workers out of employment and give rise to strikes and lock-outs. "Capital is then wasted," points out Laski, "production is restricted by monopoly and combination, the productive capacity of society ceases to be used for the common advantage."

Inherent
contradictions in
Capitalism

Lenin in his "Imperialism" has tried to prove that Capitalism leads to Imperialism, and Imperialism to international war, in which Capitalism itself is destroyed on account of its incompatibility with social good. The capitalists seek wider and wider market in order to buy raw materials and sell finished goods. The less developed countries gradually find that they cannot offer more raw materials until their own productive resources have been more fully developed. The capitalists of developed countries then lend capital and credit to the backward countries. The burden of debts of the latter grow so heavy that further loans cannot be granted to them by the former. Then again as more and more countries pass under industrialism, there arises intense rivalry among them in selling goods and lending capital to the less developed areas. They fight for openings and concessions among themselves. Meanwhile the labourers combine among themselves to resist their masters. They come to realise that their labour-power cannot earn its just reward unless the means of production are owned in common. Marx observes that at this stage comes "the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised, by the very mecha-

Capitalism
breeds war

Revolt of
workers

nism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter on the mode of production which has arisen and flourished with and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The death knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." Such a state of things prepares the stage for the establishment of the Communist society.

VII. Communism

Communism is the highest form of socialism. Socialism implies (a) the public or collective ownership of the means of production, other than human beings, (b) rejection of a system in which a person or a group hire other men and sell their output for profit to a third party and (c) the carrying on of production according to a national economic plan for the common good, and not for private profit, complete socialisation of economic life would make a society communistic. Mere collectivisation of the means of production would make a community socialistic but not necessarily communistic; communistic economy would be similar to family or clan economy on an immensely larger scale. Viewing socialism as the first stage of communism. Karl Marx, in his "Critique of the Gotha Programme", writes: "In a higher phase of communist society, after the tyrannical subordination of individuals according to the distribution of labour and thereby also the distinction between manual and intellectual work, have disappeared, after labour has become not merely a means to live but is in itself the first necessity of living, after the powers of production have also increased and all the springs of co-operative wealth are gushing more freely together with the all-round development of the individual, then and then only can the narrow bourgeois horizon of rights be left far behind and society will inscribe on its banner: (From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need.'")

A communistic society would attain the purposes of economic life without the emergence of exchange value. Communism implies a complete rejection of mechanism of price and exchange. According to Lenin, the communist society will come, "when people have become accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, and their labour is so productive that they will voluntarily work according to their abilities....." There will then be no need for any exact calculation by society of the quantity of products to be distributed to each of its members, each will take freely

Socialism
as the first
stage of
communism

The ideal
of each
according
to his need

'according to his needs'. It is necessary to point out here that the U. S. S. R. has not been able to attain such an ideal. With the best of co-operative efforts and planned production, it takes a long period of uninterrupted peace to attain to that state of abundance, in which all the necessities of health, efficiency and culture can be provided for all. Stalin himself admits that communism has not been established in the U. S. S. R. but "we are going ahead towards communism" (Report to the 18th Party Congress of the Soviet Union).)

In the U. S. S. R. land and capital, the chief means of production have been nationalised and this has been accompanied by the liquidation of all classes of capitalists, whether financiers or traders, manufacturers or ship-owners, speculators in land-values or investors on the stock-exchange. But nationalization has not meant, in the words of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "compulsion to take service under the government as the only employer. It has not prevented millions of individuals from working independently or in voluntary partnerships and selling the products of their labour in the open market for their own or their family's subsistence. It has not meant the abolition of all personal property or any compulsion to have all things in common. It has not prevented inequality of income or possession, nor even the payment of interest on Government loans and on deposits in the Postal Savings Bank." In 1943 the Soviet Government made appeals to the people to give donations to the various defence and Red Army funds. Sometimes these donations have amounted to several hundred thousand roubles ; and a recent donation by a Kirghiz farmer amounted to more than one million roubles. Such donors must have derived such large savings only from private trade. Ever since 1934 some sort of private farming and some private trade in agricultural products have existed in Russia within the framework of the collective agricultural system. There have been inequalities of income in the U. S. S. R., the income varying from 10 roubles per month for ordinary worker to 10,000 roubles for some specialists, professors, artists and writers. It is hoped that the development of social services and social education will reduce the relative importance of these differences.

The communists believe that the State arose as an instrument of class oppression and that when by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, classes disappear, the state will disappear also, since its *raison d'être* will have gone. Communist theory of the State) Engels explains the process in the following words :

"The first act of the state in which it really acts as the representative of the whole society, namely, the control of the means of production on behalf of society, is also its last independent act

as a state. The interference of the authority of the state with social relations will then become superfluous in one field after another, and will finally cease of itself. The authority of the government over persons will be replaced by the administration of thing, and the direction of the process of production. The state will not be abolished; it will wither away. The process of withering away of the State is more clearly explained by Lenin thus: "When all or be it even only the greater part of society, have learned how to govern the State, have taken this business into their own hands, have established a control over the insignificant minority of capitalists, over the gentry with capitalist leavings, and workers thoroughly demoralised by capitalism—from this moment the need for any government begins to vanish..... For when all have learned to manage, and really do manage, socialised production, when all really do keep control and account of the idlers, gentlefolk, swindlers, and such-like 'guardians of capitalist traditions', the escape from such general registration and control will inevitably become so increasingly difficult, so much the exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment... that very soon the necessity of observing the simple, fundamental rules of any kind of social life will become a habit. The door will then be open wide for the transition from the first phase of communist society, to its second higher phase, and along with it, to the complete withering away of the State." The Soviet society is still in the first phase of communism and the state instead of showing any symptom of being withered away, is being immensely strengthened day by day.

VIII. Fascism

The very derivation of the term Fascism reveals partially the true significance of Fascism. 'Il Fascismo' derives its name from the fasces, the bundle of twigs fastened around an axe, the symbol of authority which the old Roman lictors carried when they accompanied the consuls. The Fasces gave them the right to inflict corporal and if necessary, capital punishment. The Fascists came to power by force, maintained themselves in power by force, and dreamt of re-establishing the old empire of Rome by force. According to Mussolini, Fascism is "government for the people, over the heads of the people, and if necessary, against the people." Such a system, if Fascism can claim to be a system at all, is the outcome of peculiar historical condition of Italy, and is not at all an exportable commodity.

In 1815, Italy, in the words of Metternich was a mere geographical expression. For more than a thousand years before

that date she had been divided into numerous petty states, each fighting against the other. She was unified for the first time after the fall of the Roman Empire, under the iron rule of Napoleon I. In 1815 she was parcelled out again among ten different states, nine of which were ruled by foreigners. The inspired preaching of Mazzini, unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice of Garibaldi, ripe statesmanship of Cavour, the rare spirit of self-abnegation manifested by King Victor Emmanuel II and the benevolent friendship of England brought into existence the Nation-state of Italy. The Nation-state of Italy, however, failed, during the first fifty years of its existence, to satisfy the lust for enjoyment and the frantic craving after power, which are so very natural to the mind of the Italian people. Italy lagged behind other great Powers in power and prestige. She had no colony, while England and France, and even weaker states like Holland, and Spain had far-flung empires abroad

Why did it
originate in
Italy?

Italy tried to reach the front line of world power through foreign alliances. Two psychological forces moulded her foreign policy—the fear of isolation and the craving to be great. Having realised her national unity, she tried to enlist the friendship of France, Germany, and Austria Hungary, but each treated her with great arrogance, contempt, and suspicion. Up to the year 1881 she failed to form an alliance with any big continental power. When France struck a blow at her ambitions in the Mediterranean by establishing a Protectorate over Tunis, in rage and mortification, she joined the Austro-German alliance as a junior partner in 1882. The Triple Alliance, thus formed, was renewed in 1891 and again in 1902. But she could not command the respect of other nations even after this alliance.

No status in
international
politics

In 1870 Northern Italy was nearly twice as rich as Southern Italy. Cavour himself admitted that to harmonise the North, and the South was a greater difficulty than the struggle with Austria or the Church. Successful working of the Parliamentary system requires the organisation of political parties on a nation-wide scale. But Italy had no such party system. There was nearly a dozen parties or groups, divided from one another on the interest of particular persons or localities. As no single party could command a clear majority, the King had a large hand in selecting the Prime Minister. Hence, whenever, anything went wrong with the country, the monarch was as much blamed and hated as the ministry. For the lack of a stable majority ministries were formed and dissolved in quick succession. In the 46 years from 1876 to 1922, there were 82 ministries, an average of about 18 months' life for

Failure of
democracy
in Italy

each. Such a short period of administration cannot give time to a batch of ministers to convert policy into law and transform law into administration. Moreover, the people took very little interest in the political affairs of the country. Italy has been ruled for centuries by despots and it is not an easy thing for the people to take an intelligent interest in the government, especially, when they have been trained to violent antagonism to the foreign government to which they had been subjected to. In 1870 literacy and property qualifications limited the franchise to only 21% of the people and it rose to 16 per cent in 1914. But even this rigidly restricted electorate did not care to go to the polls and cast their votes. "The highest votes ever recorded until 1904 was 60 per cent of those entitled to vote; the usual vote was 3 to 4 per cent less than this". This means that nearly half the voters were indifferent in exercising their political rights. When we consider the appalling illiteracy of the Italian masses, we do not see any cause of wonder in this exhibition of political apathy by them. In 1871, 69 per cent of all over the age of six could not read or write. In 1901 the percentage of the illiterate was still 21. In the south it was well over 80 percent in 1871 and it stood at 40 per cent even after 8 years of the (Fascist Government with illiterate and absent voters, with professional politicians greedy of spoils of office and bound by no ties of political principles and with the country divided by provincial jealousies, Parliamentarism became a mockery in Italy). Over and above this there was serious trouble between labour and capital in the industries of Italy. Many of the factory labourers joined the Socialist party, which was founded in 1892. During the ten years of its existence it had to face a terrible campaign of repression. In 1900, 33 Socialists were elected to Parliament. Bakunin once said, "There is not one Italian nation but five". The Church, the Upper Bourgeoisie, the Middle Class, the Working class, the Peasantry. In the early years of the 20th Century, the prevalence of strikes, riots, disturbed elections and violent quarrels amongst the political groups made one feel that there was a smouldering revolution in Italy.

Italy came out of this war as a defeated and frustrated nation. She had to sacrifice 7 lacs of soldiers, in the war and to face the staggering budget of deficit of 12000 million lire, and as such felt herself entitled not only to all the territories promised to her but also Fiume. But she was not allowed to acquire Fiume and got only Trentino to the Brenner, the Dalmatian port Zara and the island of Dugi Otok. Italians felt extremely humiliated and their wrath against their politicians knew no bound. Secret societies and terrorist gangs sprang up everywhere in the country. Signs of social and economic disorganisation were visible in every sphere.

'fascism
rose out of
sense of
frustration

of life. Capitalists were making huge profits, government had to take recourse to monetary inflation to meet the extraordinary costs of war, the cost of living was increasing by leaps and bounds and so the labourers went on strike for securing higher wages. In 1920 the strike movement spread like fire. It started in the Carrara quarries, spread to railway workers and printers and culminating in the month of September in the seizure by workers of 600 factories, involving half-a-million employees. Imitating the Russians the Italian workers, like their German labourers, set up soviets; but they lacked in experience and organization, they had no well-laid programme before them, nor had they any leader like Lenin, who, could infuse courage in their heart. They had to surrender the factories to the owners after 75 days of negotiations. Power slipped away from their hands and they could never get it back. They were split up into factions, criticising one another violently. In January 1921 the Communists split away from the Socialist party. The Government was incompetent to maintain law and order. At this time Italo Balbo then a young student of twenty wrote in his diary, "The present decrepit statesmen who communicate their paralysis to Parliament and all the organs of the State."

Such was the background of the rise of Fascism in Italy. The Fascist party in Italy was organised by Mussolini, born in 1883 of a peasant family, at a meeting held on the 23rd March, 1919, and attended by some 55 people according to Mussolini himself. Mussolini was a firebrand Socialist in his young days, was imprisoned eleven times, was expelled from the party for advocating war against Austria and was editor of newspapers. He became one of the recognised leaders of the labour movement as early as 1912. Upto the early months of 1919 he was a revolutionary Socialist, but suddenly he changed his political creed and instead of upholding the claims of labour became the suppressor of the labour movement. Mussolini came out as the champion of the capitalists, landlords, traders and professional classes, all who felt that their hard won and carefully protected privileges were threatened by the Socialist movement, which the weak government was unable to suppress. They supplied funds to the Fascist party and middle class rowdies and backward workers were enlisted in the mercenary black-shirted army of Mussolini. The army was dissatisfied and it supported the Fascists in capturing power. The number of Fascists in May 1920 was about 30,00 and in October 1922, the number grew to 200,000. The success of the Fascist movement was due to the derisive rejection of any ethical principles which would impede its success, to murderous ruthlessness which appealed to many Italians, and to the irreconcilable diffusions in Parliament. To suppress the Bolsheviks,

Rise of the
Fascist
Party }

Mussolini asked the government to hand over to the Fascists within 48 hours, six seats in the Cabinet and the control of the Air force. As these demands were refused, Mussolini decided on a coup d'etat on the 28th October, 1922. Before the appointed day squadron upon squadron of Fascist moved into garrison in towns near the capital in a menacing attitude. Mussolini, however, did not think it prudent to risk his life and remained quietly at Milan. His lieutenants called on King and demanded the dismissal of the Facta Ministry and the formation of a new ministry under Mussolini. The King saved the situation by bowing down to the inevitable. When the storm was over and there was no risk of life Mussolini came to Rome in a "Sleeping Car" on 30th October.

It is difficult to give a clear cut idea of the doctrines of Fascism, because the Fascist policy is to be grandly vague. Mussolini himself said "we permit ourselves the luxury of being aristocrats and democrats, conservatives and progressives, reactionaries and revolutionaries, legalitarians and illegalitarians according to circumstances of time, place and environment—in a world of the History in which we are constrained to live and to act." Gentile the Italian writer on Fascism says that Fascism, "never wished to bind itself, engaging the future. It has often announcement which was politically opportune, but to the execution of which it, nevertheless, did not believe itself to be obliged. The true resolutions, on the Duce, are always those which are both formulated and carried out." In other words, Fascism has no principle, it is a creed of expediency. It has expressed itself in some vague negative formulae as follows: "Fascism is against all individualistic abstractions founded on a materialistic basis of the type of the eighteenth century and is opposed to all the Utopias and Jacobin innovations." It does not believe in the possibility of "happiness" on earth as expressed in the Economics literature of the seventeenth century and therefore rejects all the technological conceptions according to which at a certain period of history there will be a final reconciliation of mankind." Such a doctrine is very useful for keeping the masses toiling and suffering patiently and obeying the political authority. Mussolini summarised the vow which a Fascist is required to take ("I believe in the State, apart from which I can never attain full manhood. I believe the sacred destiny of Italy to be the greatest spiritual influence in the world. I will obey the Duce, for apart from obedience there is no health.")

The ideology of Fascism is dominated by the dogmas of sovereign state and irresistible government. All articularist interest of the individual, the church, culture, profession, etc.

must be suppressed by an omnipotent, hierarchical organisation of the nation. A citizen's political obligations are much more important than his rights. The omnipotent state } The Fascist totalitarian State is thus defined, "the Fascist state, the highest and most potent form of the personality is force, but spiritual. This spiritual force includes all the forms of the moral and intellectual life of man. It cannot, therefore, be limited to simple functions of order and supervision as Liberalism proposed. It is not a simple mechanism which limits the sphere of presumed individual liberties. It is an interior form and norm, and disciplines the whole person : and penetrates the will no less than the intelligence. "Fascism issued from the war," writes Morio Carli, "and in war it must find its outlet ; our country cannot advance except through a great war." Attitude towards war } According to Mussolini, "war alone brings upon upto its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to meet it." Such doctrines were formulated in Italy for twenty years before the outbreak of the present war ; and it is not difficult to find out the nation on whom the war-guilt is to be fixed."

The Fascists justify the omnipotence of the state by emphasising the need of fostering the greatest collective good, which is regulated by the ability of the individuals to develop a spirit of social solidarity. Such a state alone can force the egotistic instincts to be submerged in the social instincts. State and the individual } The citizen is regarded as a mere productive unit who must be completely subordinate to the State. It is hardly necessary to point out that this contradicts the fundamental principle of democracy, that the citizen has certain private rights and interests which it is the duty of the State to protect, and for which the state exists. The State became to the Fascists a mystic entity, something even more than Hegel's pression of the coercive power of a ruling class. It exists, not for the individual, but the individual for it.

Nazism is a form of Fascism. But there are some points of difference in the actual practice of the doctrine between Germany and Italy. While the Nazis uphold the principle of personal leadership and authority in every sphere of public and economic life, the Fascists were more concerned to uphold, at any rate in theory, the principle of 'corporate control'. Authority was delegated to 'corporations', but Mussolini possessed over-riding authority over every person and institution in the state. But whereas in Germany we find under Hitler a host of lesser Fuhrers, in Mussolini's Italy there were corporate institutions, each with its own appointed sphere of collective competence.

Between 1922 and 1926 Mussolini got rid of his old associates one by one. Any one who dared to criticise the Leader, and one who showed the least sign of independence of character, or resented the anti-republican tendencies of Mussolini was promptly dismissed from office, expelled from the Fascist party, and sent to prison, exile, or the gallows. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the March on Rome, a serious attempt was made on his life at Bolana. He made this the excuse for pushing through the cabinet the new Fascist Penal Code. He made it a crime to be member of any political party except the Fascist Party. All other political parties were suppressed. If any body tries to restore a suppressed political party or join an international political association, he is sentenced to three years' imprisonment and made to pay a heavy fine. All non-Fascist newspapers were suppressed or bought up for the government and drastically reorganized on Fascist lines. Gangs of Blackshirts, armed and wild, destroyed and burnt down the houses and offices of those who were known to be anti-Fascists from escaping from the country. Civil Service was closed to all but the members of the Fascist party. The special Tribunal for the defence of the State was set up to try persons accused of political crimes. A political Investigation Service at the command of each legion or Division of the Blackshirt Militia was instituted. This measure placed the Political Criminals at the mercy of the Fascist party.

The nature of Fascist economy may be judged from the Charter of Labour promulgated in 1927. Articles 7 and 9 of the Charter declare, "The Corporative State considers private initiative in the field of production as well as the most efficacious and most useful instrument in the interest of the Nation. Since the private organisation of production is a function of National concern, the organiser of the enterprise is responsible to the State for direction of production. The reciprocity of rights and duties derives from the collaboration of the productive forces. The employed, whether technician, salaried or manual worker, is an active collaborator in the economic enterprise, the direction of which belongs to the employer and who bears the responsibility thereof." But concerns like telephones and telegraphs which are usually managed by the Government in democratic countries have been transferred to private enterprise. The big capitalists have influence with the Government and they utilise the influence for keeping their vested interests safe. A law of 1931 restricts the erection of new plant or the extension of already existing plant without the permission of the Ministry of Corporations. The bigger industrialists use this law for keeping their monopolistic position safe. The big landlords are no less favoured by the Fascist Govern-

ment. The estates duties and Inheritance taxes have been reduced. Nearly 40% of the agricultural land belong to half a per cent of the agrarian population. No less than one third of the gross produce of agriculture is appropriated by landlords as rent.

While the big industrialists and landlords have thus been favoured, labour has been treated shabily by the government. After his advent to power Mussolini let loose his Fascist goondas against the labour organisations. Trade Union Offices were raided and devastated and nearly twenty thousand leading members of the labour movement were either killed or imprisoned or forced to go to exile. Strikes were declared illegal by the Labour Charter. The tax system has been so devised as to impose a heavier burden on the toiling masses than on the pampered classes. The burden of direct taxes fall on the richer classes and in 1931-32 the direct taxes amounted to 28.41 per cent of the state revenue. The tax on transfer of wealth that is registration and stamp duties on all kinds of documents was 21.61 per cent, half of which must have been contributed by the poorer classes. The indirect taxes, on the other hand, was 29.45 per cent and the State monopolies on tobacco, sugar and matches accounted for 17.18 per cent of the total revenue of the Italian State. In short, 60 per cent of the Italian taxes was indirect and 40 per cent direct, which is the very reverse of the English system. The inflation of currency, and severe restriction on imports of articles of necessity contributed to the rise of the prices of foodstuffs and other articles of consumption. (But the real wages of the Italian labourers was before 1939 at least 10 per cent lower than what it was before the advent of Fascism.)

Position of
Labour }

It was on account of such tyrannical and iniquitous rule, that there was almost a spontaneous rise of the people of Italy against Fascism soon after the imprisonment of Mussolini on July 25, 1943. The Fascist party was dissolved and the prominent Fascist leaders were imprisoned, or forced to flee away from the country.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

Nature of the English Constitution

The Constitution of a state consists of those fundamental rules and principles which determine the distribution and regulate the exercise of governmental power as well as the relation of the governing authorities with the people. The Constitution may be made in a special constitution-framing body or may grow by the process of evolution.

Most of the Constitutions of the modern states have been made deliberately at a particular time, while the English Constitution has grown from generation to generation and almost from year to year. There is an unbroken continuity of development in the English Constitution for more than a thousand years. There has been no sudden break in it. Institutions of one age have been modelled on those of the preceding one. A French writer has remarked that the English have wisely "left the different parts of their Constitution where the waves of history have deposited them," without ever attempting to bring them together, to classify or complete them or to make of it a consistent or coherent whole."

Looking at the continuity of development of the English Constitution one can easily understand that such a Constitution would be largely an unwritten one. The Constitution which is made in a constitutional Convention is written in one or more documents. The American and the French Constitution are pointed out as examples of written constitution. The English people have no such written document.

The absence of such a comprehensive document led Thomas Paine to declare that "no such thing as a Constitution exists or ever did exist." Similarly Tocqueville observed that England has no Constitution." But a Constitution need not necessarily be written in one or a few documents. The essence of a Constitution lies not in a formal document but in the observance of fundamental rules relating to the government of the country. Such rules, according to Bryce, do exist in England in the form of a mass of precedents carried in men's minds or recorded in writing, of dicta of lawyers or statesmen, of customs, usages, understandings, and beliefs bearing upon the methods of government, together with a certain number of statutes,..... nearly all of them presupposing and mixed up with precedents and customs, and all of them covered with a parasitic web of legal decisions and political habits, apart from which

the statutes would be almost unworkable, or at any rate quite different in their working from what they really are.")

✓ Though the English Constitution is an unwritten one, yet the proportion of written laws of the Constitution is steadily increasing. Many parts of the Constitution are to be found in Charters and Statutes. The Great Charter of 1215, the Petition of Right of 1628, the Bill of Rights of 1689, and the Act of Settlement of 1701 are important documents which have curtailed the power of the King. Personal liberty of the subject is guaranteed by the Habeas Corpus Act; the qualification of voters is decided by the Parliamentary Acts of 1918 and 1928; and the Local Government in England is carried on according to the Statutes of 1835, 1888 and 1894. These and other Statutes, however, form only a small part of the English Constitution. The exact political function of the King, the relation between the House of Commons and the Cabinet, the position and function of the Cabinet, and the relation between the ministers and the Civil Service are not to be found in any Statute.

Written
elements
in the
Constitu-
tion ✓

✓ This brings us to the third characteristic of the Constitution, which is called its unreality. The actual working of the Constitution does not correspond to the wording of the legal statutes or to the legal theory. (A student studying diligently the statutes and regulations cannot get a correct view of the English Constitution. In the Acts of Parliament there is no reference to the Cabinet, to the unique position of the Prime Minister, to the party organisation or to the influence of the electorate on Parliament. The constitutional structure of England, bearing the imprint of many hands, has been compared by Sir William Anson with a rambling structure, to which successive owners have added wings and gables, porches and pillars without any system or symmetry. It abounds in anomalies, which the English people love to retain. It is the gap between constitutional theory and governmental practice which has been called the unique feature of the British Constitution.)

Its unique
feature is
its unreality

✓ The English Constitution is not rigid but unfixed and flexible. Changes can be introduced in it by the ordinary process of legislation. Sometimes the change is effected simply by the modification of usage. There is no distinction between constitutional law and ordinary law. The Judiciary cannot call into question the right of Parliament to make any law it likes. The English Constitution is flexible not only because it can be changed by the ordinary procedure of law-making, but also because it is broad enough to permit considerable changes in governmental methods without any alteration in the words.

Flexibility

Elements of the English Constitution

Charters and constitutional landmarks The English Constitution cannot be found in any single document or series of documents. It has to be diligently searched in certain historic documents, statutes, judicial decisions, common law and usages or conventions. The historical documents embody certain solemn agreements or engagements, entered into at times of political crisis. Those documents define and regulate the power of the Crown, guarantee the rights of citizens, and determine the relation between the Executive and the Judiciary. Such documents are the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Parliament Act of 1911, and the Statute of Westminster 1931.

statutes In point of procedure there is very little difference between some of these historic documents and the statutes, but the importance of the former is so great that they are treated as a separate category. Some of the statutes also determine the constitution of the country. Thus the Secret Ballot Act of 1872 prescribing the use of secret ballot in voting, the Representation of the People Act of 1918 and the Equal Franchise Act of 1928 regulating the suffrage are mere statutes of British Parliament. New Governmental machinery is also created by statutes. As for example, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the Local Government Acts of 1888, 1894 and 1929 determine the composition and functions of local bodies; the Judicature Acts of 1873-76 fix up the structure of the Judiciary in England.

judicial decisions The third element of the English Constitution is to be found in the judicial decisions which explain the scope and limitations of the various provisions of statutes. Some of the most valuable constitutional rights are derived from judicial decisions. Thus the independence of juries has been established by the decision of judges in *Bushell's Case* (1670) and the immunity of judges in *Howell's Case* (1678).

Common law The Common Law of England forms a part of the English Constitution. The prerogative of the Crown, the right of trial by jury in criminal cases, the right of freedom of speech and of assembly, the right to redress of grievances against government officers, rest on Common Law. The Common Law is a body of Judge-made rules, which, for most part, has never been ordained by a King or enacted by Parliament.

Lastly, the political usages or conventions play a very prominent part in the workings of the British Constitution. The Charters, Statutes, Judicial decisions and many essential parts

of the Common Law have been written down, though not all in formal documents, but the conventions are usually reduced to formal writings. The importance of conventions can be judged from the fact that even competent observers like Bryce and Baldwin admit that the description of the British Constitution at any particular time must necessarily be defective. According to Bryce the British Constitution "works by a body of understandings which no writer can formulate." Baldwin has said: "The historian can tell you probably perfectly clearly what the constitutional practice was at any given period in the past, but it would be very difficult for a living writer to tell you at any given period in his lifetime what the Constitution of the country is in all respects and for this reason, that almost at any given moment.....there may be one practice called 'constitutional' which is falling into desuetude and there may be another practice which is creeping into use but is not yet constitutional."

VIII. Conventions of the Constitution ✓

Conventions are those understandings, habits, usages and practices, which though forming parts of the constitution are not law and as such cannot be enforced by a court. Much of the

majority in the House of Commons, that a ministry which has lost the confidence of the House of Commons must either resign or appeal to the electorate in a general election, owe their existence to conventions. The organisation and function of the Cabinet depend entirely on convention. It is impossible to make a complete list of conventions of the constitution, because they are constantly changing by a natural process of growth and decay.

Precedents become conventions when they are generally recognised as creating a rule. Mere practice or mere precedents are not enough for giving rise to conventions. General recognition of a practice may be secured either by reason of a long practice or by means of a definite and formal agreement before the practice begins.

How do
Conventions
arise?

All conventions are not of equal importance and all are not equally obeyed. There was a convention that the King's speech to Parliament should first of all be approved in Council and it was obeyed for about a century. But it was given up in 1921. The important conventions

Discretion on the
sanction
behind
Conventions

are usually obeyed. Dicey is of opinion that they are obeyed because a violation of these conventions 'will almost immediately bring the offender into conflict with the Courts and the law of the land.' He tries to substantiate his history by illustrating two cases. (The rule that the Parliament must assemble at least once a year is not derived either from Common Law or from any statutory enactment.) But it is still obeyed because if a ministry neglects to summon Parliament every year it would be difficult to carry on the administration without raising taxes unlawfully. Again, the Army Act sanctions the existence of a standing army for one year only. If the Parliament is not called every year, it would be impossible to maintain the standing army without violating the law of the land as expressed in the Bill of Rights. The rule that the Ministry ought to retire on a vote to the effect that they no longer possess the confidence of the House of Commons, is followed because a breach of it would make it impossible for them to collect taxes and carry on the government without coming into conflict with Parliament. Dicey comes to the conclusion that "the force which in the last resort compels obedience to constitutional morality is nothing else than the power of the law itself. The breach of a purely conventional rule, of a maxim utterly unknown and indeed opposed to the theory of the law, ultimately entails upon those who break it direct conflict with the undoubted law of the land."

But the explanation of Dicey is not wholly satisfactory for three reasons. First, Dicey himself admits that the violation of some conventions, as for example, the breach of the rule that a bill must be read a given number of times before it is passed, will not bring the government into conflict with the law of the land; yet a bill is habitually read the same number of times. Secondly, a violation of the convention of resigning on a vote of non-confidence will not bring a ministry immediately into conflict with law. When the financial legislation and the Army and Air-Force Acts have passed in the House of Commons, by the beginning of July, the Ministry may remain in office without breaking the law at least until the following April. Thirdly, as Lowell suggests, "England is not obliged to continue for ever holding annual sessions of Parliament because a new Mutiny Act must be passed and new appropriation made every twelve months. Parliament, with its plenitude of power, could as well not pass a permanent army act, grant the existing annual taxes for a term of years, and make all ordinary expenses a standing charge on the Consolidated Fund, out of which much is paid now without annual authorization."

The real sanction behind the conventions is the force of public opinion. Public opinion, again, is based on reason. Usages can be easily disregarded when the reasons for their observance have

Criticism of
Dicey's
theory

clearly disappeared. Conventions are, as it were, the rules of the game, and are obeyed as a code of honour. The legislators and administrators are careful not to violate these conventions, because they have been entrusted with authority on the understanding that they would maintain them.

Public opinion—the real sanction behind Conventions

IV. The form of Government in Great Britain

It is often stated that the form of government in Great Britain is that of 'limited monarchy.' The meaning of the term 'limited monarchy' is that government is carried on by the King, but his powers are restricted by constitutional laws. Though there is a king with strictly limited powers in Great Britain, yet to characterise the government of that country as limited monarchy is not strictly accurate. Mere existence of the king in a constitution does not mean that it is monarchical, if the supreme authority does not in fact rest with the king. The original prerogatives of the King of England have in the course of centuries been overlaid in practice so that they now remain only in a form of words. Thus nominally Great Britain remains a monarchy, and this nominalism is followed in the wording of the very latest statutes. But if these statutes are interpreted literally we get the most absurd notion of the character of English Government. The following conventions of the English Constitution clearly show that it is not monarchical in any sense of the term :—(1) "The king must assent to any bill passed by both Houses of Parliament." (2) "The king can do no wrong, that is to say, no one can plead the orders of the Crown in defence of any wrongful act." (3) "Some persons are legally responsible for every act done by the Crown"; and (4) "There is no power in the Crown to dispense with the obligation to obey a law."

A Crowned Republic

Some writers have called the English Constitution a "Mixed Constitution." They assert that the government of England is a monarchy, an aristocracy and a democracy. How far it is a monarchy we have discussed above. It is called an aristocracy because of the existence of the House of Lords, a hereditary second chamber. But the House of Lords is not co-ordinate in power with the House of Commons. It has no power to amend, modify or reject a money Bill, and it has very little control over the executive. No minister has ever resigned on account of an adverse vote of the House of Lords.

Meaning of Mixed Constitution

The real supremacy belongs to the House of Commons. It is the House of Commons which alone practically controls the executive, which imposes taxes and directs the expenditure of the revenue and which can pass any law it likes, despite the opposition of the House of

The democratic basis of Government

Lords The House of Commons is a democratic body, its members being elected by adult suffrage (The institutions of monarchy and the House of Lords now exist for providing some kind of check to democracy) Hence it is more appropriate, to designate the English Constitution as limited democracy than as limited monarchy. It has been aptly described as a Crowned Republic.

V. The King and the Crown

A fundamental distinction observed in the modern English Constitution is that between the King and the Crown. It has been remarked that 'there are many subtle distinctions in the verbiage of British Government but none more vital, is Gladstone once remarked, than the distinction between the King and the Crown'. The Crown is an abstract idea implying the government. It has been called by Sir Sidney Jay, 'a convenient working hypothesis'. (The King, on the other hand, is a person with certain well defined formal and informal powers.) The distinction between the King and the Crown is well expressed in the aphorism, 'the king is dead, long live the king'. It means that a King may die, but the Crown survives. 'The Crown never dies'. The powers and functions and prerogatives of the Crown are never suspended even for a single moment. They belong to a post, not to a person. The Crown is the fountain of justice, it summons and dissolves Parliament, appoints all civil officers, commands the army and navy, makes treaties, pardons criminals and confers honours. But the King has ceased to be a directing factor in the Government, the prerogatives of the Crown are exercised by ministers who are responsible to Parliament. A courtier of Charles II once scribbled on the door of the royal bed-chamber the following verse:

"Here lives a great and mighty King
Whose promise none relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one."

Charles II replied that it was all very true because his sayings were his own but his acts were the acts of his ministers.

The distinction between the King and the Crown has been effected by a long process of historical development. The Stuart kings were determined to be absolute rulers. But they encountered the equally determined opposition of Parliament which wanted to establish the sovereignty of the Law. The Long Parliament put an end to the autocracy of the king. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 lid away with the Stuart theory of Divine Right of Kings. After

steps by which the real executive power have been transferred to ministers

the Glorious Revolution the legal power of the King remained undiminished but gradually his executive power was handed over to the Ministry responsible to Parliament. The development of the party system, which compelled William III and Anne to select ministers from one particular party, made the ministers definitely responsible to Parliament. George I could not speak English and George II did not take any interest in English Politics. Hence the executive power fell to the hands of ministers. The long ascendancy of Walpole consolidated the principle of Cabinet Government. Thus the powers of the Crown came to be exercised by ministers responsible to Parliament. Had the English King remained as despotic as the French kings like Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI or like Kaiser Wilhelm II or like the Czars of Russia, it would have been overthrown by revolutions. It is by constitutional devices that the King has been divested of much of his power. This explains the remarkable security of the English monarchy in an age when most of the monarchies in the world have been overthrown.

(Since the Glorious Revolution powers of the King have steadily declined. But at the same time powers of the Crown have increased. With the increase of governmental activities, departments after departments have been created. Parliament does not find time to deal with the details of works of these departments. Hence large powers are necessarily allowed to the Crown, which makes laws in the form of "Orders in Council." The legislative enactments by the executive have grown to such a dimension that the Lord Chief Justice of England has called attention to this fact by writing a book, entitled "The New Despotism."

Decline of the power of the King and increase of power of the Crown

A very important maxim of the English Constitution is that 'the king can do no wrong.' This maxim is significant from three points of view. First, it has helped to remove the King from the arena of party politics and has contributed to the perpetuation of the institution of monarchy. The King cannot be held responsible for any act performed in his name. Ultimately, this statement is to be taken quite literally, for if the King was to commit a crime, say if he shoots the Prime Minister, there is no process known to law by which he could be brought to trial. Secondly, it means that no one can plead the orders of the King in defence of any wrongful act. In 1678 Danby was impeached for having written a letter to the English Ambassador in France offering that certain things would be done in return for the payment of a large sum of money. Danby pleaded that he had written the letter by the order of the King, and even produced that royal pardon for the alleged offence. But those were not accepted as valid grounds for doing so. (Parliament definitely laid down that a Minister

The King can do no wrong

cannot plead the command of the King to justify an illegal or unconstitutional act. Thirdly, the maxim implies that some person is legally responsible for every act done by the Crown. The minister affixing the seal to any act is held responsible for it. In England the government officials are responsible personally for any act done in their official capacity. This is an illustration of the Rule of Law which prevails in England.

VI. Position and Functions of the King

President Lowell has described the present position of the Monarch in the following words: "According to the earlier theory of the Constitution the ministers were the counsellors of the King. It was for them to advise and for him to decide. Now the parts are almost reversed. The King is consulted, but the ministers decide."

This position of the King has been brought about, not by taking away from his legal authority or prerogative power, but by a gradual change in practice in the actual work of government. In constitutional theory the sovereign is still (not only the chief, but properly the sole Magistrate of the nation, all others acting by commission from and in due subordination to him.) Moreover, he is the head of the church, the army, navy and air forces and of the law: he is also the fountain of justice, mercy and honour. But in actual practice the King does not exercise any of these functions. Lord Esher informed George V that "if the constitutional doctrine of ministerial responsibility means anything at all, the King would have to sign his own death warrant, if it was presented to him for signature by a minister commanding a majority in Parliament. If there is any tampering with this fundamental principle, the end of the monarchy is in sight."

But it would be wrong to think of the monarch as a mere figurehead. As a matter of fact, he is one of the most hard-working directors of the state and serve some very useful functions. Much however depends upon the personal character of the individual monarch. The King can make an appeal to the country by dissolving Parliament. But in practice he does not dissolve a Parliament without the advice of his ministers. Another formal right of the King is to select the Prime Minister. When there are rival leaders in the party, which has secured the majority in the House of Commons, the King may select any one of the rivals to be Prime Minister. In theory the King can veto any law, passed by both the Houses, but in practice he does not exercise that power.

The informal rights of the King are more important than his formal rights. According to Bagehot the King possesses three informal political rights—"The right to be consulted," "the right to encourage and" "the right to warn." (u) The monarch is entitled to be informed of the plans of ministers before they are put into operation. Lord Palmerston, as the Foreign Secretary, congratulated Louis Napoleon on the success of the *Coup d'etat* of 1851 without previously consulting the Queen. So the Queen forced him to resign.) The Queen also gave encouragement to her ministers at moments of grave crisis. (Thus she encouraged Peel to repeal the Corn Laws in 1846.) (u) She warned and reproached the ministers whenever she found them to be in the wrong. She rebuked Derby for neglecting to protect the prerogatives of the Crown in 1858. In the same year she rebuked Palmerston for underrating the gravity of the Indian Mutiny and forced him to send reinforcements to India.) (u) The monarch takes keen interest in foreign policy. Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort prevented England from undertaking an unprofitable war with America in the famous Trent affair. At present the King does not take any independent action in foreign affairs. (The practice of consulting the King before taking any important step in foreign policy is difficult to follow in a crisis when action has to be taken swiftly.) The King was not consulted before the Cabinet sanctioned the Hoare-Laval proposals for the settlement of the conflict between Italy and Ethiopia, nor in March 1938 when the decision to accept negotiations with Italy under the ultimatum was arrived at. In domestic affairs Queen Victoria exercised a salutary influence. She made amicable settlement of controversies between the two Houses in 1867, 1868 and in 1884 and thus saved England from constitutional deadlocks.

Monarch's right to advise, warn and encourage

Influence of Queen Victoria

George V made notable contribution to the English Constitution, first, by supporting Asquith in the great struggle with the House of Lords in 1910, by agreeing to create enough new peers to overcome the resistance of the old aristocracy, if the Lords persisted in their refusal to accept the "People's Budget" of the Commons. Secondly, he sent for Baldwin instead of Lord Curzon in 1923 to succeed Bonar Law as Prime Minister, because Labour had become the largest Opposition Party, which made it almost impossible for the Prime Minister to be in the Lords. Lord Curzon in his disappointment said of Baldwin "A man of no experience and of the utmost insignificance." This comment is an eloquent testimony of the real power still exercised by the King.

Selection of Prime Minister by the King

In 1924, though the Labour party could form only a minority government, yet George V named Ramsay MacDonald Prime

Minister, thus making possible the first Socialist government

(The King's part in promoting Coalition Government)

in British history. Finally, on his own initiative the King travelled from Balmoral to London on August 22, 1931, in the middle of the financial crisis, and persuaded MacDonald to form a National Government.

The intervention of the monarch is of great value. While ministers come and go, he remains. "As the irremovable adviser

(The King secures continuity in policy)

of successive ministers, sovereign can do much to secure the continuity of foreign policy and to prevent the foreign relations from being at the mercy of sudden impulse."

- 1) The King is the symbol of unity of the vast British Empire, the parts of which are bound together by the sentiment of loyalty to the Crown. Since the passing of the Statute of Westminster (1931) his person has become the chief link between England and the Dominions. But Prof. Laski holds that "the unity of the empire will be maintained so long as it is valuable to its constituent parts to maintain it. While that value persists, the Crown will necessarily have value as the symbolic representation of that unity. The part it plays in the empire will be determined by the interplay of the political and economic forces which now exercise a centripetal influence upon its inter-relations. No amount of turgid rhetoric will conceal the fact that it has not, and cannot have, an imperial policy of its own. What it says and does will be what its ministers in the empire advise it to say and do."

(He is the symbol of unity)

The monarch is the head of the English society and his ceremonial duties are his most conspicuous functions. By his personal character he can exercise a good or bad influence on society. The abdication of King Edward VIII shows that the ministers are responsible even for the marriage of the King. The ministry did not like to see the position of the monarchy and the prestige of the country lowered by spectacle of the sovereign marrying a twice-divorced lady.

BVII. History of the Cabinet System

Its Origin and Development

The Cabinet is an informal but permanent caucus of the Parliamentary chiefs of the party in power. The growth of the Cabinet System has been slow, gradual and disguised at every step with legal fiction.

From the legal point of view the Cabinet is only a committee of the Privy Council, which again is a lineal descendant of the Norman Great Council. Before the accession of Charles I the Kin

used to consult some persons, selected from Privy Council. The word 'Cabinet' is first found in Bacon's Essays, but Clarendon in 1640 makes the first definite allusions to this informal body consulted by the King. The public regarded this body with suspicion and jealousy, as the advisers, being unknown to law, could not be held responsible to Parliament.

A committee of the Privy Council

In the reign of Charles II the Privy Council grew to be an unwieldy body. Clarendon divided the Privy Council into four committees, entrusted with particular departments. But over and above these committees there was a small informal committee which was consulted by the King on questions of general policy. In this informal committee lay the germ of the Cabinet System. The Cabal Ministry was such an informal committee whose sole object was the furthering of the King's interests. Its unpopularity suggested to Sir William Temple the need for a reform of the Privy Council. He proposed to form a new council of thirty members of whom half were to be servants of the Crown and the other half to be public men. But it was too large a body for administrative purposes. So the scheme did not succeed. Charles II again began to consult his favourite ministers. In 1679 he practically suppressed the Privy Council as an executive body. In the reign of Queen Anne the Privy Council used to meet for formal approval of business which had been worked through by a Committee of Council, in which the Queen might be present, while the Cabinet, wherein the Queen sat, took the essential decisions. Under (George I) the Cabinet became dissociated from the Council in form through the constant absence of the king.

The committee supercedes the Privy Council

In the seventeenth century Parliament tried to establish the theory of ministerial responsibility by reviving the practice of impeachment. Buckingham and Wentworth were impeached in the reign of Charles I. The impeachment of Danby in the reign of Charles II definitely established the theory of ministerial responsibility. But the principle of collective responsibility of ministers was not evolved in the seventeenth century. The evolution of the Party System in the reigns of the last two Stuarts helped the growth of the Cabinet System. But the Cabinet was not composed of members of a particular party holding majority in the House of Commons before 1688.

Impeachment

William III at first selected his ministers indifferently from both the parties. But this method destroyed the unity of the Council. So in 1695 Sunderland persuaded the King to select ministers from the Whigs who held the majority in the Commons. But as yet there was no political chief among the ministers and King presided over the Cabinet meetings.

Influence of the Party System

In 1701 a deliberate attempt was made by Section 3 of the Act of Settlement to arrest the development of the Cabinet System by reviving the power of the Privy Council. But this clause remained a dead-letter. In the reign of Queen Anne the Cabinet Council generally corresponded with the majority of the House of Commons.

Attempt to
check the
growth
of the
Cabinet

✓ The Cabinet System was fully developed after the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty. The first two kings of the dynasty—George I and George II were German by nationality. They had no command over the English tongue and no interest in English politics. They ceased to attend Cabinet meetings. Two very important results followed from this. The ministers could debate more freely among themselves and present to the King a common concerted plan. Moreover, in the absence of the King they had to select a president to preside over the meetings of the Cabinet. This president became their recognised chief and was known as the Prime Minister. Sir Robert Walpole was the first statesman, under whom all the characteristics of Cabinet Government developed. He may be called the First Prime Minister of England. During his ministry the Cabinet was comparatively a large body, whose members were summoned mainly to approve decisions already taken by a small body, composed of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor, and the two Secretaries of State.

Walpole as
the first
Prime
Minister

Upto the year 1782 the Cabinet contained some members who were not in harmony with the party in power. Lord Rockingham's Cabinet in 1782 was the first ministry which was wholly composed of the members of one political party.

Rockingham
ministry

Pitt the Younger perfected the Cabinet system by driving out the household officers of the King like the Lord Chamberlain and the Master of the Horse from the Cabinet. His Cabinet was composed of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the First Lords of the Treasury and Admiralty and the two Secretaries of the State. In 1801 Addington asserted that only a member of the efficient Cabinet is a true Cabinet member. Upto 1806 the Archbishop of Canterbury was a regular member of the Greater Cabinet. Henceforward the distinction between the Inner Cabinet and the Greater Cabinet was abolished.

VIII. Development of the Cabinet since 1914

With the increase in the administrative functions of government, the size of the Cabinet steadily increased. Originally the Cabinet, at the time of Walpole, consisted of seven to ten active members ; but towards the end of the nineteenth century its membership rose to more than

The War
Cabinet

twenty. When the strain of the War of 1914 came upon Great Britain, the size of the cabinet proved a hindrance to the prompt reaching of conclusions. Mr. Lloyd George, therefore, created a War Cabinet of five members in 1916. During the emergency of war the party line division was blurred. Of the five members of the Cabinet, three belonged to the Conservative Party, one to the Liberal and one to the Labour Party. None of the members, excepting the Chancellor of the Exchequer had departmental duties. The members of the War Cabinet, therefore, were available for immediate consultation and they were free from the irritating pressure of minor preoccupations. They could devote their whole energy to the prosecution of the War. In 1917 General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, was made the sixth member of the War Cabinet. The War Cabinet exercised dictatorial power. Parliament passed the bills drafted by the ministers. Some of the ministers were not members of either House, and most of them were absent from Parliament.

The principle on which the War Cabinet was based was that the policy should be in the hand of one body and administration in the hand of another, consisting of ordinary ministers. But such a divorce of policy from administration results in the erosion of responsibility. If the ministers have no hand in making decisions of policy, they cannot carry it out as mere passive instruments. At the end of the War there was insistent demand for the return to the normal working of the Cabinet System. Lloyd George had to give way and in 1919 the large Cabinet was again established. But an informal body, known as the "Inner Cabinet" grew up within the Cabinet. The Prime Minister discussed policy informally with five or six influential members of the Cabinet and prepared the background of debate for the larger body. The utility of such a body has been described by Mr. Lloyd George in the following words : "In most Governments there are four or five outstanding figures who, by exceptional talent, experience and personality, constitute the inner council which gives direction to the policy of a ministry. An administration that is not fortunate enough to possess such a group may pull through without mishap in tranquil season, but in an emergency it is hopelessly lost." Besides the so-called "Inner Cabinet" there has grown up the Committee System in the Cabinet Government. Special problems are referred to a small number of ministers, who take the help of outside experts, examine witnesses, study the questions exhaustively and report to the full Cabinet, which usually accepts the findings.

In 1919 the Haldane Committee on the Machinery of Government laid down, as preliminary desiderata for the effective working of the Cabinet, that (a) it should be small in number ; (b) it should meet frequently ; (c) it

Inner
Cabinet
and
Committees
of Cabinet

Haldane
Committee's
Report

should be supplied in convenient form with all the information necessary to enable it to arrive at expeditious decisions ; (d) it should consult all Ministers effected by its decisions ; and (e) it should have systematic methods of securing that its decisions were carried out by the departments concerned.

On the outbreak of the present War the size of the Cabinet has again been reduced to ten members. In accordance with the usual emergency practice the members of the Cabinet and junior ministers placed their resignation in the hands of the Premier on the 3rd September, 1939, with a view to facilitate his task of reconstruction of the ministry. Mr. Neville Chamberlain reconstituted the Government with a War Cabinet in which some leaders of the Liberal Party were also taken. But the Labour Party has declined to accept the Prime Minister's invitation to join the reconstructed Government, though it has promised to give full support to all measures for the effective prosecution of war. The present War Cabinet under the leadership of Mr. Winston Churchill, is double the size of the last War Cabinet and there is only one member free from the charge of a Department.

In 1917 the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, together with a representative of India were invited to attend a series of special meetings of the War Cabinet, which became known as "Imperial War Cabinet." In this Cabinet there was no Prime Minister in the true sense, because all the Prime Ministers were equal in status, each owing allegiance to his own Parliament. The decisions of the Imperial War Cabinet were theoretically subject to the approval of the different Parliaments, but in practice the members of the British War Cabinet exercised full control over the forces of the Dominions.

Another significant development in the Cabinet System has been the softening of the rigour of the rule that any member of the House of Commons who accepted a ministerial post must vacate his seat and offer himself for re-election. In 1919 an Act has been passed providing that the acceptance of a ministerial post within nine months after the issue of the Writs for a general election shall not compel the new minister to vacate his seat.

The tradition of secrecy and informality of the Cabinet has been ended by the institution of the Cabinet Secretariat in 1917.

The Cabinet Secretariat has been entrusted with the functions of receiving all documents which a minister may wish to circulate, of preparing the agenda for discussion with the approval of the Prime Minister and of taking down notes of all decisions arrived at. The need of such a body is that in recent years the business of the Cabinet is three or four

The War
Cabinet of
1939

Imperial
War
Cabinet

A minister
may not
vacate his
seat in the
House of
Commons

The
Cabinet
Secretariat

times as heavy as it was half a century ago ; and orderly transaction of business cannot be expected without such an institution now-a-days. The secrecy of Cabinet decisions has also been impaired by the practice of giving the newspapers a brief statement of what has been discussed in the Cabinet.

✓ An Act has been passed in June, 1937, fixing a new scale of salary of ministers. "The person who is Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury," receives a salary of £10,000 a year. The Principal Cabinet offices are divided into three categories. The following seventeen ministers are in the first category and receive £5000 per year—The Chancellor of the Exchequer ; the seven or eight Secretaries of State* (Home, Foreign, War, Dominion Affairs, Colonies, Air, India, Scotland) ; the First Lord of the Admiralty ; the President of the Board of Trade ; the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries ; the President of the Board of Education ; the Ministers of Health, of Labour, of Transport, of the Co-ordination of Defence, and of Supply. Those in the second rank are the President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Postmaster-General, and the First Commissioner of Works whose salaries are normally £3000, but if they are in the Cabinet they receive £5000 each. The Minister of Pensions belongs to the third category and receives £2000 per year.

Act regulat-
ing Salaries
of Ministers
1937

The same Act lays down that not more than 14 out of the 17 ministers whose offices automatically carry a salary of £5000 and not more than 21 of the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries may sit and vote in the House of Commons. This means that at least three of the Ministers in the highest category and two Under-Secretaries must sit in the House of Lords.

Cabinet
Members in
the House
of Lords

Principles of Cabinet System

The Cabinet System is based on five out-standing principles.) First, the sovereign must be excluded from the Cabinet Council. But the absence of the King from the Cabinet Council does not mean his absence of influence in British politics. He must, indeed, accept the decisions of the Cabinet in the last resort, but he may have considerable influence on those decisions. The monarch has the right to know of important proposals at a stage early enough to enable him to argue upon them ; he has the right to discuss their substance with the relevant ministers and he has the right to ask the Cabinet to reconsider its decisions. | "The fact that Royal influence,"

The position
of the
Sovereign

*The two offices are often held by the same person, though in the Baldwin Ministry they were held by two different persons.

observes Laski, "is both constant and pervasive is beyond discussion. The mere rumour that King Edward VIII was dissatisfied with Mr. Baldwin's policy for the distressed areas made that policy a theme of intense, and even angry national discussion throughout the brief period of his reign. The determination of George V, as he told Lord Esher, to take a special interest in imperial concerns is hardly likely to be unconnected with the emphasis they received from his successive Governments. An energetic Monarch, skilfully advised, can still play a considerable part in shaping the emphasis of policy."

Secondly, there must be a close correspondence between the political executive and the legislature. The Cabinet is usually selected from the party which holds the majority in the House of Commons. This principle was recognised by William III, when he entrusted the administration to the Whig Junto in 1697. Anne did not like the Whigs, but she had to give them place in the Cabinet when they secured majority in the House of Commons. Walpole remained in office only so long as he could command majority in the Lower House. Even George III recognised the validity of this principle and tried to secure a majority by means of bribery and corruption. Owing to the recognition of this principle the Cabinet can work in harmony with the House of Commons. Moreover, members of the Cabinet must have seats either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords, in order to answer questions regarding their departments and to control Parliament as well.

Thirdly, there must be political homogeneity in the Cabinet. All the members of the Cabinet must belong to the same party or hold the same political opinion. This is necessary for maintaining unity in counsel. There are free discussions in the Cabinet but a compromise is arrived at in the end. Walpole did something to establish this principle but it was not fully recognised till the formation of the Rockingham Ministry of 1782. A ministry made up of men without common principle would lack power and cohesion.

Fourthly, the Cabinet stands or falls together as a unit. Prof Hearn is of opinion that the principle of collective responsibility and corporate unity was recognised for the first time in 1782. Lord Morley explains the principle of collective responsibility in the following words: "As a general rule, every important piece of departmental policy is taken to commit the entire Cabinet and its members stand or fall together.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be driven from office by a bad dispatch from the Foreign Office, and an excellent Home Secretary may suffer from the blunders of a stupid Minister of

War." Those ministers who do not like to share the responsibility of a particular measure taken by the Cabinet as a whole have but the alternative of resigning their office as did Mr. Eden on the 20th February, 1938, on account of his disagreement with Chamberlain on the question of surrendering at the threat of an ultimatum to Italy and Mr. Duff-Cooper in September, 1938, on account of his disapproval of the Munich Agreement. [In 1932, when England gave up her Free-trade policy the members of the Cabinet made an "agreement to differ" and every one was allowed to speak freely for or against the proposed measure. But this should not be treated as a precedent.

✓ Fifthly, the Prime Minister keeps a strict control over the members of the Cabinet. Whenever a member persists in holding a different opinion from him, the Prime Minister asks him to resign. The Prime Minister acts as the symbol of unity in the Government.

Subordina-
tion to
Prime
Minister }

* The successful working of the Cabinet system depends on the spirit of team-work. "Members should work heartily for Cabinet decisions," stated Lord Grey, "should not press personal views unduly on matters not essential, should contend for substance, not form, and each should consider without *amour propre* how his own opinion can be reconciled with that of others. Subject to the qualification of not sacrificing what he regards as essential to the public interest, he should not contend for victory, but work for agreement in the Cabinet. Secondly, when a Cabinet decision is attained, he should accept full responsibility for it. Thirdly, resignation should never be talked about or threatened except on a matter of vital importance, and then only when resignation is really intended."

Principles
of conduct
of Cabinet
ministers }

✓ The War Cabinet under Chamberlain consisted of eight members. But Mr. Churchill reduced it to 5 in June, 1940. The members were Mr. Churchill, who assumed the position of the Minister of Defence, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Attlee, Mr. Greenwood and Lord Halifax. But, in July, 1941 it came to consist of 8 members, of whom 5 including the Prime Ministers have Departmental duties. Mr. Churchill has defended the policy of burdening War Cabinet Ministers with Departmental work in the following words ; "We make altogether eight, and yet we hold a great many of the key offices in our body. I think it is better to work in this way than to have five Ministers entirely divorced from their Departments, because that means that when a discussion has taken place in the Cabinet, the leaders of these Departments have to be summoned, and the whole business has to be gone over again in order to learn what it is they think they can do and to persuade them and convince them that it is necessary to do what has been decided upon."

Cabinet
during the
present
war }

Nature and Functions of the Cabinet

Cabinet is the supreme directing authority in the British constitutional system. It is the real executive body in the State.

Informal character

But neither Parliament nor the Courts of law have provided for the Cabinet. It is still unknown to law.

Convention alone provides for the essential rules of Cabinet Government. According to Lowell the Cabinet is an informal body whose business is to bring about a co-operation among the different forces of the State without interfering with their legal independence. Its action must, therefore, be of an informal character. A minister is invited to attend the Cabinet by a purely informal note from the Prime Minister. But there is a rule that Cabinet ministers should be sworn of the Council, so as to apply to them the Privy Councillor's oath.

Bagehot defined the Cabinet as a "committee of the legislative body selected to be the executive body." But it is really a

A living part of the House of Commons committee of the party which commands the majority in the House of Commons and is selected by one member of one party in Parliament from among other members of the same party. The Cabinet is an integral and living part of Parliament. It owes its life to the House of Commons but the latter can live only so long as it is prepared to go on giving life to the Cabinet. The relation between the Cabinet and the House of Commons reminds one of the story of a despot who asked an astrologer as to how long he would live. The astrologer replied that the stars have decreed that the king can live only so long as the astrologer himself would live. By this clever answer the astrologer ensured not only his bare life but also a comfortable life.

The functions of the Cabinet have been stated authoritatively by the Machinery of Government Committee, presided over by

Functions of the Cabinet

Lord Haldane in 1918. They are, (first, the final determination of the policy to be submitted to Parliament; secondly, the supreme control of the national executive in accordance with the policy prescribed by Parliament; and thirdly, the continuous co-ordination and delimitation of the authorities of the several departments of State. Determination of policy includes the formulation of legislative and financial programme. It takes the initiative in passing all important laws. Private members may indeed bring in bills for consideration in the Legislature, but as the Cabinet possesses majority in the House of Commons, most of the bills emanate from the

Legislative and financial functions

Cabinet. The control of the Cabinet over finance is greater still. The Cabinet approves of the estimates prepared by the heads of different departments and submits them to Parliament. The House of Commons will give

no consideration at all to any request for money that does not come from the Cabinet. The consideration of the financial proposals of the Cabinet by the House has become more formal than real in recent years.

✓ The executive functions are performed by the ministers, each of whom is in charge of a department. But the general policy is determined by the Cabinet as a whole. All matters of importance in the administrative sphere, including departmental reorganisation, such as the reconstruction of the War Office in 1904 and the readjustment of the Air Ministry in 1938 are brought before the Cabinet.

Executive functions }

The Cabinet, however, is excluded by custom, from considering the annual budget statement, including proposals of new taxation, which is orally communicated to the Cabinet shortly before actual presentation. A Cabinet Member, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Thomas, was found guilty of disclosing the proposed taxation in 1936. The Chancellor of Exchequer is allowed to prepare his plans without the aid of his colleagues in the Cabinet. Similarly, the prerogative of mercy is exercised at the sole responsibility of the Home Secretary; criminal prosecutions are under the normal control of the Attorney-General alone; and the question of conferring honours is left to the discretion of the Prime Minister and the Crown. It would surprise many in India to learn from no less an authority than Prof. Keith that "appointments do not normally come before the Cabinet, though there is no absolute rule. The Cabinet has been consulted from time to time as to the mode in which vacancies should be filled, though no doubt this sort of enquiry is best made privately."

Affairs outside Cabinet decisions }

5. XI. The Process of forming the Cabinet ✓

The first step in the formation of the Cabinet is the choice of a Prime Minister by the Sovereign. The King could choose a Peer or a Commoner as Prime Minister before 1923. No Peer has been Prime Minister since the resignation of Lord Salisbury in 1902. In 1923, the King selected Mr. Baldwin in preference to Lord Curzon to succeed Mr. Bonar Law on the ground that the Labour Party constituting the official Opposition was unrepresented in the House of Lords and that the Prime Minister must have his finger on the pulse of the House of Commons, which can compel the Government to resign. Mr. Baldwin also did not like to continue his Premiership when he was transferred to the Upper House with the title of Earl Baldwin. The King, thus, must select the Prime Minister from the House of Commons.

The Prime Minister must belong to the House of Commons

✓ The range of the King's choice depends on the state of parties in the House of Commons. If one single party commands a majority and if it has a recognised leader, the King can have no other alternative but to choose him. If there is no recognised leader of the majority party, as was the case with the Liberal Party after the resignation of Gladstone in 1894, the monarch exercises his or her discretion in selecting the Prime Minister from among a number of possible candidates. But the monarch must select such a person who can form a Government and has a reasonable chance of retaining confidence of the House of Commons. Where the complexities of the Party system do not directly indicate an obvious Prime Minister, the King can also exercise his discretion. In 1931 the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was expelled from the Labour Party and Mr. Henderson was elected the Leader of the party. The Labour Party had 289 members, but all except 16 members revolted against Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who resigned on August 23rd on account of financial difficulties about the solution of which the Labour Ministry could not agree. Mr. Baldwin, the leader of the next majority party, or Mr. Henderson would have been the next Prime Minister under normal circumstances. But Sidney Webb writes that George V made a strong appeal to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald "to stand by the nation in this financial crisis and to seek the support of leading members of the Conservative and Liberal Parties in forming, in conjunction with such members of his own party as would come in, a united National Government. The King is believed to have made a correspondingly strong appeal to the Liberal and Conservative leaders." The result was that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was chosen as Prime Minister of the National Government. Prof. Laski observes that the new Cabinet had "as much the character of a Palace revolution as the appearance of Lord Bute as Prime Minister in 1763." He comes to the conclusion that at the time of a political crisis the King must be regarded as a factor of first-class importance.

✓ The Prime Minister, having taken office, selects his colleagues some sixty in number, of whom from twenty to twenty-three are taken in the Cabinet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer the First Lord of the Admiralty, the eight Secretaries of State, the Presidents of the Boards of Trade and Education, the Ministers of Labour, Health, Agriculture and Fisheries and Transport, and the Postmaster-General are invariably taken in the Cabinet in normal times. Besides these, some ministers like the Lord Privy Seal and the Lord President of the Council who have little administrative duties are taken in the Cabinet. The Prime Minister selects such persons as would work faithfully under him and have influence in the party. In theory

the Prime Minister nominates, or technically recommends ministers and the King appoints them. Though the monarch exercises some power even in the selection of other ministers, yet the Prime Minister has the final word as against the King, because he must have a Government which can work together and which can secure the support of the House of Commons.

BXII. The Position and Functions of the Prime Minister

Lord Morley described the Prime Minister as the keystone of the Cabinet arch. He forms the Cabinet, keeps the team together, and can compel the resignation of any or all of his colleagues. He is not only the head of the Executive but also the leader of the Legislature. An accurate observer has truly pointed out that "An English Prime Minister with his majority secure in Parliament can do what the German Emperor and the American President and all the Chairmen of the Committees in the United States Congress cannot do, for he can alter the laws, he can impose taxation or repeal it and he can direct all the forces of the State."

Importance of the Prime Minister

But the Prime Minister of England was unknown to the law until 1905. A Royal Proclamation of December, 1905, gave place and precedence to the Prime Minister next after the Archbishop of York. The Ministers of the Crown Act, 1937, recognises his position by providing for him the salary of £10,000 a year as a Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury. His unique position is further attested by the grant of a pension of £2,000 a year to all ex-Prime Ministers.

Legal recognition of his position

Walpole in the eighteenth century refused to admit that there was any Prime or Supreme Minister and Gladstone at the end of the nineteenth century wrote that the "Head of the British Government is not a Grand Vizier. He has no powers, properly so-called, over his colleagues. On the rare occasions when a Cabinet determines its course by the votes of its members, his vote counts only as one of theirs." Both of these illustrious Prime Ministers underestimated the importance of the office they held. The position of the Prime Minister depends largely on his personality. Prof. Chase observes that "in recent years the position of Prime Minister has tended to become quasi-presidential; chosen by popular acclaim he holds his office independent—or largely so—of his colleagues and even of Parliament." But this view is vigorously contested by Prof. Laski who writes: "It would be too much to say that the position of a modern Prime Minister has approximated to that of an American President; for the careers of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Ramsay

The supremacy of the Prime Minister

MacDonald all illustrate the fact that his authority is a matter of influence in the context of party structure and not of defined powers legally conferred. But it would, I think, on experience be true to say that the stronger the hold of a Prime Minister upon his Cabinet, the better is the system likely to work."

✓ The Prime Minister presides over the Cabinet meeting. His opinion carries great weight with his colleagues. He exercises a general supervision of all the departments. Nothing relating to the general policy or affecting the efficiency of the service must be done without his advice. He takes a particular interest in the Foreign Office, and looks into all the important despatches before they are sent out. He acts as an informal mediator in the quarrels between the different departments and ministers. He represents the Cabinet in its relation to the Crown. He alone is entitled to report to the King the decision of the Cabinet. When he resigns his post, the whole Cabinet is dissolved and the King must entrust the formation of the ministry to another person. The Prime Minister makes statements of general nature to Parliament, while other ministers speak about their respective departments only. He keeps a careful watch over all government bills in Parliament and is expected to speak not only on general questions but also on the most important government bills. Lastly, the Prime Minister exercises a good deal of patronage. He appoints all the ministers and under-secretaries. All the higher ecclesiastical offices are filled up by his advice. He can confer peerage and other honours.

• The Privy Council

The Privy Council is one of the four inter-connected chief institutions through which the powers of the Crown are exercised; the other three being the Ministry, the Cabinet and the permanent Civil Service. The Privy Council derives its origin from the Curia Regis which was a part of the Norman Great Council. In the reign of Henry VI (1422—1461) the Permanent Council of the Great Council was virtually superseded by another inner circle of councillors, called the Privy Council which now became the chief executive body of the realm. Under the Tudors the Privy Council, depending absolutely on the favour of the monarch, performed almost all the functions which are now carried on by the Cabinet. In the seventeenth century the Privy Council itself became comparatively a large body and the functions of advising the King and carrying on the Government devolved on a smaller selective group, known as the Cabinet. The Privy Council has ceased to be a deliberative or advisory body; now-a-days it

{ History and functions of the Council

performs some very important work indeed, but its services are mostly of a formal character. Ministers take their oath, receive the insignia of office and kiss the King's hands in the Privy Council. The Cabinet frames policy and decides what orders shall be given, but it is the Privy Council which gives orders. The Orders-in-Council are the mode of expressing certain matters of special importance in the sphere of prerogative, such as summoning, proroguing and dissolving Parliament, orders relating to the Government of the Crown Colonies, and orders granting Royal Charters to Municipal Corporations and other bodies. Besides these, the Orders-in-Council are also the mode in which is exercised much of the delegated legislative power conferred by Parliament on the executive Government. Six different kinds of power are delegated by Parliament to the Privy Council: (a) The power to lay down general rules e.g. as to the administration of workhouses, (b) to issue particular commands e.g. to the authorities who have failed in duty, (c) to grant licenses, (d) to remit penalties, (e) to order inspection, (f) to hold enquiries e.g. as to railway accidents.

The peculiar procedure of the Privy Council makes it possible for the Cabinet to leave so many important functions to the Council. The general body of Privy Councillors is never called together except when a new sovereign is to be crowned or some other solemn ceremony is to be performed. The Council in passing orders consists of the King and not less than three Councillors, four being usually summoned. Usually the four members invited to attend are Cabinet ministers or ministers. The Clerk of the Council issues the summons. The Lord President of the Council is invariably and the King is usually present in the Council. But the full Council consists of more than three hundred and fifty members, and most of them are seldom or never summoned to attend the Council. All Cabinet ministers, past and present, some other great officers of the state, the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London, some of the highest judges and ex-judges, a few colonial statesmen, a large number of peers and others who are given the title of "Privy Councillors" for their political, literary, scientific or military services are members of the Privy Council.

Procedure
and composition
of the
Council

Important administrative boards like the Board of Trade and the Board of Education originated as Privy Council Committees. The growth of professional organisations (e.g. General Medical Council and Medical Research Council) with statutory power of regulating entry into and discipline within their professions has added to the functions of the Privy Council. The Departments of Scientific and Industrial

Committees
of the
Privy
Council

Research controlling the Geological Survey, the National Physical Laboratory and certain other Research Stations, is directly subordinate to the Privy Council. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of twenty or more members including the Lord President of the Council, the Privy Councillors who hold or have held high judicial positions, the Lord Chancellor, the six Lords of Appeal in ordinary and varying number of judges from overseas superior courts, acts as the highest court of appeal from ecclesiastical courts, prize courts, courts in India, courts in the Channel islands and the Isle of Man, courts of some of the Dominions and of all the Colonies, and from English courts established by treaty in foreign countries.

V. His Majesty's Government and Executive Departments

His Majesty's Government consists of about sixty-five persons, who constitute "the ministry." Though the ministry as such never meets, yet they are all united by virtue of their belonging to one party or to one conscious coalition. They come into office and resign together. Each Minister is individually responsible in law for his acts as a minister and at the same time they are jointly responsible politically for the policy of the Government. There are twenty-four chief Departments, each under a responsible Minister. There are, in addition, three Ministers at the head of subordinate departments—the Department of Overseas Trade, the Mines Department, and the Paymaster-General's office—who are under the general control of other Ministers. Besides these, there is in most departments at least one other Minister who acts on the general instructions and is subject to the control of the Minister at the head of the Department. The subordinate departments and semi-autonomous bodies like the Unemployment Assistance Board, the London Passenger Transport Board, the Central Electricity Board, have in practice a measure of autonomy, though the Minister and his advisers are consulted in matters of political importance or in matters for which the consent of the Minister is prescribed by law. The Departments of the House of Lords Offices, the House of Commons Offices, the Charity Commission and the Ecclesiastical and Church Estates Commission are represented in Parliament but not by Ministers. There are some Departments, as for example, the Exchequer and Audit Department, the Royal Household, the Offices of the Duchy of Cornwall and the County Palatine of Durham, the Lord Great Chamberlain's Department, the Herald's College, which are not represented in Parliament.

✓ The twenty-four chief Departments may be classified as

political, economic and social. The examples of political Departments are the Foreign Office, the War Office, the Admiralty and the Home Office; those of economic Departments are the Board of Trade and the Ministries of Labour and Agriculture and Fisheries; while Departments of social character are the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education. Such a classification, however, is not satisfactory as the work of one Department shades into another. (A brief description of the Chief Departments is given here to give some idea of the complexity of administrative organisation in the English Constitution.

Classifica-
tion of
Depart-
ments }

The Treasury is the oldest and the most important Department, exercising a considerable amount of control over other Departments by reason of the fact that it determines the classes of officers to be employed therein and the scale of their salaries. It is in theory a Board which, however, never meets. (The Prime Minister as First Lord of the Treasury is a member of this Board. The Treasury as ministry of finance is, however, under the control of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.) He is assisted by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who is the most important of the Junior Ministers, and who is occasionally a member of the Cabinet. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury is Chief Government Whip in the House of Commons and the three Junior Lords are also Government Whips. Besides these political officers, who stand or fall along with the Cabinet, there is the Permanent Secretary, and non-political Civil Servant, who is in charge of the three main sections of the Treasury, viz : (1) the Department of Establishments, which deals with the staff of government departments and related matters, (2) the Department of Supply Services, which deals with other financial businesses of the departments, (3) and the Department of Finance, which administers the fiscal business of the Treasury.

Composi-
tion of the
Treasury

✓ The Treasury assures the collection of the revenue, through the Boards of Customs and Inland Revenue, the Post Office, and the Commissioners of Crown lands. It proposes new taxes so that all the Departments of Government may have adequate funds. It exercises a rigorous control over expenditure, especially in the form of preparing the estimates or supervising their preparation. It initiates and carries out measures affecting the public debt, currency and banking and prescribes the manner in which the public accounts shall be kept. The Bank of England is a semi-public institution which, in respect of some of its activities, is subject to the control of the Treasury. It is a curious fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not in charge of the Exchequer. The Exchequer is entrusted with the function of seeing that the money is

Functions
of the
Treasury }

disbursed according to law, and it is under the direction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

✓ The Admiralty, the Air Ministry, the War Office, and the 'Ministry of the Crown for the Co-ordination of Defence', created in 1936, are responsible for defending the country and the empire. The Board of Admiralty is composed of the First Lord, (who is responsible for the Department and can over-rule the Board), the First Sea Lord (who is also Chief of the Naval Staff), the Second Sea Lord (who is also Director of Naval Personnel), the Third Sea Lord (who is also Controller), the Fourth Sea Lord (who is also Chief of Supplies and Transport), the Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, the Parliamentary and Financial Secretary, the Civil Lord, and the Permanent Secretary. The First Lord is a member of the Cabinet. The Parliamentary and Financial Secretary and the Civil Lord are junior ministers, the four Sea Lords are naval officers and the Permanent Secretary is a Civil Servant. The War Office is under the control of a Secretary of State who is a member of the Cabinet and who is assisted by two Junior Ministers, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State and the Financial Secretary to the War Office. The Army is controlled by the Army Council, which consists of the Secretary of State, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, the Financial Secretary, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Master-General of the Ordnance, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State and the Director-General of the Territorial Army. The Air Ministry is under the control of the Secretary of State for Air, assisted by a Junior Minister, and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Air. The Air Council was reconstituted in July 1938 with the Secretary of State, the Chief of the Air Staff, the Member for Personnel, the Member for Supply and Organisation, the Member for Development and Production, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary and the Permanent Under-Secretary as members.

✓ The Foreign and Imperial Relations are in charge of the Foreign, Dominion, Colonial and India Offices. The Foreign Secretary has got two Under-Secretaries while the three other Offices have got one each. The Foreign Office receives and sends despatches on foreign affairs, controls with the assent of the Prime Minister the Diplomatic and Consular Services and is responsible for the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and of those Protectorates which are not controlled by the Colonial or India Offices. The Dominion Office transmits the information regarding foreign affairs prepared by the Foreign Office and corresponds with the external departments of the Dominions. It also conducts the relations of the British

The
Defence
Ministries

Foreign
and
Imperial
Relations

Government with Newfoundland and Southern Rhodesia. The Secretaryship of the Dominion and the Colonial Offices were held by the same person upto 1930 ; but now they are held by two separate Cabinet Ministers. The Colonial Office controls all the Colonies not possessing responsible Government, all the Protectorates, including Protected States and the British Mandated Territories. The functions of the India Office will be described in the Chapter on Indian Constitution.

The Home Office receives and transmits petitions to the Crown, prepares and countersigns warrants, controls the Metropolitan Police and the Prison Commission, and grants certificates of naturalisation. The Home Secretary has also duties in respect of theatres and cinematographs, of habitual drunkards and lunatics, of safeguarding children against White Slave Traffic, and of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors. He deals with certain matters affecting the health and safety of those engaged in trade. The Home Office sees to the registration of voters and supervision of elections. The Home Secretary advises the Crown as to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy.

The Lord Chancellor is another important Cabinet minister who is the President of the House of Lords, and who presides over the Court of Appeal, the High Court and the Chancery Division. The Great Seal is in his charge and he can appoint and remove Justices of Peace and County Court Judges.

The Board of Trade, the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Pensions, the Office of Works are concerned with the promotion of economic activities. The Board of Trade is empowered by the Import Duties Act of 1932 to impose special duties on imports from countries which discriminate against British trade. The Mines Department, the Bankruptcy Department, the Companies (winding-up) Department, and the Patent Office are subordinate to the Board of Trade. The Marine Department of the Board deals extensively with merchant shipping and seamen. The Ministry of Transport looks after railways, canals, waterways, inland navigation, tramways, roads, bridges and ferries, vehicles and traffic, and harbours, docks and piers. The Central Electricity Board and the London Passenger Transport Board are connected with the Ministry of Transport. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries administers subsidies provided for beet, sugar and cattle, and is partly responsible for setting up the Marketing Boards. Assistance to agricultural producers may be given by a Mortgage Corporation in the form of credits. The Ministry of Labour is advised by an Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee and by Cotton

Industry Boards. The Ministry has certain statutory powers over the Unemployment Assistance Board.

(The Ministry of Health has duties relating to the health of mothers and young children, to the medical inspection and treatment of school children, to infant life protection, to the health of disabled officers and men after they have left the service and many other matters. It has wide powers of control, mainly by inspection, grants and sanctions over local authorities, water undertakers and housing associations. The Board of Education distributes grants and controls the whole course of educational development, so far as it receives public aid.

✓ During any period of crisis, and especially during a war, the head of the executive in a democratic country assumes some of the functions of a Dictator. But in a democratic country

like England there are three safeguards against Dictatorship. First, the Premier must retain his hold upon the House of Commons; secondly, he must correctly interpret the views and represent the spirit of the nation; and thirdly, he must have the support of the Press. Mr. Churchill satisfies all these conditions. He has a wonderful hold on the nation. "In policy, in appointments to office," observes Laski in a recent article in the Political Quarterly, "in power to over-ride even the decisions of colleagues, the Prime Minister is no longer, as in the classic theory, *primus inter pares*; he is the master of an organisation in which he has important subordinates, but quite certainly, no equal." He further mentions that some of his lesser colleagues have not seen him personally, except in the House, since he became Prime Minister. Such a method of government is not really democratic. "It is bad", says Laski, "for any cabinet when no colleague can talk to the Prime Minister on a level of equality. The best results of our system are attained when the supremacy of the Premier is, indeed, marked, but not so marked that his voice alone is effectively heard. For that means that men who ought to have the status of collaborators have in fact the position of subordinates. The shaping of policy is not genuine team-work in the creative sense of that word."

The Social
Depart-
ments

Position
of Mr.
Churchill

XV. His Majesty's Opposition

'His Majesty's Opposition' is second in importance to 'His Majesty's Government.' It is a part of the mechanism of the State in Great Britain. The Act of 1937 which settled the scale of salary of ministers of the Crown also granted a salary of £2,000 a year to the leader of the Opposition. It seems paradoxical that the public should pay such a salary to enable the leader of the Opposition to obstruct public business as much as he can, to take the maximum advantage of the Government's mistakes, and to

try to prove that the Government is ruining the country. More absurd is the fact that the Government sets aside time in order that the Opposition may censure the Government. But it does not appear absurd at all when we consider that the Opposition provides the major check upon corruption and defective administration. The existence of the Opposition shows that the Government is prepared to meet criticism by rational argument.

The Opposition tries to come to power by dislodging the Government from office. The leading persons in the Opposition camp form the "shadow cabinet." They do not usually raise issues which are fundamental in character. There is general agreement between the Government and the Opposition in essential matters. The co-operation between the parties is closest in war or in time of threat of war, or at any other grave crisis. The Labour Government of 1929-1931 invited the Opposition leaders to take part in some aspects of the work of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Both the Liberal and the Conservative leaders came forward to help Labour Government during the crisis of 1931. The Labour leaders in Opposition in 1937-38 did not attack the ministry on the ground that they were not taken into confidence regarding defence measures. They have promised to help the Government in the prosecution of the War in September, 1939. All the parties have so long pledged themselves to the protection of private ownership of means of production. But with the growth of economic discontent it is likely that the Labour Party would seek to destroy private property. In that case the agreement between the Government and the Opposition would cease to operate. But at present the government is carried on by the Prime Minister in close collaboration with the leader of the Opposition. Hence Bernard Shaw has remarked that "The English Prime Minister knows the leader of the Opposition better than he does his own wife."

XVI. The Permanent Civil Service

It has been said that the efficiency of English administration is due to the efficient staffs of permanent Civil Servants. The Civil Service is the incorruptible spinal column of England. As has been already stated, the ministers who are the departmental heads are mostly amateurs and besides, their tenure of office is quite short. But the Civil Servants who are skilled in the technique of detailed administrative work, can well manage the departments. The Civil Servants are non-party men and are not allowed to take part in politics. The principles upon which Civil Servants act have been stated by Sir Warren Fisher in his Evidence before the Royal Commission on the Civil Service in 1929. He observes

Relation of
Civil
Service
with
Ministers

that "Determination of policy is the function of ministers, and once a policy is determined it is the unquestioned and unquestionable business of the Civil Servants to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same good will whether he agrees with it or not. That is axiomatic and will never be in dispute. At the same time it is the traditional duty of Civil Servants, while decisions are being formulated, to make available to their political chiefs all the information and experience at their disposal, and to do this without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice thus tendered may accord or not with the minister's initial view. The presentation to the minister of relevant facts, the ascertainment and marshalling of which may often call into play the whole organisation of the department, demands of the Civil Servants the greatest care. The presentation of inference from the facts equally demands from him all the wisdom and all the detachment he can command. The quality of the work of the Civil Servants is largely determined by the quality of their Parliamentary chiefs. Ministers secure the service they deserve from the Civil Servants. If they have a policy and the determination to carry it through, their Civil Servants will act with confidence and decision.)

The Civil Servants were formerly recruited by nomination but as this system did not ensure efficiency a change was found desirable. The East India Company obtained good results by introducing the system of competitive examination in recruiting their officers. This example was taken up by the English Government and in 1854 a Commission headed by Macaulay recommended the step. In 1870 Gladstone issued an Order-in-Council making open competitive examinations obligatory practically throughout the Civil Service. The examination for entry is a test of general intelligence, and not of special qualification, for a particular department. The Civil Service, in the broadest sense, consists of some five lakhs of persons, of whom 3,30,000 are employed in industrial establishments such as the Arsenal and the Dockyards and the Post Office. They carry out merely routine work and are not called upon to display initiative, nor to take responsibility. The second class consists of some 70,000 clerical officials, who for the most part perform routine work, and apply well-worn precedent to new material. The third class consists of 16,000 executive officials, some 2,500 inspectors in different departments, and nearly 7,000 professional, technical and scientific workers. These officers are responsible for preparing the materials for policy, and not for initiating policy. The highest class of officials, consisting of some thirteen hundred members, who advise the ministers and play an important part in shaping policy. They are usually brilliant graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, and belong to the same social class as the ministers. Seventy-five per cent of the

Classes of
Civil
Service and
their salary

Civil Servants, in the broadest sense, receive less than rupees two hundred and forty per month or four pounds per week. There are only some five hundred posts of which the salaries are £1,000 per annum and upwards. Heads of departments receive £3,000 per year or Rs. 4,000 per month. Considering the much higher cost of living in England, the highest grade of Civilians receive much lower salary than the members of Indian Civil Service. The members of Civil Service are allowed to vote in parliamentary elections. But with a view to safeguard their absolute neutrality they are denied the right to contest in any election, central or local. They are not even allowed to participate in any political controversy nor to write on current affairs.

The Civil Service in England is exceptionally efficient and free from corruption. Its efficiency is due to the method of recruiting and promotion, the security of service and guarantee of pension. It has been able to attract the best class of men and women to it. It avoids partisanship partly because its members are forbidden to take part in politics, but mainly because its members through long tradition think of themselves as administrators and pride themselves on their ability to carry out the decisions of the Labour, Conservative or Coalition Governments with equal aptitude. There has been indeed some criticism of the Civil Service in recent years. The main charge against it is that it is deliberately seeking power and attempting to set up a Bureaucracy in England. We shall discuss this charge in a later chapter.

Merits and
defects of
the Civil
Service }

It has been pointed out by some critics that the system of examination is faulty, that too much emphasis is laid on the classics which gives advantage to the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, and that the departments work at a very slow speed. High posts are still practically reserved for the sons of upper classes in society, because of the insistence on high academic qualifications, which can be secured by those who can afford to pay the expenses. Most of these criticisms are not well-deserved. Prof. Laski, who has been a member of the Civil Service Tribunal for a long time, observes that a number of officials, whose ability would fit them for the highest class of work remain unused or undiscovered mainly because the grades of the service are too rigid, the methods of promotion below the administrative class are too mechanical and because very little encouragement is given to deserving officers. Another charge against the Civil Service is that its members took the initiative in increasing the scale of their own remuneration. Its critics point out that with the increase in salary there has not occurred a corresponding increase in efficiency or devotion to duty. In December, 1942, the Select Committee on National Expenditure made a number of proposals for raising the efficiency of the

Some
alleged
defects)

Civil Service in modern conditions. The Government has rejected each one of the Committee's specific proposals, but has promised that in every department the work concerned with organisation and methods will be given a new importance.

When Mr. Churchill formed his government on May 11, 1940 the leaders of the Labour and the Liberal Parties joined him and a real Opposition ceased to exist. The Rt. Hon. H. B. Lees Smith was formally made the Leader of the Opposition, but so artificial was his status that the salary of the post was suspended. The Opposition has become, in fact, a part of the government. The Speaker has declared that the Opposition Bench may be occupied by those of any Party who have held office in previous governments.

The Civil Service in England, during the present war has proved itself rather inadequate to the task before the nation. The superior members of the Service are recruited from the upper middle class, and they cannot usually rise above the prejudices or considerations of convenience of that class. In the crisis of the war bold experiments are being made at the socialisation of services, but the Civil Service is tending to set the limits of experiment more narrowly than the circumstances demand. Prof. Laski in a recent article in the *Political Quarterly* (March, 1942), observes: "Innovation on the grand scale, utter frankness, relentless attack upon obstructive interests, rapid adaptation to the wholly unexpected, the ruthless rejection of the men who do not rise to the occasion, these are the qualities for which war calls in officials; and they are pretty exactly the qualities against which the main genius of our Civil Service has been directed."

Absence of
Opposition
during the
War

Civil Ser-
vice during
the present
War

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION (Contd.)

LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY

✓ I. The Sovereignty of Parliament

The chief characteristic of the English Constitution is the Sovereignty of Parliament. The supremacy of Parliament appears from a superficial study to be limited by the authority of the King, by the discretion of the Judges, by the power of the Cabinet and the Civil Service. But Parliament does actually control all these agencies of Government. George VI owes his very position to the Act of Settlement of 1701 and the Abdication Act of 1936. It has already been shown that most of his political activities are controlled by ministers, who are responsible to Parliament. (The judges can indeed make law by their interpretation of law, but Parliament can overrule their decision by statute.) The judges decided in the Taff Vale case in 1901 that the Trade Unions could be made responsible for damages, but the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 counteracted this decision. The ministers exercise great powers only with the consent of Parliament. The Civil Service derive their authority from statute and are subject to parliamentary criticism. The Sovereignty of Parliament may be exemplified, by a reference to the three propositions propounded by Mr. Dicey :—

- (i) There is no law which Parliament (i.e. the King-in-Parliament) cannot make ;
- ✓ (ii) There is no law which Parliament cannot repeal or modify ;
- ✓ (iii) There is under the English Constitution no marked or clear distinction between laws which are not fundamental or constitutional and laws which are. Parliament has power to make any change in the constitution it likes. It altered the succession to the throne by the Act of Settlement in 1701. It changed the religion of England by the Act of Supremacy in 1534. It enacted a legislative union with Scotland in 1707 and with Ireland in 1800. These two Acts of Union fundamentally changed the constitution of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The most striking instance of the omnipotence of Parliament is to be found in the passing of the Septennial Act in 1716. The Parliament which had been elected for three years in 1715 not only extended the duration of future parliaments from three to seven years, but also prolonged its own duration by four years by this Act. The Septennial Act "proves to demonstrate that from a legal point of view Parliament is neither the agent of electors nor in any sense a trustee for its constituents. It is legally the sovereign power of the state, and

Parliament
can change
the constitution

the Septennial Act is at once the result and the standing proof of such Parliamentary sovereignty."

✓ Parliament can repeal any law it likes. It is impossible to limit the absolute sovereignty of Parliament even by passing laws declared to be unchangeable. Thus though the permanence of the established church of Ireland was guaranteed by the Act of Union, yet the Irish church was dis-established in 1869.

✓ In the Constitutions of France and U. S. A. a distinction exists between the Fundamental or Constitutional laws and the Ordinary laws. The legislatures of these countries are not competent to change the fundamental laws.

But there is no such fundamental law in the English Constitution. No other body in the state has any power of legislation independent of Parliament. Even the legislatures of the Self-governing Dominions make laws by virtue of the delegation of power by Parliament. The Stuart kings had claimed and exercised the power of making law by their prerogative authority. But the Glorious Revolution finally established the sovereignty of Parliament.

✓ VI. Composition and Functions of the House of Lords

The House of Lords is composed of hereditary peers, elective peers, spiritual lords and Law Lords. Conferment of a baronage necessarily bestows the right to a seat in the House of Lords. Only one member of a noble family may sit in the Lords, though his sons may bear the title of barons, unless, of course, any of those sons is made a baron in his own right. On the passage of the Act of Union of 1707 sixteen Scottish peers were added to the House of Lords. It was arranged that at each new Parliament the whole body of Scottish peers should meet and elect sixteen of their members, for the duration of that Parliament. Similarly, certain peers are elected by the Irish peers of Northern Ireland. Besides the hereditary and elective peers, the two Archbishops and twenty-four of the Bishops sit in the House of Lords by virtue of their office. Further, there are seven Law Lords, or more strictly, Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, who sit as life peers only, unless they are, beyond this ex-officio ennoblement, created peers in the usual way, in which case, of course, they become hereditary peers.

2. There are in all over seven hundred and fifty members of the House of Lords, of whom Lord Sinha is the only Indian peer. But the normal attendance of the House is about thirty-five. During the last twenty years only on thirteen occasions more than two hundred members have been present in any debate. This is due to the fact that peerage is conferred on people who

are very wealthy or influential in the Party or on persons who have acquired eminence in Arts, Letters, Science, Trade, Industry or in Civil and Military Service. Very few of them have any real interest in politics. Mr. Ramsay Muir has called the House of Lords "the common fortress of wealth."

The powers of the House of Lords up to 1911 were theoretically co-equal with those of the Commons. But the Parliament Act of 1911 has restricted the power of the House in several important particulars. The power of the House of Lords over Money Bills has been virtually abolished by the Act of 1911. If the Lords withhold their assent from a Money Bill, (that is, a Bill raising taxes or making appropriations, and decided by the Speaker of the House of Commons as a Money Bill) for more than one month after it has been passed by the House of Commons, the Bill may become an Act on the Royal assent being signified without the consent of the Lords. The Act of 1911 has also curtailed the legislative authority of the House of Lords. If a Bill other than Money Bill is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and is rejected by the Lords, it may on a third rejection by them be presented for the King's assent and on receiving that assent will become a law, notwithstanding the fact that the House of Lords has not consented to the Bill, provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading of the Bill in the first of those sessions and the date on which it passes to the Commons for the third time. Under such procedure the Welsh Church was dis-established. By this Act the maximum duration of a Parliament has been fixed at five years. It does not sit continuously throughout this period. But it sits for certain periods known as sessions. As a general rule there is one session in each year, beginning about the end of January and ending in August. Occasionally another session is held in autumn.

The
Parliament
Act of 1911

Duration of
Parliament

The Lords used to enjoy certain special privileges, which they have gradually lost. The only formal privileges which they still enjoy are those of access to the King for the purpose of discussing public affairs and of recording a protest against any decision of the majority of the House in the Journals of the House. Their privilege of voting by proxy was abolished by a Standing Order in 1868. The privilege of being tried by their "peers" in the House of Lords in cases of felony has been abolished by an Act in 1936.

Privileges
of the
Lords

The House of Lords has very little active control over the administration. No Ministry resigns simply on account of an adverse vote or vote of censure in the House of Lords.

Other
powers of
the House
of Lords

But it would be wrong to think that the House of Lords has lost all its powers. It has the right to remonstrate, the right to criticise, the right to deal freely with all measures, excepting those that involve the fate of parties; the right to formulate an emphatic protest against legislation of which it disapproves, and the right to compel a government to submit its controversial proposals to more than two years of public discussion before it could pass them into law. The House of Lords performs some very useful public services. (1) It is a revisory chamber in a limited sense. The Lords cannot altogether reject a measure passed by the Commons but they can postpone it for two years. Many Bills are found after two years to have been imperfect. "Time reveals defects, new points of view develop, grievances change, people want more or less drastic provisions." Thus the House of Lords by its refusal to give assent to a Bill can afford time to the public and the Government for a cool deliberation of the subject. The House of Lords is a ventilating chamber. It is an admirable arena for the discussion of those larger questions of public policy, questions of imperial interest or of social and economic reforms which the Commons, absorbed in the exigencies of the passing hour, dismiss as irrelevant or academic. The House of Lords is a "reservoir of Cabinet ministers." It is very difficult for a Cabinet minister to administer a department and at the same time to attend the sittings of the House of Commons regularly. So some Cabinet ministers are taken from the House of Lords. Ministers for foreign affairs are generally selected from the House of Lords, because a Lord is not to seek election and so is not under the necessity of giving an account of his administration of foreign affairs, which ought to be kept secret. The Act of 1937 provides that there must be at least two Cabinet ministers of the highest rank in the Lords as well as the Lord Chancellor, and normally the Lord President of the Council or Lord Privy Seal or both. In the Cabinet of Lord Salisbury there were ten peers, in that of Mr. Balfour eight and in the Chamberlain Cabinet in June, 1937, six Lords.

✓ The House of Lords is the Supreme Court of Appeal in England. Appeals from India and some of the Dominions are decided by the Privy Council. But the House as a body has long since ceased to exercise its judicial functions, which it inherited from the Great Council of Norman times. These functions are now always exercised by the Lord Chancellor who is the ex-officio president of the House of Lords, and seven Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, who are learned judges appointed as life peers specially to perform this duty. These Law Lords are occasionally

The
Supreme
Court of
Appeal

Life peers

helped by other Lords who have served as judges of the higher courts or who are specially learned in the law.

III. Strength and Weakness of the House of Lords

It has been said that the strength of the House of Lords lies in its weakness. It is not as powerful an upper chamber as the Senate in the U. S. A. or in France and that is why the existence of the House of Lords has been tolerated during more than two centuries. Its hereditary principle is certainly incompatible with a democratic form of government, but since it is not the creation of a single monarch but is a historical growth, some elements of a representative character have been ascribed to it. It has to be admitted that the House of Lords represents various important interests, experience and knowledge and draw its members from nearly all sections of the English society, excepting of course, the masses. Of the 729 peers who comprised the House of Lords in May, 1936, 246 owned land, 112 were directors in insurance companies, 74 in financial or investment houses, 67 in banks, 64 in railway companies, 49 in ship-building or engineering companies, and so on. Besides, the House of Lords has a distinctive character of its own, for the ancient lineage in most cases, wealth and social status of its members place the Lords in a position of influence and power. Further, its utility as a check to the Lower House and as a safeguard against the excesses of democratic elements, has been recognised and this fact has rendered the existence of the House of Lords almost indispensable. Prof. Laski who cannot be suspected of holding any brief for the House of Lords, observes : 'For normal purposes, therefore, the House of Lords is a body of less than fifty members. There is no doubt that, as such a body, and in quiet times, it possesses great merit. Its main debates are likely to be conducted, on either sides by statesmen of standing and experience, with occasional interjections from representative churchmen or an eminent law-lord. It is a leisurely chamber ; and in quiet times again, it can scrutinize with a leisurely efficiency the bills sent up to it from the House of Commons. It can raise, also, large public questions which the Government of the day does not believe to be ripe for legislation.'

But it must be admitted that the House of Lords consists of many peers who take little interest in political affairs. It has been calculated that of the 729 peers in 1938, 371 or more than half, never once spoke in any debate in the House of Lords from 1919 to 1931 ; 111 of them never voted in a single division ; the average number taking part in a division was 83. If this be the average number of peers taking active interests, the House of Lords may be as well reduced to two hundred members.

✓ IV. Reform of the House of Lords

From time to time the cry has been raised to mend or end the House of Lords. As the parliamentary system has become more and more democratic, the House of Lords appears more and more to be an obsolete anomaly. Ninety per cent of the members of the House of Lords are hereditary peers, while the House of Commons is a representative body. Moreover, the House of Lords, as the "common fortress of wealth" is conservative in temperament and opposed to all socialistic ideas. When the Government is formed by the Conservatives there prevails harmony between the two Houses ; but when the Labour Government comes to office with a programme of social amelioration and redistribution of national income, the House of Lords offers stout resistance. Mr. Ramsay Muir is of opinion that since the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911 the House of Lords has become "only a revising and delaying body ; and not very effective even for that purpose." But the House of Lords can effectively use its delaying power at exactly the moment where it needs the power to fight against the encroachment of their wealth. The Socialistic ground of opposition to the House of Lords has been stated by Sidney and Beatrice Webb thus : "Its decisions are vitiated by its composition—it is the worst representative assembly ever created, in that it contains absolutely no members of the manual working class ; none of the great classes of shopkeepers, clerks and teachers ; none of the half of all the citizens who are of the female sex ; and practically none of religious nonconformity, of art, science or literature." ~~X~~ No political party in England is satisfied with the composition of the House of Lords, because at present it is an unwieldy body and because majority of its members do not take any interest in politics. The Conservatives as well as the Labour Party are dissatisfied with the present powers of the House of Lords, but on different grounds. The Conservatives wish to restore to the House of Lords the powers it has lost by the Parliament Act of 1911 while the Labour Party does not like to allow it to retain any power to interfere the effective passage of the Government programme to the statute book.

In spite of the general agreement with regard to desirability of reforming the House of Lords, the practical difficulties in the path of reform have been found insurmountable. Laski observes that "if the House of Lords is left as it is, a conflict, sooner or later, with a Socialist Government is inevitable ; that if it is reformed by the Conservative Party, a chamber would result entirely unacceptable to the Left ; and that if it is reformed by the Labour Party, the character of the new chamber would be entirely unacceptable to the Right." This is

Causes of dissatisfaction with the House of Lords

Problems of the House of Lords

the reason why all schemes of reform propounded from time to time have ended in failure.

A Conference on the Reform of the Second Chamber, appointed by the Prime Minister in August 1917, and presided over by Lord Bryce, recommended that the House of Lords was to be a smaller body consisting of 327 members, besides the representatives of Ireland. The House of Commons, grouped according to thirteen original divisions, was to elect three-fourth of the members, i.e., 246 by secret ballot and proportional representation. The system was to be put in operation by degrees, as no single House of Commons was to choose not more than one-third of this number. The remaining 81 members were to be elected from the whole body of peers by a Joint Standing Committee of the two Houses. Members of both the groups were to be elected for twelve years terms, and in each group one-third of the members were to retire after every four years. As regards the powers of the reconstituted House, it was proposed that when there should be doubt whether a measure was to be regarded as a money bill the question should be settled, not by the Speaker of the House of Commons, but by a Joint Committee of financial bills, consisting of seven members elected by each House for the duration of a Parliament. When the two Houses could not agree on a bill, there should be a "free conference" consisting of twenty members of each House appointed at the beginning of a Parliament and ten members of each House added by the Committee of Selection on the occasion of the reference of any particular bill. The House of Lords was not to have the power of making and overturning ministries or of vetoing money bills. The proposals of the Conference were never voted

Plan of
the Bryce
Conference

In 1932 Lord Salisbury made certain proposals of reform with a view to create a Second Chamber strong enough to resist Socialism. According to his plan the House of Lords is to consist of some three hundred members, half of whom were to be elected for twelve years by the hereditary peerage and the remaining half nominated by the Government for the same period. The power of the Crown was to be so restricted as not to enable it to create more than twelve new peerages in a single year. A Joint Committee of both Houses under the Chairmanship of the Speaker is to decide whether a bill is a finance bill or not. No further reform of the House of Lords was to be undertaken without the consent of the existing House of Lords.

Lord
Salisbury's
plan

In July, 1934, the Labour Party declared in a pamphlet entitled "For Socialism and Peace—The Labour Party's Programme of

Action" that "the Labour Party, given a majority, would interpret the mandate as conferring upon it the right, particularly if the House of Lords seeks to wreck its essential measures, forthwith to proceed to the abolition of that Chamber." Some members of the Labour Party suggest that the House of Lords should consist of one hundred members, elected by each newly elected House of Commons from lists prepared by its constituent parties in proportion each to its own strength. Such a body would be able to advise, encourage and warn the House of Commons but not to thwart the wishes of the latter.

V. Composition and Functions of the House of Commons

The House of Commons consists at present of 615 members elected in large single-member constituencies. There are 300 members from counties, of whom 230 represent England, 24 Wales and Monmouthshire, 38 Scotland, 8 North Ireland. The Borough members are 303 in number of whom 255 represent English boroughs, 11 Welsh boroughs, 33 Scottish boroughs and 4 Irish boroughs. The English Universities send 7 members, the Welsh Universities 1, the Scottish Universities 3 and Irish Universities 1, in all there are 12 University representatives. The Act of Representation of People of 1918 extended Parliamentary franchise to all adult male citizens of twenty-one years of age or above who have resided for three months either in the constituency of residence or in a geographically contiguous constituency.

Any resident British subject may vote, no matter in what part of the empire he was born. Women of thirty years of age or over were given the Parliamentary franchise if they were wives of electors or if they were Local Government electors as occupiers of £5 annual value. The Act of 1918, however, did not concede to women mere residential qualification. This defect has been remedied by the Act of 1928, by which women's qualifications for franchise have been placed exactly on the same conditions as those already existing for men. At present two classes of persons may exercise one additional vote. Besides the franchise by virtue of residence for three months, a second vote is possessed (a) by the occupier of land or other premises, worth at least ten pounds a year, for the purposes of business, profession or trade. The two votes, however, must not be cast in the same constituency; (b) the possessor of a University Degree or its equivalent who may cast the additional vote for representative of his university. But no person may exercise both business and university votes. Thus the franchise in England fails to be completely democratic only in that while most voters have only one vote, a few voters possess two. The

Parliamentary electorate of Great Britain and Northern Ireland numbered in 1936 almost thirty-two million persons out of a population of forty-six million.

The function of the House of Commons is not to govern directly, but to exercise supervision and control over the administration. A numerous body like the House of Commons cannot govern, but it can admirably check and guide the Government. Functions of the House of Commons ("The business of making a Government and providing it," observes Laski, "or refusing to provide it, with the formal authority for carrying on the public business is the pivotal function of the House of Commons upon which all other functions turn.") The functions of the House of Commons may be classified under the following heads :—Legislation ; Financial policy and management of public revenue ; Administrative and executive control ; Discussion of abuses and the redress of grievances ; the testing and selecting of public men in debate and their appointment to ministerial offices.

The most conspicuous function of the House of Commons is law-making. Parliament has devised a system by which no change can take place in the law without a most careful and detailed examination. But the Cabinet has recently overshadowed the House of Commons in some respects as a law-making organ. Law-making function There is nothing strange in this. The initiative in legislation should not belong to the House, because a large chamber cannot settle which of the large number of problems it shall deal with nor how it shall deal with them. If every member proposes bills and the House takes them up, there will be very little coherence in legislation, nor would the public know whom to blame if anything goes wrong. The House should, however, discuss all the measures proposed by the Cabinet fully and freely."

Another function of the House of Commons is to control the raising and spending of money. But this is not a separate function at all. If the House decides that certain types of work are to be undertaken, it must provide money for carrying on those works. Control over finance A close scrutiny of the estimates cannot, however, be performed by a large body like the House of Commons which is heavily pressed for time. The only thing it can do is to concern itself with the general policy which lies behind the estimates. It can discuss also the problem of Ways and Means in general terms. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, for example, may be warned by the members that he is taxing income or some particular commodity very heavily while letting off unearned increment lightly. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer may or may not accept any change the members might suggest ; because he is made responsible for the financial

administration. If he refuses to accept any particular change the House must either give-up the suggested change or find out an alternative Government.

The third function of the House is to control the machine by which the country is governed. Every act of the Executive can

**Control
of the
Executive**

be challenged, approved or condemned by the House of Commons, and if it is condemned it has to resign or to appeal to the electorate. The House can call attention to abuses and demand redress of public grievances. This is done first by putting questions to ministers. On four days in the week, for forty-five minutes, Ministers answer questions concerning the work of their departments. Questions are asked partly for information and partly to bring abuses to light. They are the best day-to-day check on the work of the Government. The process of questioning makes the Departments of State realize that they are functioning under a close public scrutiny which will continuously test their efficiency and honesty. If the House be dissatisfied with the answer on an important topic, any member may ask permission "to move the adjournment of the House on a matter of urgent public importance." Any member may have printed on the Order paper a notice that he proposes to call attention to some particular matter of grievance or criticism and to move a resolution. The Leader of the Opposition may ask for a day to propose a formal vote of censure on the Government or on some important policy it has adopted. Lastly, the House of Commons may discuss any suspected delinquencies of a Department while considering its demand for money. The last two methods are really formidable and if the Government be defeated in either case, it is compelled to resign or to hold a fresh election. But on account of the growth of rigid party discipline, few votes of censure are likely to be carried.

The House of Commons is an admirable place for testing men for practical statesmanship. Here politicians of all degrees of capacity are exhibited to the country, "so that when men of ability are wanted they can be found without anxious search or perilous trial."

**Testing the
capacity of
public men**

VI. Committees of the House of Commons

The pressure for time in the House of Commons is so great that it cannot do all its works in full meeting. Measures that are to be brought before are threshed out before hand and their provisions carefully weighed and put into precise language in the Committees of Parliament. The Cabinet itself is an informal Joint Committee of the two Houses. There are four kinds of formal Parliamentary

**Different
kinds of
Committees**

Committees :—(1) The Committee of the Whole ; (2) Select Committees ; (3) Joint Committees and (4) Standing Committees. They are all selected by the Committee of Selection which is nominated at the Conference of the Government and Opposition party leaders at the beginning of each session. The Committee of the Whole is simply the House of Commons itself. But the Chairman of Committees presides over it instead of the Speaker and the rule of the House forbidding a member to speak more than once on the same question does not apply in it. The most important and contentious bills are referred to it. When dealing with these it is called simply the Committee of the Whole. But when engaged upon appropriations (granting of Supplies to be spent for particular objects specified by Parliament) it is called the Committee of the Whole on Supply. When it is engaged in raising the revenue it is called the Committee of Ways and Means ; when reviewing the accounts of India, it is named from that subject.

Select Committees are of two kinds—the Sessional Committees which are appointed regularly every year and other Select Committees which are created to consider some particular matter. Members of the Select Committees are generally appointed by the Committee of Selection, which is chosen from all the parties by the House itself at the beginning of the session. Besides the Committee of Selection, the Committee of Public Accounts, the Committee on the kitchen and refreshment rooms are the other seasonal Committees. The function of a Select Committee is simply to collect evidence and examine witnesses and to present these together with the report of their conclusions to the House of Commons. Select Committees expire when they have made a report upon the special matters entrusted to their charge.

Function of
Select
Committees

Joint Select Committees from the Lords and Commons are appointed chiefly for considering Private Bills and for settling the differences between the two bodies amicably. Each Private Bill Committee consists of four persons.

Joint Select
Committees

There are six Standing Committees whose deliberations take the place of debate in the Committee of the Whole. Bills which pass through the 'second reading' are referred either to the Committees of the Whole or one of the six Standing Committee. Standing Committees once appointed last throughout the session and consider all bills of non-contentious nature.

Standing
Committees

✓ VII. ✓ Speaker of the House of Commons

The Speaker is the President of the House of Commons. In the early days of Parliament, the Speaker used to bear the peti-

tions of the Commons and urge them upon the attention of the monarch. He was called the Speaker, not because he delivered speeches in the House of Commons, but because he was the spokesman of the House in its dealings with the Crown. Now-a-days the Speaker does not take part in any debate.

The Speaker is, in theory, elected by the House itself ; but in practice the Prime Minister selects a suitable person after making certain that the selection will be acceptable to the House. He is formerly proposed by a member at the beginning of each Parliament, seconded by another member belonging to the opposite party ; and the other members 'call him to the chair' by acclamation. Once elected to the Chair, the Speaker gives up his allegiance to the party to which he formerly belonged. Not only does he conduct the business of the House impartially without any party bias, but also keeps himself scrupulously aloof from even political clubs and party newspapers. He is invariably re-elected to the House without any contest. No political party sets up any candidate to contest his seat. He is also unanimously re-elected to Speakership so long as he is willing to serve in that capacity. He has a salary of £5,000 a year. A wing of the Palace of Westminster is assigned to him as his official residence. On retirement he is usually promoted to peerage and is allowed to draw a liberal pension. An Order-in-Council fixes his precedence after the Lord President of the Council, that is, seventh in the realm.

In the sixteenth century the person best suited to the position of Speaker was described as "a man big and comely, stately and well-spoken, his voice great, his carriage majestic, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful." Now-a-days emphasis is laid on mental rather than on physical qualifications. (The Speaker must be of judicious temperament, vigilant, imperturbable and tactful in handling men and affairs.)

The Speaker has to discharge important functions. He guides and controls the deliberations of the House, decides points of order and announces the result of votings. He interprets the rules of the House authoritatively and gives rulings in controversial matters regarding procedure of business. His rulings cannot be called in question. He has the right to suspend any member from the House if he finds him behaving in a disorderly way. He can adjourn the House in case of a serious disorder prevailing in the House. The Speaker does not allow questions to be asked where the central departments do not have the responsibility to Parliament. He has the right, according to the Standing order of 1919 to pick out for discussion those parti-

cular amendments which he deems most appropriate from among the amendments proposed for any motion, schedule or clause of a bill. As he can, thus, hop like a Kangaroo from amendment to amendment, this form of closure of debate is known as "Kangaroo." The Speaker prevents direct criticism of the King in the House. By the Parliament Act of 1911 he has been made the sole authority to determine whether a particular measure is or is not to be considered a Money Bill. Prof Keith suggests that if a grave foreign or internal crisis occurs when Parliament is not in session, the Speaker should be authorised to summon the Commons on the request, not merely of the Prime Minister, but also on that of the leader of the Opposition or of a specified number say, of 100 members.

VIII. Privileges of the House of Commons

The House of Commons claims some privileges formally and others informally. Of the formal privileges there are three in number. First, the Commons has collective access to the person of the sovereign and they claim the most favourable construction of their proceedings. Secondly, the members of the House of Commons enjoy freedom from arrest during the session of Parliament and for a period of forty days before and after the session. But this privilege does not extend to cases where a member is charged with indictable offences and for contempt of court.

Formal
privileges

Thirdly, the members enjoy the privilege of freedom of speech. If any member attacks another in unparliamentary language, the House itself may censure, suspend or expel him. On the famous case of Stockdale vs. Hansard it was decided that any papers published by order of either House of Parliament are absolutely privileged even if the speeches reported are defamatory. But if a Private member reprints a defamatory speech he will be liable to prosecution.

Freedom of
speech

Privileges not formally claimed but as a rule enjoyed by the House of Commons include the right to regulate the filling of vacancies in the House. Up to 1868 the House itself used to decide all election petitions, but now a tribunal of two judges decide such cases. The House, however, has retained the right of taking notice of any legal disqualification, such as conviction for felony. In India the executive government regulates such disqualifications.

Right to
fill up
vacancies

The House of Commons regulates its own affairs, exempt from judicial intervention save in the case of crime. The House enjoys also the privilege of punishing disrespect to its members or itself, interference with its procedure or its officers, or with witnesses who have given, or are to

Maintains
order and
discipline

give, evidence before it. The House has power to admonish, reprimand, or commit offenders to prison for the duration of the session and may fine, though the power is disused.

Duties and responsibilities of a Member of Parliament

A member of the Commons is elected by local constituency, to which he has special duties. But he is not a mere delegate or mouthpiece of his constituents. He is responsible for the interests of the country at large and not simply for the interests of the locality from which he is elected. He is influenced by the wishes of his constituents and by the action of his party, but he does not surrender the right of independent judgment. Burke in his classical Bristol speech of 1774 said : "It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great force with him ; their opinion high respect ; their business unremitting attention.....your representative owes you not his industry only but his judgment ; and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

Upto the eighteenth century it was sometimes the custom for the constituencies to send instructions to their members.

When the number of voters increased as the effect of the passing of the First Reform Bill, it was no longer possible to issue precise instructions to the members. The Redistribution Act of 1885 weakened the old corporate character of constituencies and strengthened the view that a member represents the country as a whole. At present a member sits in the House of Commons less as the representative of a particular locality than as a member of the political party which had obtained a majority of votes in that locality.

If in earlier times a member had been an agent of his constituents, now he has become an agent of the party to which he owes allegiance. He might not hold exactly the same opinion as the leader of his party, yet he would generally vote with them. The fear of defeat of the party and consequent fear of dissolution of Parliament act as checks on the free action of a member. If after his election a member should change his party, he could not be required to resign his seat. But the member who changes his party generally offers to resign his seat and submit himself for reelection in order to ascertain whether his action meets with approval of the majority of his constituents. A member at present, is expected to ask questions in the House about matters which affect the interest of his constituents. H

**A member
is not a mere
agent**

**Member's
allegiance to
his party**

**His relation
with his
constituency**

communicates by post the ministerial reply to these questions. In discussions about private bills, he upholds the interests of his constituency.

X. Procedure of Making Laws

There are three kinds of bills which are discussed and considered by Parliament. These are Public or Ordinary Bills, Money Bills and Private Bills. There are different kinds of procedure for different classes of bills. Public or Ordinary bills are those which deal with matters of general importance and which, when enacted, alter the general law of the country. Any member of Parliament can introduce an ordinary bill. Some bills are introduced by members of the government, while others are introduced by private members. Though there is no difference in procedure between a government bill and a private member's bill, yet the chances of the latter being passed into law are very little. An ordinary bill may be introduced in three ways: (1) A motion for leave to bring in a bill with a speech explaining the object of the bill may be made. It is followed by a debate and vote. Important government bills are introduced in this way. (2) A shorter procedure has been adopted by a standing order of 1888 by which a motion may be made to bring in a bill. Ten minutes are allowed for the mover and his opponent to speak, after which the Speaker may put the question. After an order to bring in a bill has been obtained in either of these ways, the question that the bill be read first time is voted upon without amendment or debate. (3) The shortest process has been established in 1902. It permits a member to present a bill at once which is then read for the first time without any order or vote of the House. The second reading is a formal debate on the principle of the bill, which may last more than one day and in which set speeches are made by the most important ministers and members of the House. No word or line of the bill is altered in such a debate. Those who oppose the bill and want to kill it propose "that this bill be read a second time this day six months;" or some other time at which the House is expected not to be in session. If such an amendment is passed, the bill is defeated and no further step is taken with regard to it.

Procedure
of enacting
Public
Bills

After the second reading the bill generally goes either to the Committee of the whole House or to any of the six Standing Committees. The Committee goes through the bill, clause by clause, discussing any amendment that may be proposed and determining as to how each clause should be amended. It takes weeks or even months to consider a bill in the Committee.

When the discussion is finished and the whole bill is gone through, the Chairman of the Committee makes a single report to the Speaker merely stating whether the bill has been amended or not. The House discusses and determines whether any further alterations or additions should be made.

The final stage in the House of Commons is the third reading. At this stage only formal or verbal alterations are allowed. The bill must be accepted or rejected as it stands. The House considers the bill as a whole and determines whether in its opinion the measure ought or ought not to become a law.

The third reading having been approved of, it goes to the House of Lords to pass through similar stages in a similar process.

Procedure in the Second Chamber The House of Lords may reject an ordinary bill or introduce into it substantial amendments. If the House of Commons refuses to accept these amendments, or if it is rejected, the bill is dead for that session. But if the House of Commons wishes it to become law and passes it twice again through all the stages in course of two years, it goes to the King for his approval. When a bill receives the Royal assent, it becomes law.

Procedure of enacting Private bills Private bills are those which deal with matters in which a particular locality or a particular person or a body of persons is interested, e.g. bills for acquiring lands for railways or tramways, etc. ("The object of a private bill is, not to alter the general law of the country, but to alter the law relating to some particular locality, or to confer rights on or relieve from liability some particular person or persons" (Ilbert)). A private bill usually seeks to give Parliamentary sanction to an individual, municipality or a joint stock company to build or extend a railway, to construct a tramway to provide a community with gas, electricity or water, to dig a canal, etc. As the giving of such permission abrogates private rights over land, houses, etc., a private bill cannot be presented to either house of Parliament unless and until the persons likely to be affected have been duly notified. Moreover, the promoter of the bill must file with the Private Bill Office and the Government Department concerned with the enterprise of the kind contemplated in the bill, a description of the proposed undertaking and an estimate of its cost. When the officer, known as the examiner of petitions for private bills, certifies that these preliminaries have been complied with the bill may be introduced. When it is once introduced, it goes through the same stages namely, the first reading, second reading, committee stage, report and the third reading in each house before it receives His Majesty's assent. If, however, the bill is opposed, it is referred to one of the committees of Selection, consisting of 4 members in the House of Commons and 5 members in the House of Lords. The

proceedings of the committee are of a judicial nature, because the members hear the arguments of counsels, take evidence from witnesses and consider reports from public departments. If they find that the object of the bill as set forth in the preamble is not desirable, the bill is dropped. If the committee thinks the object to be desirable, it makes a detailed examination of it and may make amendments. If the committee gives a favourable report, the House usually passes it.

XI. Money Bills *Int.*

The term 'Money Bill' covers taxation, appropriation of supplies, loans and audits. The Parliament Act of 1911 defines it as "a public bill which, in the judgment of the Speaker of the House of Commons, contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely, the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration, or regulation of taxation; the imposition, for the payment of debt or other financial purposes of charges on the Consolidated Fund, or on money provided by Parliament, or the variation or repeal of any such charges; supply; the appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof; or subordinate matters incidental to those subjects or any of them."

Definition
of a
Money Bill

Neither all the governmental expenses nor all the taxes are voted annually. The management and service of the National Debt, the grants to Northern Ireland, the Civil List and other grants to the Royal family, and the salaries of Judges, the Comptroller and Auditor General, the Leader of the Opposition and the members of the Unemployment Assistance Board are authorised by Parliament by permanent statutes, which, however, can be altered at any time. These items of expenditure do not appear in the annual Estimates. Similarly, taxes like death duties, stamp duties, most customs duties, and certain excises are imposed by continuing statutes.

Continuing
statutes for
some taxes
and expend-
iture

✓ The financial action of Parliament is governed by three principles, (1) "It has become a fundamental principle of sound public finance with the English Government that all taxations and expenditures are at first placed before the Commons and when approved of by the House consisting of the representatives of the people, are enforced for the benefit of the country." (2) The House of Commons cannot vote money for any purpose whatsoever, nor can impose a tax except at the demand and upon the responsibility of Ministers of the Crown. (3) The House of Commons has got unshared

Principles
governing
control of
finance by
Parliament

prerogative of controlling finance. (The Parliament Act of 1911 provides that if a money bill passed by the House of Commons and sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, is not passed by the House of Lords without amendment within one month after it is sent to that House, the bill, shall, unless the House of Commons direct to the contrary be presented to His Majesty and become an act of Parliament on the Royal assent being signified, notwithstanding that the House of Lords have not assented to the bill.)

(The preliminary step to the voting of public expenditure is the preparation of Estimates. The unalterable rule is that a written statement or estimate is to be presented to Parliament showing precisely how much money is expected to be needed for a particular purpose and, requesting the grant of that amount for the specific purpose. In the autumn of every year the Departments prepare their Estimates of the coming year in a prescribed form giving all necessary details. If a particular Department wishes to spend more than what was sanctioned last year, it must obtain the sanction of the Treasury, before inserting it in the Estimate. (The Estimates are then closely examined and revised by the Treasury, without whose sanction no Estimate will be considered by Parliament.) But the Treasury has no control over Estimate where a Vote of credit is sought for emergency expenditure such as the conduct of a war. The Estimates sanctioned by the Treasury are then considered by the Financial Secretary in their relation to the probable revenue of the coming year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may wish to cut down general expenditure and ask the Departments to reduce their expenditure. If the ministers concerned do not agree to his proposal, the matter is referred to the cabinet, where it is finally settled on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The Estimates are divided into five volumes dealing respectively with the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the three Revenue Departments, namely, the Board of Inland Revenue, the Board of Customs and Excise and the Post Office and the Civil Estimates. Each of these Estimates is further divided into separate groups called Votes. The Votes are in all about 150 in number, and each Vote is further sub-divided into sub-heads and items. The Estimates of expenditure are presented to the House of Commons during the first two weeks of the opening of the session at the end of January or the beginning of February. Then at an early date the House resolves itself into the Committee of Supply, which is a committee and the whole House. The Chairman of Committees, instead of the assent, presides over the committee. The advantage of discussing Estimates in the committee of the Whole House instead of the House of Commons itself is that discussions in the

Votes on
Account and
Appropriation
Acts

committee are less formal and a member may speak more than once on one item. The committee, first of all, takes up a preliminary brief debate on 'grievances'. This is a legacy of the days when the king was all-powerful and Parliament tried to curb him by adopting the principle of 'Redress of grievances must precede the voting of supplies'. After this formal affair, the Estimates are taken up for discussion. But the time at the disposal of the committee does not permit a careful scrutiny, as only 20 days, scattered throughout the session, are only allowed for the purpose. The committee adopts resolutions after debate and report back to the House. The Report forms the basis of the Appropriation Bills. The House cannot afford time to pass all the Estimates before the 1st of April, when the new financial year begins. But with the beginning of the new financial year, money has got to be spent by the Departments. The House of Commons, therefore, pass resolutions giving the government provisional authority to spend a limited sum under every Vote before the 1st of April. The provisional authority is called 'a Vote on Account'. The sums thus granted to the Civil Service and the Army are really credit given to the Departments. These are expected to defray the expenses of these Departments for about five months. All the Estimates are to be finally passed by the 15th August, when the session usually ends. All the Votes together are gathered annually into the Appropriation Act which defines in minute detail how much money may be spent by each Department for this purpose or that. It is to be noted that the Appropriation Acts or Votes on Account merely authorise the spending of money but does not entitle any Department to draw the money from the Consolidated Fund. Authority to draw the money is given by the resolutions passed by the Committee of Ways and Means.

The usual mode of showing disapproval of the policy of a Department is to propose, when the Vote of that Department is being considered, that the salary of the minister in charge of that Department be reduced by £100. Such a proposal is tantamount to a vote of no confidence. The Select Committee on National Expenditure, however, reported in 1918 that, "there has not been a single instance in the last 25 years when the House of Commons by its own direct action has reduced, on financial grounds, any estimate submitted to it."

The business of the Committee of Ways and Means begins a little later than that of the Committee of Supply. This is also a Committee of the Whole House. It is before this Committee that the Chancellor of the Exchequer places the Budget early in the session before the end of the financial year. The Budget gives a review of

Parliamentary control

The Budget and the annual Finance Act

the finances of the recent past, gives an account of the expenses which are necessary in the coming year, of the revenue which is expected, and of the condition of national debt, and finally, it discloses the Government's proposal for taxation. The Committee passes resolutions re-imposing existing taxes at the rates newly agreed upon, remitting taxes, if necessary, and providing such new or additional revenues as the needs of the situation require. The Income tax, Tea duty, Customs duty on tobacco, beer and spirits are revised every year with a view to balancing the Budget. The resolutions of the Committee are formally reported to the House of Commons, which passes the annual Finance Act, through the usual procedure of legislating Public Bills. The Finance Act defines the taxes for the year.

✓ All sums collected under the annual Finance Act and the more permanent acts are paid into the Exchequer account of the Bank of England, called the Consolidated Fund. The Comptroller
and
Auditor-
General Comptroller and Auditor-General who is independent of the Government like a judge, sees that not a penny is drawn from the Consolidated Fund by any Department for any purpose not authorised by the Appropriation Act. This officer makes a report to the House of Commons showing that the money voted for has been spent exactly as the House desired.

Extent of Parliamentary Control over Finance

In theory the House of Commons is the guardian of national finance and exercises its authority over both expenditure and taxation. But in practice the control of the House is rendered largely ineffective on account of the shortage of time at the disposal of the House, the lack of qualification of members to deal with highly technical questions, the want of proper organisation for dealing with such questions and the antiquated form in which the Estimates and Accounts are presented. But it must be admitted that the House of Commons does really control the taxes which are imposed on the country. The Baldwin Cabinet of 1928 proposed a tax on light oils, which would have increased the cost of kerosene in poor men's cottages. Though the Government possessed a big majority in the House, yet it had to withdraw the tax on account of vehement opposition to it. Mr. Chamberlain had to abandon the original form of his National Defence Contribution. These facts show that there are limits beyond which the Cabinet dare not push its majority for fear of losing its influence.

The control over expenditure is, however, much less real. Examination and discussion of Estimates of a score of Departments, some of which spend tens of millions of pounds, cannot be

done in the twenty days allotted for this purpose. In the accounts, no distinction is made between what is properly due to the year's working and what is really due to other years. Nor is there any distinction between income account and capital account, between 'dead-weight' debt and productive debt. So it becomes almost impossible to form any clear idea as to the exact financial position of the Government. The Estimates of one Department do not show the cost of services rendered to it by other Departments. The defects in Parliamentary control of finance have been described by the Select Committee on National Expenditure in the following words: "The time at its disposal is closely restricted. It cannot examine witnesses. It has no information before it but the bulky volumes of the Estimates themselves, the answers of a Minister to questions addressed to him in debate, and such facts as some Private members may happen to be in a position to impart. A body so large, so limited in its time, so ill-equipped for inquiry, would be a very imperfect instrument for the control of expenditure even if the discussions in Committee of Supply were devoted entirely to that end. But those discussions afford the chief, sometimes the only opportunity in the course of the year for the debate of grievances and of many questions of policy. In the competition for time, those matters of greater interest and often of greater importance, usually take precedence, and questions of finance are crowded out. And even if all these obstacles are overcome, and some rare occasion arises on which the House of Commons discovers and debates a case where a reduction in an Estimate appears desirable, and would be disposed to insist upon its view, the present practice, which regards almost every vote of the House as a vote, not only on the merits of the question, but for or against the Government of the day, renders independence of action impossible." The House of Commons exercises control over finance only indirectly in two ways. First, it controls the very existence of the Cabinet which proposes the money bills and secondly, the annual reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General go to a Committee of the House for review.

XXIII. Judicial System of Great Britain

The Judicial System of Great Britain, as it stands to-day, was reconstituted by the Judicature Act of 1873-76. It is based upon a division between Criminal and Civil cases, and between courts in London and courts in the County.

Minor cases are dealt with in the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, which are held in rural areas by Justices of Peace and in urban areas by a Magistrate. The Justice of Peace is a country gentleman, appointed by the Lord Chancellor at his discretion

and serving without pay. Two Justices of Peace constitute the Court of Petty Sessions and all the Justices of Peace of the County form the Quarter Sessions. A single Justice may convict for minor offences; he or a Petty Sessions may bind over a person accused of a serious offence to either the next Assize or the next meeting of the Quarter Sessions. An Act of 1938 makes it possible for a County to employ a paid professional Magistrate in place of Quarter Sessions. The Court of Quarter Sessions has both original and appellate jurisdiction. The original cases are heard with the help of Jury. Appeals from the decisions of Justices of Peace and the Courts of Petty Sessions are decided without Jury. From these courts appeals lie to the King's Bench Division of the High Court or to the Court of Criminal Appeal according to the nature of the case.

The Assizes are terms of court held by Judges of the King's Bench Division of the High Court in London, who make the rounds of County towns and provincial centres, hearing criminal cases. England and Wales are divided into seven circuits, each containing several Counties. Serious criminal cases are tried with the help of a Jury. The King's Bench Division acts as a Court of Assize for London and Middlesex.

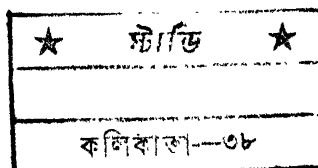
Appeal from Assizes may be taken on points of law in any criminal case or under certain circumstances on the question of fact to the Court of Criminal Appeal, which consists usually of three Judges of the King's Bench Division of the High Court. The procedure in this court is simple and inexpensive and it represents English Justice at its very best. Appeals from this court may be carried to the House of Lords with the permission of the Attorney-General. But the permission is rarely given to appeal a criminal case, on a point of law, to the House of Lords.

Original jurisdiction in Civil cases and cases in Equity in England belongs to the so-called County Courts, whose jurisdiction is confined to a district, which is smaller than a County. There are one hundred such courts in England. Such a court can try cases involving sums up to £100 or property worth up to £500. A County Court is presided over by a Judge appointed by the Lord Chancellor from among barristers of at least seven years' standing. From the County Courts lies an appeal to the High Court in London.

The Supreme Court of Judicature consists of two chambers—the lower chamber being called the High Court, and the upper chamber, the Court of Appeals. The High Court consists of three divisions—the King's Bench Division, the Chancery Division and the Division of Probate, Divorce and Admiralty. The King's Bench Division is composed of the Lord Chief Justice and fifteen other Judges appointed by the Crown on the Lord

Chancellor's advice. It has jurisdiction over all classes of Common Law actions in Civil and Criminal cases. It exercises supervisory power over inferior courts and judicial bodies. The Chancery Division consists of the Lord Chancellor and six Judges. It hears appeals from County Courts in cases relating to equity and bankruptcy as well as cases arising out of partnership, trust and mortgage. The Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division is composed of the president and two Judges. From all the divisions an appeal lies to the Court of Appeals, consisting of five Lords Justices of Appeal, the Presidents of three Divisions of High Court, the Master of Rolls, all ex-Lord Chancellors, the Lord Chief Justice and the present Lord Chancellor. A final appeal in cases of Civil law or Equity may sometimes be taken to the House of Lords.

The House of Lords is the final court of appeal for Great Britain and Northern Ireland in all cases of law and equity. Seven "law lords" are appointed life members of the House of Lords to serve as judicial members. Appeals in ecclesiastical cases and from the other parts of the Empire are tried by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is composed of the judicial members of the House of Lords together with additional persons learned in the law of the community from which the appeal comes.



CHAPTER XXIV

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION (Contd.)

MODERN TRENDS IN THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

VI. "The Decline of Parliament"

In the nineteenth century the functions of Government were limited, the number of electors was small, party discipline and organization were loose and in consequence of these, members of Parliament could exercise effective control over every department of Government. The Duke of Devonshire who had served in the Cabinets of Palmerston and Russell said in 1893 that "Parliament makes and unmakes ministries, it revises their actions. Ministers make peace and war, but they do so at pain of instant dismissal by Parliament from office ; and in affairs of internal administration the power of Parliament is equally direct. It can dismiss a Ministry if it is too extravagant or too economical ; it can dismiss a Ministry because its Government is too stringent or too lax. It does actually and practically in every way govern England, Scotland and Ireland." But now-a-days one Chamber of Parliament, the House of Lords, has been reduced to a position of humiliating importance by the Parliament Act of 1911 and by the wholesale creation of peers who have neither the capacity nor the willingness to devote their time to public affairs and whose sole qualification to the dignity has been the handsome contribution to party organisations. The House of Commons, in the opinion of Mr. Ramsay Muir, has shown its "increasing incapacity to perform its work, partly through excessive pressure of business, partly because of Cabinet dictatorship, partly owing to the faults of procedure and the bewildering way in which the national accounts are presented ; the result is that the House of Commons has no real control over the enormous and growing power of bureaucracy, or over the vast but inefficiently wielded powers of the Cabinet." He comes to the conclusion that the House of Commons has become merely a registering body.

Much of this complaint with regard to the decline in the power of Parliament is with reference to the decline in the importance of Private members, that is, members of Parliament who are not in the ministry. Private members are entitled to propose Bills, but the time allotted to them is only thirty parts of the session out of two hundred in a normal year. Many members are eager to introduce bills, but the time at the disposal of the House is extremely

Changed position of Parliament

Position of Private members

imited. So a selection is made by lot among the members wishing to introduce bills. Only the first few names on the list have any chance of having their bills discussed. The discussions are taken up on Fridays, when most of the members are eager to go out to enjoy the week-end. Towards the end of the session even the Fridays are annexed by the Government for its own work. No private member's Bill has any chance of success without the support of the Government, but such support is seldom given. A private member, thus, can hardly expect to do more than call attention to his proposals. He can criticise the legislative proposals of the Cabinet, but the time at the disposal of the House is, again, limited for such criticism. 'Closure,' 'Guillotine' and other devices are applied for bringing discussions to an end. It has already been shown that the time allotted for discussing the Estimates is utterly inadequate for a close scrutiny of expenditure by the House. Over and above these difficulties, the Private member has to vote according to the dictates of the Party Whips. If he does not do so he will not be adopted again as candidate by his party. The salary of members of Parliament has been raised from £400 to £600 in 1937. Those who depend in any measure on this salary for their living cannot afford to displease the Party, because with the extension of franchise it has become well-nigh impossible for a candidate to become successful without the support of a party. Hence the Private member has become a mere unit in a division-list, with little effective sphere of independent action of his own.

This view of the position of a Private member is supported by Mr. McKinnon Wood, an ex-Cabinet minister, who says that he would much rather be a member of the London County Council than a Private member of Parliament. Fewer young men of promise now devote their talents to political career than before, because they feel that there is little scope for showing their ability as Private member of the House. Very little seriousness is in evidence among the Private members with regard to the discussions in the House of Commons. Mr. Ramsay Muir draws a pen-picture of the House of Commons in an ordinary evening, when visitors will see 'forty or fifty men and one or two women sprawling here and there on the benches, listening to—no, not as a rule listening to, but enduring—a speech from one of their members, while waiting for an opportunity to make speeches of their own. There will be other members in the House, some in the lobbies writing letters, others in the library hunting out references for a speech or preparing an article, others in the smoke-rooms chatting and playing chess, others in the dining-rooms or on the terrace entertaining visitors; none of them paying any attention to the debate, but all waiting to record their votes without having heard the argu-

Lack of
interest in
the discus-
sions of
Parliament

ments. There will be others in clubs within call, or dining with friends, or at the theatre ; they will come in towards the end of the evening, ready to take part in divisions, having been told by their Whips that the discussion will be carried on until such an hour, when a division will take place ; sometimes the discussion has to be artificially prolonged, in order to fulfil these promises."

There is no denying of the fact that the position of Private members has declined in importance. But neither Prof. Finer nor Prof. Laski find any cause of lamenting over this.

Justification of the present situation According to Finer, Private members "have little to add to discussion, because neither special training nor formal profession fits them for it. Nor is there anything so special about the locality they represent that its voice ought to be heard. When it is, indeed, the party caucus knows it, and promptly includes it in the ingredients of the party's policy. It is enough if the opportunity is allowed to men of exceptional talent and character, to denounce the misdeeds of Government and Opposition when the occasion demands." Some such opportunity is already given by the right of Private members to ventilate grievances, to extract information, to criticise administrative process, and to raise the discussion of large principles which test the movement of public opinion. More opportunities can be given by changing the procedure of business in the House.

The spread of general education, facilities of communication, and the awakening of public spirit of the electorate have also contributed to the transfer of power from Parliament to the electorate. In the present century a principle has been established that no far-reaching changes in public affairs should be made until the voters have had a chance to pass judgment upon the proposals at a general election. In his Ministry of 1924-29 Mr. Baldwin declined to introduce Protection because he had not asked for any mandate from the electorate. The Ministry of 1931 asked for a wide mandate, and it is quite possible to hold that they were justified in introducing whole Protection on the strength of it. The electors vote for a programme put forward by a party and their representatives are expected to give their support to the Bills proposed by the leaders of the party. Thus Parliament has become the organ of registration for the Cabinet.

II. Parliament in War-time

Nothing testifies more to the vitality of democratic institutions in England than the active part played by Parliament in the government of the country during the present war. The danger of bombing from air and the need of leaving the ministers free

to prosecute the war make it necessary to hold fewer and shorter sittings than in peace-time. A writer in a recent issue of 'The Economist' has described the outward changes due to war in the following words: "Away from Westminster Parliament lacks its peace-time limelight of party politics. Bye-elections are not contested by the major political groups. Local propaganda is confined to keeping the parties' identity and ideals alive. There will be no general elections while the war lasts. All this does not involve the abnegation of Parliament."

Parliament has three functions in war-time. Its first function is to secure that the government which commands the support of a Parliamentary majority has also the confidence of the people. Cabinet and Ministers can be changed even though the acid test of elections is withheld. The relative strength of parties has not changed perceptibly since the war broke out. But the events of May 1940, when Mr. Chamberlain gave way to Mr. Churchill, represented a radical re-alignment in English politics and they mirrored a sweeping and dramatic change in public opinion. The question at issue was the conduct of the war, and the Members of Parliament, regardless of their party affiliations, supported the change in leadership. Thus the Parliament has been successful in interpreting the will of the people correctly and installing a government which command the confidence of the people.

The second function of Parliament is to see that the government is efficient. It has freely asked questions and criticised the government upon the conduct of the war in all its branches and kept watch over both the liberty and security of the nation. It is said that every attempt to curb democratic curiosity and every effort to give *carte blanche* to the executive in matters vitally affecting civilian rights, have been resisted.

The third function of Parliament is to give the most complete backing to a government which proves both efficient and popular. In peace-time the ordinary private member plays a rather insignificant part in shaping the policy of government. He has, indeed, frequent opportunities for criticism at question time, on adjournment motions and in general debate. But these are largely desultory and fortuitous opportunities in times of crisis. The members, at such a time, can render and are rendering very useful service in committees and in settling differences about policy. The Select Committee on National Expenditure examines the economical side of departmental activities through a number of sub-committees. The members of the Select Committee have already drawn attention to a large number of cases where money has been wasted because of faulty planning and short-sighted policy in the Ministries of Supply, Shipping and Food. "Their ostensible aim is to secure economy, their actual aim to promote

efficiency, and it would not be incompatible with the exclusive responsibility of the Cabinet for policy, for more members to play a part more continuously in this scrutiny of official acts. Moreover, the defunct duty of the Commons to pass judgment upon expenditure, a duty which has fallen into disuse because of the congestion of parliamentary procedure, would thereby be restored.The second war-time development is the practice of consulting interested representative members to settle differences about policy. Most notably it was used early in the war to revise controversial Defence Regulations, and more recently it was employed in the discussion about the powers of emergency courts. The basis of popular government is precisely consultation with groups and individuals with strong views and relevant experience; and if the scrutiny of expenditure may help the Commons to fulfil their role of ensuring that government is efficient, frequent informal consultation can help them to carry out their other task of seeing that it is popular as well.

The present House of Commons, elected in 1935, ought to have been dissolved in November, 1940. But it is dangerous to hold a general election when the country is engaged in a war. The House, therefore, has prolonged its life till the end of the War. The Parties have declared an electoral truce and, therefore, they do not contest the bye-elections. This means that the House has cut itself off from the electorate to some extent. Some vital changes have also been introduced in the method of transacting business by the House of Commons. The House now sits only three days in the week instead of the usual five days. The shortness of the sessions has somewhat cut down the amplitude of debates. Some measure of restraint on debates and questions is also necessary to prevent usual information falling into the hands of the enemy. Some of the sessions of Parliament have to be held in secret for the same reason. There is considerable opposition to the Government, but no official Opposition. • The most significant of all the changes in the character of the House of Commons is the fact that out of 615 members, as many as 120 have joined the armed forces, while 75 have become Ministers of some grade or other, and another 75 are serving as Parliamentary Private Secretaries. Over and above these about 150 members have administrative appointments of various kinds. From this it might be inferred that it has become very easy to manage the House of Commons. But as a matter of fact the influence of the House has increased during the War. In normal time the members of the Party in power lend their whole-hearted support to the Government, because they fear that the Government feeling embarrassed by opposition might dissolve the House. The dissolution means much trouble, expense and risk to the members, who have to face a fresh election. But now they are

sure that the Government cannot dissolve the House. They, therefore, criticise the Government freely. Even a powerful Premier like Churchill had to reshuffle his Cabinet several times in response of parliamentary criticism.

"Cabinet Dictatorship"

In theory, the House of Commons controls the Cabinet. The Cabinet must resign or dissolve Parliament, if it fails to retain the confidence of the House. The House can make the army and air force illegal by refusing to pass the annual Army and Air-Forces Bill. It can make the levying of income-tax and surtax unlawful by failing to pass the Finance Bill; it can prevent the expenditure of money on the Supply Services by failing to pass the Appropriation Bill. But "the refusal to pass the Mutiny Act or grant supplies," says Anson, "has never in fact been applied." (The rigours of party discipline, and activities of Party Whips make it difficult for a member belonging to the majority party forming the Government to vote against the Bills proposed by the Government. The Opposition, which is usually in a minority, may propose a vote of censure but few votes of censure are likely to be carried. No Government with a majority has been overthrown by the House of Commons since 1895. A majority Government can be defeated only by reason of a party split. So long as the party supports the Cabinet, it is the Cabinet which controls the House, and not the House that controls the Government.

Relation
between
the Cabinet
and the
Commons
in theory
and practice

Dr. A. B. Keith makes the following highly pertinent observations regarding the tendency of subordinating the Commons to the Cabinet. "The extension of the franchise and the redistribution of seats into one-member constituencies in 1885 have strengthened the electorate or the party organisations, and diminished the independence of the Commons; the increase of electioneering costs, with the extension of the franchise in 1918, and the payment of members, have conspired to render members extremely sensitive to the threat of dissolution, and have compelled them in the main to follow loyally the leaders whose party aims they have bound themselves to support. The Commons thus has, on the one hand, become more sensitive to the control of the electors; on the other, it has ceased to control Cabinet, and it dare not reject or substantially amend government measures. The adoption of rules of procedure, which more and more abstracts the rights of Private members to secure discussions on legislation, and the absorption of the time of the Commons by the Government have contributed to the subordination of the Commons to the Cabinet." It has

Causes of
subordina-
tion of the
Commons

already been shown that the power to initiate and shape important laws is in practice confined to the members of the Cabinet. Bills proposed by the Cabinet cannot usually even be amended without the consent of ministers. In recent years amendments carried against the opposition of the Government have been extremely rare. Coherence and consistency in legislation demand the rejection of such amendments.

✓ The House of Commons, however, criticises the conduct of the Cabinet freely and frequently. The House has the following opportunities for doing so : ✓ (a) An amendment may be put down to the Address of the King delivered by the Prime Minister at the beginning of each session ; (b) The Opposition may criticise the Government during the twenty or twenty-three days which are devoted to Supply, in matters relating to the Votes put down ; (c) on four occasions, when the House goes into committee to consider the three sets of defence and the Civil Estimates, motions may be brought forward if the ballot favours the mover ; (d) a Private member can rise to move the adjournment of the House "for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance." If forty members rise in their places to support him, he can bring forward his motion ; (e) the leader of the Opposition can at any time claim to move a vote of want of confidence. In such a case the judgment of the House is passed not upon any one act or question of policy but distinctly upon the record of the ministry as a whole. But the party discipline is so strong now-a-days that it is very difficult to turn a Cabinet out of office, unless the party in power breaks up on some vital questions like that of Home Rule or Free Trade. "It is very difficult," says Sir Sidney Low, "to bring a Government to account for anything done in its ministerial work." The real check upon a gross misuse of power is the salutary fear of public opinion.

✓ But it would be going too far to say that a Government in possession of a majority forms a temporary dictatorship. The authority of the Government is derived from the confidence of the majority ; that majority, again, rests upon popular support. If the Cabinet displays excessive secrecy or grave discourtesy, or makes a continuous threat of resignation or dissolution or shows inability to quell an angry public opinion outside, it is likely to raise revolt in the rank and file of its supporters. The Prime Minister has to say with Carlyle ("I am their leader, therefore I must follow them.") He and his colleagues in the Cabinet must try to learn the direction of their supporters' minds. If they find that they are not being followed, they must alter the direction of their policy.

~~✓~~ In 1931, the Labour Party had 288 members, Conservatives 260 members, the Liberal Party 59 seats and others 8 seats in the House of Commons. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, thus, was the leader of the strongest party in the House of Commons. But when he and his two most important colleagues, Mr. Snowden and Mr. Thomas proposed a cut in unemployment benefit, the Trades-union authorities rejected the proposal, and a section of the Cabinet, led by Mr. Henderson revolted against the authority of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. There was a split in the Labour Party and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had to resign as the head of the Labour Government. There are many other recent cases to show that even when the Government commands a majority, it has to give up its policy or measures in the face of rising discontent in the country. In 1934, the National Government under Mr. MacDonald had an unprecedented majority in the House of Commons, yet it had to give way on the Unemployment Assistance Regulations. Again, the Government had to accept substantial amendments in its "Incitement to Disaffection Bill," because the Opposition within the House of Commons made common cause with the opposition among the general public. In December, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare, the then British Foreign Secretary, and M. Laval, the then Prime Minister of France virtually agreed to sacrifice Abyssinia to Italy. Their proposal was communicated to the British Prime Minister by messenger, and was presented to the Cabinet. In the meantime it was published in Paris newspapers and reproduced in London papers. There was an immediate and spontaneous outcry against this proposal. The Cabinet had to repudiate the action of Sir Samuel Hoare, who resigned with the observation : "I have not got the confidence of the great body of opinion in the country, and I feel that it is essential for the Foreign Secretary, more than any other Minister in the country, to have behind him the general approval of his fellow-countrymen." In 1937, Mr. Chamberlain had to give way on his National Defence Contribution Scheme. In conclusion, it may be stated that the Cabinet is not oblivious of public opinion and does seldom act in a high-handed manner. "On the whole, with the exceptions here and there noticed, the British Cabinet system offers quick, vigorous, thoughtful and responsible leadership" ; observes Dr. Finer, "it is controlled, but not stultified ; threatened, but not executed ; questioned, but not mistrusted ; politically partisan, but not personally malicious ; restrained as much by the spirit of responsible power as by its institutions and sanctions ; and Janus-like, it looks, at once to the People and to the Senate."

Tendency towards Bureaucratic Government

The sphere of Governmental activity has increased enormously

since the War of 1914-18. The responsibility of providing for the housing of the people on an adequate standard, of demolishing slums, planning new areas, and replanning old ones, of carrying out the complex activities in connection with the National Health Insurance scheme, of controlling the system of transport, of finding employment for labourers, of fixing wages in unorganised trades, of providing machinery for industrial conciliation and arbitration and host of other duties was taken up by the Government. Ministers have got neither the time nor the capacity to look into the details of the vast mass of administrative work. Consequently much of these has to be left to the discretion of the Civil Service. Parliament has no time to make laws relating to the details of the administration of these departments; nor has it time and opportunity to discuss minutely the Estimates prepared by the Civil Service to finance the working of these departments. These tendencies have led some publicists to conclude that there is an "enormous increase in the range and power of bureaucracy which is now the most potent influence in our system and which is most ineffectually controlled."

It is very often complained that the policy of a Minister is largely shaped by the Department over which he presides. This is so, because a Minister is in charge of a Department for a brief period, while the officers of his Department are professional experts. "In a majority of cases," writes Mr. Ramsay Muir, "he (the Minister) has no special knowledge of the immense and complex work of the Department over which he is to preside.....He has to deal with a body of officials who may be, and often are, men of far greater ability than himself, and who have been giving their whole time to the study of the problems of the office, during the years when he has been making his position in the world, or taking hot air on platforms. They bring before him hundreds of knotty problems for his decision; about most of them he knows nothing at all. They put before him their suggestions supported by what may seem, the most convincing arguments and facts. Is it not obvious that, unless he is either a self-important ass, or a man of quite exceptional grasp, power and courage (and both of these types are uncommon among successful politicians), he will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, simply accept their view, and sign his name on the dotted line.....On the whole, the policy of the 'Office' will nearly always prevail; its powers of quiet persistence and of quiet obstruction, and its command of all the facts, are irresistible except to a man of commanding power."

But a Minister who knows what he wants can easily impose his personality upon his officials. Ministers like Lord Haldane

Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Arthur Henderson have been able to transform the spirit of the officials during the tenure of their office. Ministers who have no particular policy of their own and yet want to do something, accept the policy of their Departments and enlist the support of the Cabinet to push it to the statute-book. There are other Ministers who have neither the inclination to make a name for themselves nor any clear-cut policy of their own. When such Ministers hold the charge of a Department, they, with their experience of public life, are able to direct the Civil Service as to what it should not do. Public men, who attain the rank of Ministers, are usually endowed with qualities of judgment and initiative; and with these they do check and control the judgment and initiative of the officials.

Refutation
of the
charge

Moreover, a Cabinet which takes office with a policy which it desires to carry out, and has the requisite support in the House of Commons, can carry out that policy without any resistance from the permanent officials. "Determination of policy is the function of Ministers," said Sir Warren Fisher, the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, in his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Civil Service in 1929, "and once a policy is determined it is the unquestioned and unquestionable business of the Civil Servant to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same good will whether he agrees with it or not. That is axiomatic and will never be in dispute. At the same time it is the traditional duty of Civil Servants, while decisions are being formulated, to make available to their political chiefs all the information and experience at their disposal, and to do this without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice thus tendered may accord or not with the Minister's initial view." It is the competence of Civil Service which acts as a great check upon incompetence in general administration.

Relation
between
Ministers
and Civil
Servants

V. Delegated Legislation and Judicial power of Departments

In 1929 Lord Hewart, Lord Chief Justice of England, published a sensational book called "The New Despotism" in which he warned the public against the growing towards Bureaucratic control. (He attacked the Civil Service on the ground that it was presuming to exercise power, some of which before to Parliament and some of which belonged to the judiciary.) He was ably seconded in 1930 by Mr. Ramsay Muir, the Chairman of the Central Liberal organisation in "How Britain is Governed", and in 1931 by Prof. C. K. Allen of Oxford University in "Bureaucracy Triumphant".

Cry of
Liberty
in danger

Government Departments are now given power to make

Provincial and Statutory Orders 'provisional orders' in the place of private bills and to make 'statutory' or 'departmental' orders to fill in the details of public bills passed by Parliament. In the former case the Department concerned issues orders after investigation of questions like the extensions of the powers of a public authority or a public service such as tramway line. Action may be taken immediately after the passing of such an order ; but it will come before Parliament sometime during the session for confirmation, which is seldom refused. To this type of subsidiary legislation there seems to be no objection, but the difficulty lies with the other kind of Departmental orders. English laws used to be detailed and specific and the administering authority used to be left with only a narrow discretion. But the multiplication of the functions of Government and the growing complexity of legislation make it necessary that Parliament should merely lay down the broad principles in a statute and delegate to the Departments concerned the authority of issuing Rules and Orders to fill in the details. In 1890, 160 Rules and Orders were made ; in 1913, 444 ; in 1928, as many as 800. Some of these have force 'as though they are part of the Act'. These Rules and Orders affect the daily life of the citizen much more than the authorising Statutes. Moreover, their political reasonableness as affecting public liberty and utility, is judged by no tribunal.

Character of delegated legislation Some examples of the delegated legislation will show whether or not the legislative function has been transferred to any extent from Westminster to Whitehall. In the Rating and Valuation Act of 1925 the Minister concerned was not only given the power to issue Orders and to 'do any other thing which appears to him necessary or expedient' but also the authority 'to modify the provisions of this Act so far as may appear to the Minister necessary or expedient for carrying the Order into effect.' The National Government carried out its emergency legislation of 1931 through the medium of a few general laws implemented by a series of Orders in Council. In the matter of town planning, the Act of 1932 lays down very general principles, and allows the Ministry of Health, after consultation with local authorities, to promulgate planning scheme. The tariff legislation of 1932 allows the Tariff Board to fix tariffs almost entirely at its own discretion. The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1934, which sets up a Commission to advise as to scales of relief payment, empowers the Ministry of Health to make changes in relief payments by order. The Lord Chancellor appointed in 1929 a Committee on Ministers' Powers to investigate the problem of delegated legislation. The Committee pointed out that the delegation by Parliament of powers to legislate on matters of principle was an unusual practice. It showed by

analysing the Road Traffic Act of 1930 as a normal type of delegated legislation that the Act conferred on the Minister of Transport "wide powers of further restricting or even prohibiting the driving of motor as well as other vehicles or of any specified class or description of vehicles on any specified road". The Committee commented that, "No one who has ever been in a motor car would desire Parliament to undertake this task itself, and the staunchest upholder of the British Constitution is unlikely to maintain that it is seriously threatened by delegation of such a type." The Committee, however, recommended that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be set up and to it all Orders and Regulations are to be submitted before they go into effect. The duty of the Committee would be to draw the attention of the House to anything exceptional in the character of Orders before it confirms them.

The Departments are invested with power to settle disputed points and the 'decision of the Minister (that is of the Civil Servants) is declared to be final. Thus, the Minister of Health can strike the name of a doctor off the panel under the Health Insurance Scheme if he is convinced that the doctor is guilty of giving to a patient more expensive medicine than what the Minister thinks desirable. The doctor cannot go to the law-court for getting his name reinstated, because the Act says that the decision of the Minister is final. But it should be noted that the ordinary courts cannot deal with the vast mass of technical issues which arise under the legislation as to old age, invalid and disability pensions, under the regulations as to education, or the complex issues affecting sanitation, public health, town planning and construction of houses. Moreover, the Departmental tribunals are more easy of access than the ordinary courts ; their procedure is less technical, and much less expensive ; they decide more rapidly and their members have specialised knowledge. "Nothing in all this," observes Prof. Laski, "lends support to the charges of 'despotism' which Lord Hewart thought fit to make against the Civil Service in so sweeping and comprehensive a way. There is nothing in the experience of administrative law in this country that affords ground for suspicion that we are in danger of bureaucratic rule."

Judicial
powers of
Departments

VI. Reform of Parliament

Suggestions for overcoming the danger

The chief reason for this usurpation of legislative authority by the executive is the congestion of business in the Parliament. The number of measures which have had to be dropped at the end of a session for lack of time, the inadequate consideration of measures which are passed, the absence of effective discussion over policy and finance

Congestion
of business
and its
remedies

are the signs of congestion. The House of Commons has tried repeatedly to remedy this position by reforming its procedure. It has introduced closure, developed a system of committees, granted self-government to the Irish Free State, and set up a Parliament with powers to deal with domestic affairs in Northern Ireland. But some radical measures are urgently needed for effectively relieving the congestion.

One method of doing this is to set up separate Parliaments for England, Scotland and Wales with powers to deal with purely domestic affairs. The Parliament of Westminster would then be relieved of a great deal of business and so be able to attend better to its proper concerns—foreign and imperial policy and the affairs of the United Kingdom as a whole. In 1919, the House of Commons recommended that subordinate legislatures should be set up. As a result of this a Conference was held in 1920 and two different proposals emanated from it. One half of the Conference held that there should be no separate election for the subordinate legislature—and that there should be for each of these countries a small second chamber chosen by the Committee of Selection of the House of Lords. The other half of the Conference advocated the setting up of subordinate Parliaments for England, Scotland and Wales, directly elected by the people.

There is also an alternative scheme. It is recognized that the issues which confront the modern state are largely economic and social ; and it is suggested that what is required is that Parliament should set up Economic Council or Parliament of Industry to which it should delegate its powers of legislation and administration in economic affairs. If this line of advance be thought uncongenial to the spirit of the British Constitution, effective representation of economic and social interests in connection with the administrative departments of the state should be secured. The great departments of state should have councils representative of the interests which they administer. Such councils should initiate much of the legislation affecting economic and social interests. This would relieve Parliament of the stress of business because measures would have already been discussed publicly in these special councils.

With the rise of the Labour Party and the extension of franchise, acute problems regarding representative system has arisen. So long as there were only two political parties, each constituency was contested by two candidates and he who received the largest number of votes was elected. Thus the party for which a majority of total votes had been recorded, secured a majority in the House of Commons. But now generally three candidates contest a seat ; of these A

Defects of the representative system

may get 20,000 votes, B 15,000 and C 10,000. A is declared elected though he has obtained only 20,000 votes in a total poll of 45,000. The majority of voters (25,000) thus remain unrepresented. In an election conducted under such conditions a party may obtain a majority in the House of Commons, though its candidates have obtained a minority of the total votes polled. The following tables illustrate the utter disparity between the seats captured by a party and the number of votes cast for it.

1924 Election

Parties	Votes cast for it	Parliamentary seats obtained	Number of Votes to elect one Member
Conservative	7,854,523	412	19,000
Liberal	2,928,747	44	73,000
Labour	5,489,077	151	36,000

1929 Election

Conservative	8,658,910	260	33,284
Liberal	5,305,123	59	89,917
Labour	8,384,461	289	29,012

1935 Election

Parties	Votes cast for it	Parliamentary seats obtained	Number of Votes to elect one Member
GOVERNMENT (Conservatives, Liberal Nationals, National Labour, Nationals)	12,300,000	432	30,000
OPPOSITION (Labour, Liberals, Independent Labour, Independents and one Communist)	10,300,000	182	56,000

An attempt was made by the Ullswater Conference on Electoral Reform which met in 1930 to suggest new Electoral methods. It suggested Alternative vote and Single transferable vote or Proportional Representation. Under the Alternative vote the Single-member district would be retained, but each voter would express a second choice, so that if his first choice was third in the count, his ballot would then be counted for his second choice. The candidate receiving the lowest

Suggestion
for
remedy

number of votes would be eliminated and his votes would be divided between the two stronger candidates so that in the final count one would get a majority. The system of Proportional Representation has already been discussed. In 1931, the Labour Government proposed the Representation of the People Bill, in which Proportional Representation was not included. The Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. The introduction of Proportional Representation would give rise to artificial groups.

VII. Parties and Policies since 1918

Before the Great War of 1914 England was largely a *Laissez-faire* State, but in course of the last twenty-seven years she is being transformed into a 'social service' state, in which greater and greater powers of initiative and control are being centred in the government. A Coalition Government was formed in 1916 under Mr. Lloyd George and continued up to 1918, when a general election was held. As a result of the election the Coalition Party gained an overwhelming majority. The party consisted of the Conservatives, who were known as Unionists because of their advocacy of maintaining the union between England and Ireland, a section of Liberals who followed Mr. Lloyd George and a few members of the Labour Party. Out of 707 members of the House of Commons, Coalition Unionists commanded 334 seats, Coalition Liberals 136 seats, Coalition Labour 13 seats, Unionists 50 seats, Liberals (under Mr. Asquith) 29 seats, Labour 59 seats, Nationalists 7 seats, Sinn Féin 73 seats and others 6 seats. The result of the election thus showed a decline in the Liberal Party and strengthening of the Labour Party. Mr. Lloyd George, though nominally a Liberal, was head of a Government in which Conservatives had a majority. The Coalition Government lasted up to October 1922, when the Conservatives resolved not to support the Coalition any longer. Mr. Lloyd George at once resigned and the King entrusted Mr. Bonar Law to form the Government. Mr. Bonar Law dissolved Parliament and won a striking success at the polls.

As the representatives of the Irish Free State no longer sat at Westminster, the House of Commons consisted of 615 members.

Of these 344 were Conservatives, 142 Labour members, National Liberals under Mr. Lloyd George 61 and Liberals under Mr. Asquith 53, 12 Independents, 2 Irish Nationalists and 1 Sinn Féin. The Conservative Government of 1922-24 was a restoration of the normal party government. Mr. Bonar Law had to resign his post as Prime Minister owing to his ill health. The King selected Mr. Baldwin in preference to Lord Curzon, as Prime Minister

Coalition
Government
1916-18 and
1918-22

Conservative
Government
1922-24

because he felt that the Prime Minister must be in the Commons, since the Labour Opposition was not represented in the Lords. In the autumn of 1923 the Dominion Prime Ministers appealed to the English Government to aid them by protectionist legislation. But the Conservatives had won the election of 1922 on the pledge that they would not give up the Free Trade policy. Mr. Baldwin, therefore, dissolved the House of Commons to seek the mandate of the electorate.

As the result of the election of 1924 the Conservatives lost their absolute majority. They gained 258 seats, the Labour Party 191 seats, Liberals 159 seats and Independents 7 seats. Mr. Baldwin met Parliament, but was at once defeated on a Free-trade motion supported by the Labour and Liberal Parties. He resigned, and Mr.

The first
Labour
Government
1924

Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the Labour Party, was entrusted with the task of forming the first Labour Government. The Labour Government was a minority government and hence was weak. It could not follow a socialistic policy. The Prime Minister dissolved the House of Commons on his defeat in a minor issue. The election of 1924 was fought largely on the anti Communist issue. The Labour Party suffered for being unable to show any striking success in office and the Liberals could not gain many seats for having supported the Labour Party. The Conservatives again secured 412 seats, the Labour Party 151 seats, Liberal Party 49 seats and Independents 12 seats.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin formed his second Conservative Government on November 4, 1924. Like Sir Robert Peel in 1836 he infused a new spirit in the Conservative party. Instead of upholding the interest and privileges of the richer classes in toto, the party now approved of a readjustment of the national income and a rearrangement of

The second
Baldwin
Government
1924-29

national institutions for the benefit of the lower classes. Mr. Winston Churchill, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought about the restoration of the Gold Standard in 1925, restored the old special duties on automobiles, watches and other selected articles, and sponsored the Safeguarding of Industries Act of 1925 with a view to protect industries which suffered from foreign competition. The depression in the coal industry was responsible for the unemployment of many miners and over and above it the owners announced a large cut in wages. Government granted a subsidy in order to prevent the wage cut in July, 1925 ; but when the subsidy was withdrawn on April 30, 1926 and the Government proclaimed an emergency under the Emergency Powers Act of 1920, a "general strike" became inevitable. The "general strike" was declared on May 3, 1926. The workers in railway and transports, printing press, building

trades and the iron and steel industry went on strike. The strike came to an end on May 12. The Government had promised not to persecute the leaders, yet there was a good deal of victimisation. Parliament passed the Trades Disputes Act of 1927, by which political strikes and sympathetic strikes were virtually outlawed. During the five years of administration (1924, November to 1929, June) the Conservatives created two public corporations viz., the Electricity Board and the British Broadcasting Corporation (1926), to show that they were not adverse to socialized activity; they also enacted the Representation of the People Act of 1928, giving equal right of franchise to women.

As a result of the general election of 1929, the Conservatives lost many seats because of their unsympathetic treatment towards workers. They gained 260 seats, the Labour Party got 288 seats, the Liberals 59 seats and others 8 seats. The second Labour Ministry 1929-31 Mr. Baldwin resigned and the second Labour Ministry was formed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on June 8, 1929. The Liberals supported the Labour Party in Parliament. The Labour Government was faced with the great depression, when national income was falling and unemployment was growing enormously. By 1931, the depression assumed a severe form and the Government found it impossible to balance the budget. The Bank of England had to withstand a drain on its resources, and in August, 1931, there was a break in sterling. All the three parties held that the national financial emergency required concerted efforts. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald dissolved the Labour Ministry and formed the National Government in co-operation with the Conservatives and the Liberals.

In the first National Government, the Cabinet consisted of ten members—4 Labour, 4 Conservatives and 2 Liberals. Other The first National Government ministerial posts were held by Liberals and Conservatives. The majority of members of the Labour Party withdrew their support from the National Government, because they disliked the Government's proposal for curtailing unemployment relief, and because they had no confidence in MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, their former leaders. On September 8, 1931, 243 Conservatives, 53 Liberals, 12 Labour and 3 Independent members passed a vote of confidence in the National Government as against 242 Labour and 9 Independents. The National Government increased the income tax to five shillings per pound, imposed a few taxes on consumption and effected cuts in salary and unemployment relief. There arose grave discontent in the country. On September 21, Parliament absolved the Bank of England from the necessity of redeeming its notes in gold. England thus went off the gold standard; but the pound remained stable at about sixteen shillings and the

depreciation encouraged British foreign trade. The Government then dissolved Parliament in October, 1931, with a view to secure a mandate from the electorate to "do anything it thought best."

As the result of the election the Government secured overwhelming majority, composed of 470 Conservatives, 3 Nationals, 33 Liberals of Sir Herbert Samuel group and 35 Liberals of Sir John Simon's group, 13 National Labour and 5 Independent members. The opposition consisted of 52 Labour and 4 Independent Liberal members under Mr. Lloyd George. The Cabinet now consisted of 18 members, of whom 11 were Conservatives, 4 belonged to the National Labour party under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and 3 to the Liberal groups. Mr. Baldwin, leader of the Conservative party became the leader of the House of Commons but allowed Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to continue as Prime Minister. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, a pronounced protectionist, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He sponsored the Import Duties Act which came into effect on March 1, 1932 and with its passing England finally gave up the Free-Trade policy which she had adopted in 1846. He converted the 5 per cent war loan to three and a half per cent loan, not redeemable before 1952. The Liberals were staunch Free-Traders and when the Ottawa Agreement was accepted on September 28, 1932, the Liberals in the Ministry went out of the Government. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had become old and confused. So he resigned his nominal Prime Ministership in June, 1935 and Mr. Baldwin took up his post. His resignation transformed the National Government into a virtually Conservative Government. In November, 1935, the Parliament was dissolved and a new election was held. The results of the election were as follows :

GOVERNMENT		OPPOSITION	
Conservative	387	Labour	154
National	3	Independent	
Liberal National	34	Labour Party	4
National Labour	8	Liberal	20
Independent	4	Communist	1
	<hr/> 486		<hr/> 179

Mr. Baldwin resigned in May, 1937 on account of his old age. Mr. Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister on May 28, 1937 at the age of sixty-eight and the Cabinet was also reconstituted. As has been stated before, this Cabinet gave place to the War Cabinet in September, 1939.

The National Government carried on a policy of national

reconstruction of a mildly collectivist sort. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 empowered local authorities to plan and replan any area and the Ribbon Development Act of 1935 prohibited the construction of buildings along main roads. The Housing Act of 1935 aimed at preventing overcrowding and provided subsidies for that purpose. After the creation of the London Passenger Transport Board in 1933, control over all tubes, trams and buses was handed over to this great Public Corporation. The Government was attentive to the promotion of education and relieving of the burden of unemployment. With a view to achieve both these objects the Education Act of 1936 provided that the school leaving age would be raised from 14 to 15 from September, 1939. The National Government undertook an intensive planning in Agriculture. The quality, markets and price of essential products like milk, bacon, pigs, hops, potatoes are determined for the producers by the Government under the Agricultural Marketing Acts of 1931 and 1933. Subsidies are provided for certain industries. But the Government could not tackle with the problem of unemployment in coal mining, iron and steel, engineering, cotton, ship building and building construction industries. The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1936 brought the agricultural workers within the insurance scheme. The Government had to restrict liberty of the individual on the ground of national necessity. The Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934, popularly known as the Sedition Act, enabled the police to search premises for possessing material which might be used to cause disaffection in the armed forces of the Crown. In July, 1938 a boy of 18 was sentenced to one year's imprisonment under this Act for having talked pacifism to a corporal in the air force. The Public Order Act of 1936 prohibits the maintenance of private military associations and empowers the police to restrict parades, to enter public meetings and dissolve them on suspicion that there is danger of breach of the peace. "The cumulative effect," observes Prof. Laski, "of the habits of the post-war epoch in matters concerning public liberty bears an unhappy resemblance to the atmosphere in the period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the Reform Bill of 1832. In each case there was serious industrial dislocation, and panic among the governing class as its outcome. In each case the panic led to repressive legislation which was used to limit the right of peaceful political activity to make its impact upon public opinion. In each case, also, the sense of alarm communicated itself to the Judiciary, which, both in the High Court and in petty sessions, distinguished itself by the severity of its sentences.In each case, also, the result of all this has been to undermine the public sense of confidence in the

Work
of the
National
Government

(Dangers to
individual
liberty

impartiality of the Courts." There was peace in England for nearly forty years after the fall of Napoleon, but the peace after the fall of Kaiser William II lasted only for twenty-one years.

The House of Commons, elected in 1935, continued to function till the end of the German War in 1945. No other Parliament has ever been in existence for such a long period.

Election of 1945 The Parliament by its own motion prolonged its existence. This shows that a Parliament, once elected, is the sovereign authority. The electors elected the members for five years, but the members as constituting the Parliament, preferred to retain power for ten years. This was, of course, due to the exigencies of War. The election of 1945 has been remarkable in many respects. The Labour Party, for the first time in history, has secured an absolute majority. It has captured as many as 392 seats and as such has not to depend on the support of any other party. Mr. Churchill has led England to Victory, but he has failed to retain power for his party. The Labour Party has to face grave post-war problems. It has already nationalised the Bank of England and has a plan of nationalising the major industries.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

I. The Evolution of the Dominion of Canada

Canada is the largest of the Dominions both in area and in population. The total area of Canada is 37 lakh square miles, whereas that of India is a little above 18 lakh square miles.

Area and Population But the population of the Dominion is about 11 millions, that is, about one-fifth of the population of Bengal and one-third of that of Behar. The population of Canada, like that of India, has no homogeneity in race, religion and language. Of the total population, 52 per cent are of British origin, while 28 per cent are of French, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent are of German extraction; 12 per cent belong to the diverse European nationalities and 3 per cent are of Negro and Native Indian stock. In spite of this diversity, national feeling is very strong among all classes of Canadians.

Political and economic divisions The provinces which joined the Confederation in 1867 are Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Subsequently, Manitoba joined in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, and Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905. Besides these provinces, there are two territories, namely, the Yukon and Northwest territories. Bankers, financiers and directors of Trust Companies exercise the predominant influence in Dominion politics. Eastern Canada is the seat of finance, commerce and manufacture, while Western Canada depends mainly on the growing of grains.

Important stages in constitutional development The important stages in the constitutional development of Canada are marked by the Quebec Act of 1774, the Canada Act of 1791, the Union Act of 1867, and its amendments of 1875, 1907, 1915 and 1930, the Act of 1871 respecting the establishment of Provinces and the Letters Patent of 1931 constituting the office of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief.

Canada was originally a French colony, set up in 1608. It was conquered by the British in 1759-60 and formally passed under British rule by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The wide-spread but sparsely populated province of Quebec was governed according to the Quebec Act of 1774. The Act provided that the province

was to be governed by the Governor with the help of a nominated Legislative Council. The Council had extremely restricted power. The Quebec constitution made no provision for *habeas corpus*, or for the trial of Civil cases by jury.

A large number of 'Unity Empire Loyalists' migrated from the United States to Canada after the declaration of the American War of Independence. They carried on agitation for securing responsible government in Canada. With a view to tackle this problem Pitt, the Younger, passed the Canada Act of 1791. It created two distinct provinces, an English province of Upper Canada to the west, and a French province of Lower Canada to the east. Each was endowed with an elected Legislative Assembly, having control over taxation and legislation, and a nominated Legislative Council. The Legislative Council was to consist of at least 7 members in Upper Canada and 15 members in Lower Canada; additional members could be nominated by the Crown. The executive still remained independent of the legislature, and this caused much friction between the two bodies. The legislature, being denied responsibility, acted irresponsibly and used their control over laws and taxes to make government very difficult. In Lower Canada the quarrel took a nationalist complexion, because the Executive Council was entirely British while the Assembly was overwhelmingly French. Rebellion broke out in both the provinces. The British Government sent out Lord Durham as Governor and High Commissioner to enquire into the whole situation in all the Canadian colonies.

Durham made full enquiry and submitted his classic *Report on Canada* in February 1839. He traced all the evils to the failure to bring home to all citizens their responsibility for the common welfare. He recommended the union of Upper and Lower Canada, as the best means of solving the racial question and establishing a stable government. At that time the population of Upper or British Canada was 4 lakh, while the number of English and Scottish people in Lower or French Canada was $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakh and there were $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of French there. Durham believed that the union of the provinces would give a clear majority to the English and force the French to abandon their hopes of nationality. He advocated that the responsibility must be thrust upon the people, by giving supreme power to their representatives and ensuring that the executive government should be responsible to the legislature. He held that the Imperial Government should confine their action to matters truly imperial, e.g., foreign policy, defence, the regulation of trade and the control of public lands; in other affairs the local administration should be left free.

The Act of 1840 implemented one of the recommendations

of Durham. By it Upper and Lower Canada were united under a two-chamber Legislature, a Legislative Council whose members sat for life, and a House of Assembly with an equal number of members from each Province. But the executive was not made responsible to the Legislature till Lord Elgin was appointed Governor in 1849. The establishment of responsible government brought in an era of unprecedented prosperity to Canada. Her population grew from a million and a half in 1840 to more than three millions and a half in 1871. But most of the immigrants preferred to settle in Ontario or Upper Canada. Consequently Ontario demanded a larger number of representatives in the Legislature. The French opposed the demand on the ground that it would re-establish British racial ascendancy. The solution of the problem lay, therefore, in separating the provinces and federating them. The danger of annexation by the United States, the similarity of economic problems, the need of expanding railways and settling new lands made the case for federation fairly strong.

The way in which the federation was brought about in Canada is of great interest to India at present. A federal scheme was not propounded in London and imposed on the Canadian people. On the other hand, the Canadians themselves formulated the scheme and the British Parliament merely enacted it without alteration. The legislatures of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island passed resolutions authorizing their governments to send representatives to a Convention to be held at Charlottetown in September, 1864. The government of the United Provinces (Quebec and Ontario), without waiting for an invitation, sent a delegation to this Convention to urge a confederation of all the British provinces. The delegation was cordially received and it was decided to hold a second Convention at Quebec in October. The second Convention sat behind closed doors from October 10 to October 28. It agreed to have a federal union, and issued 74 confederation resolutions. The scheme was submitted to and adopted by the various Parliaments. Then a final conference was held in London : and in 1867, the British North America Act was passed through the British Parliament without alteration.

During the forty-seven years, between 1867 and 1914, the Dominion of Canada secured the following rights : (1) "the right to make her own tide-water coastwise navigation laws—a right first exercised in 1870 ; (2) the right of the Dominion Cabinet to veto a nomination to the office of Governor-General—a right that has existed at least since 1882 ; (3) the right of the Dominion to direct representation on the judicial committee of the Privy Council at Whitehall—a right

**Responsible
Government**

**Procedure
adopted in
federating
the
Provinces**

**Develop-
ment from
1867 to 1914**

first exercised in 1897, when Sir Henry Strong, then Chief Justice of Canada, took his seat on the Judicial Committee; (4) the right of the Dominion to decide whether it will be a party to treaties made by Great Britain—a right enjoyed since 1872; (5) the right of the Dominion to make her own immigration laws, and to exclude paupers and other undesirables from the United Kingdom or elsewhere in the British Empire—a right first asserted and exercised in 1904; and (6) the right of the Dominion to appoint her own plenipotentiaries for the negotiation of commercial treaties and conventions—a right partially conceded as early as 1870, and fully conceded by the Imperial Government in 1907."

Canada along with the other Dominions rendered great help to Great Britain in the first World War of 1914—1918. In 1916, she claimed a part in formulating the foreign policy of the empire. The Imperial Government invited the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and representatives of India to visit England in 1917, and to become members, for the time being, of the War Cabinet. In the Peace Conference of 1919, Canada along with Australia and South Africa were represented each by two delegates. In the Imperial Conference of 1926 the position of the Dominions was thus defined: "They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The position was authoritatively defined by the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

Definition
of
Dominion
Status

• II. Characteristics of the Canadian Constitution

Canada has been called the constitutional laboratory of the modern British Commonwealth. The experiment of reconciling Imperial membership with the privilege of self-government was first tried in Canada. The architects of the Canadian constitution were enamoured of the British constitution and adopted it in a federal cast. They tried to avoid those conditions which gave rise to the civil war in the United States of America in 1861-1865. Referring to the struggle over the rights of the states in the U. S. A., John A. MacDonald declared in 1860: "The fatal error which they have committed and it was perhaps unavoidable from the state of American colonies at the time of the revolution, was in making each state a distinct sovereignty. The fatal error was made in giving to

Residuary
power
in the
Dominion

each state distinct sovereign power, except in those instances where powers were specially reserved by the constitution and conferred upon the general government. The true principle of confederation lies in giving to the general government all the principles and powers of sovereignty, and in the provision that the subordinate or individual states should have no powers but those expressly bestowed on them. We should have a powerful central government, a powerful central legislature, and a powerful decentralized system of minor legislatures for local purposes." These principles were adopted in the Dominion Constitution of 1867. The residuary powers are vested in the Dominion Government, whereas in the U. S. A. and in the Commonwealth of Australia they are located in the states or provinces.

The British North America Act of 1867, passed by the British Parliament constitutes the greater portion of Canada's written constitution. According to legal theory, the authority that passed it, alone can amend or repeal it. But from the beginning, the convention arose that an alteration would rapidly be made in the Act at the request of the federal legislature, provided that there was no substantial opposition of provincial governments. The Statute of Westminster, 1931, has not altered this position, because the provinces agreed to that Statute with the reservation that "the *status quo* should be maintained in so far as the question of repealing, altering or amending the British North America Act was concerned." At a Dominion Provincial Conference held in 1935 it was agreed that Canada should have the same power as other Dominions to amend its constitution, provided that a method could be devised satisfactory to both the Dominion Parliament and the provincial legislatures.

In the U. S. A. as well as in Australia the Constitution establishes a Federal Judiciary with a Supreme Court which has power to interpret the Constitution. But in Canada there is no system of federal courts. Disputes regarding the interpretation of the constitution are settled by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Canadian Constitution is in form a federal one, but in spirit it is unitary. The Dominion Government possesses the power of disallowing provincial acts. It appoints and dismisses the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces. It also appoints the judges of the provincial Courts. The Canadian Senate consists of members nominated for life by the Dominion Government, whereas the U. S. A. and the Australian senators are elected in equal numbers from the states. If the existence of a Federal Court, comparative freedom of the provinces from the interference of the federal

authority, and the composition of a second chamber to represent the states be the essential marks of a federation, Canada has not got a truly federal constitution.

III. Distribution of Legislative powers between the Centre and the Provinces

It has already been pointed out that the intention of the fathers of the Canadian Constitution was to make the federal government strong. They divided the subjects into four divisions. In the first division are those subjects which are assigned exclusively to the Dominion Parliament. In the second division are those which are assigned exclusively to the provincial legislatures. In the third are the subjects of concurrent legislation and the fourth comprises the subject of education. In the section assigning subjects to the Dominion Parliament, it is declared that it shall be lawful for the sovereign, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Commons, to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces. The Dominion has exclusive power to legislate regarding military and naval defence, the postal service, currency, banking, bills of exchange, interests, legal tender, the census and statistics, navigation and shipping, beacons etc., sea-coast and inland fisheries, inter-provincial and inter-national ferries ; patent, copy-right, bankruptcy, marriage and divorce ; criminal law including procedure, but excluding the constitution of courts ; naturalization and alienage ; and Indians and the lands reserved for them. The Dominion Government has an absolutely unlimited right of taxation and of raising loans and has general power to regulate trade and commerce.

Three lists
of
subjects

The provinces have power to legislate on property and civil rights, education, incorporation of companies which will restrict their operations within the province, control of public works and undertakings and in general all things of a local nature. The power of the province to tax is limited to direct taxation and the imposing of shop, saloon, tavern auctioneer or other licences, with a view to raising revenue for provincial, local or municipal purposes. They can borrow money on the sole credit of the province. The resources of the provinces are inadequate to maintain them ; so subsidies are granted by the Dominion.

Provincial
subjects

In the third division are enumerated the subjects under

concurrent legislation. The section reads : "In each province the legislature may make laws in relation to agriculture in the province, and to immigration into the province.

Concurrent jurisdiction

And it is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may, from time to time, make laws in relation to agriculture in all or any of the provinces, and to immigration into all or any of the provinces ; and any law of the legislature of a province, relative to agriculture, or to immigration, shall have effect in and for the province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any act of the Parliament of Canada." In short, in matters of immigration and agriculture the provinces and the dominion have concurrent legislative authority, but in cases of conflict federal acts prevail.

In the fourth division is mentioned the jurisdiction over education. In each province, the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education. But this provision is subject to certain restrictions, which have been imposed to protect the interests of minorities, especially the Roman Catholics. The most important restriction is that nothing in "any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons has by law in the province at the union." In the province of Quebec the legislature cannot enact a law prejudicial to separate schools, Protestant or Roman Catholic, without contravening this section (93). The two other restrictions are as follows : where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education. In case any such provincial law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General-in-Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council under this section.

The intention of Sir John A. MacDonald and other architects of the Canadian Constitution to centralise governmental authority has been largely defeated by the Canadian courts and judicial committee of the Privy Council which have increased the power of the provinces by interpreting liberally the subjects relegated to provincial control.

Attempts to centralise the Government defeated

The decisions in the cases of *Toronto Electric Commissioners vs. Suider et al* (1925) and *Fort Francis Pulp and Power Co. vs. Manitoba Free Press* (1926) show that the tendency is to give to the provinces under "property and civil rights" a virtual residuum of power. The federal power of disallowing provincial statutes has practically fallen into disuse. Canada is a vast country and as such extreme centralisation is not suited to her condition. In this sense the shifting of power from the centre to the provinces—the exact reverse of what has happened in the U.S.A.—may be said to be desirable. At present, however, the Federal Government is trying to regain its lost power. It has disallowed a law of Manitoba which introduced a scheme of initiative and referéndum on the ground that such a step would deprive the Lieutenant Governor of his power to assent or refuse to assent to provincial bills.

IV. The Crown and the Governor-General

The Crown is the symbol of unity between Great Britain and the Dominions. According to the British North America Act of 1867, the executive government and authority of and over Canada was vested in the Queen. Bill passed by the Canadian Parliament had to be presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent and those bills which were reserved for signification of the Queen did not become valid till (within two years) the Governor-General signified by speech or message that these had received the assent of the Queen-in-Council. In theory, all laws, whether federal or provincial, are still enacted by the King-in-Parliament; but in practice the veto power of the King has fallen into disuse. The Canadian Parliament is now competent to pass any law it likes.

Position of
the Crown

The Governor-General is the representative of the Crown in the Dominion. Formerly he was appointed with the advice of the British Government, but the Imperial Conference of 1930 definitely laid down that the appointment was to be made in consultation with the Dominion Government. In accordance with this provision, the selection of Lord Bessborough as the Governor-General of Canada was made on February 9, 1931, on the sole responsibility of the Canadian Government. But the Governor-General and every other officer holding any office or place of trust or profit in the Dominion, are required to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, the King of England.

Appoint-
ment of the
Governor-
General

The Governor-General does not interfere with the policy of the

ministers or its execution. The Duke of Argyll, who was the Governor-General of the Dominion from 1878 to 1883, ceased to attend the Cabinet meetings and all his successors have followed the precedent set up by him. The Governor-General stands above all parties. His attitude on all political questions is absolutely non-partisan. He appoints that group of party leaders as ministers who can command a majority in the Canadian House of Commons. The freedom of the Governor-General to express publicly on any question of contemporary politics or economics is much circumscribed.

He acts
like a
Constitutional King

The Governor-General has ceased to perform the ambassadorial functions since 1926. The agency functions which he used to carry out till 1928, have been transferred to the High Commissioner. In theory, he can summon, prorogue and dissolve Parliament, but in practice he exercises these functions on the advice of the ministry. The Governor-General-in-Council appoints Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces. The responsibility of disallowing acts passed by the provincial legislatures rests also with the same authority. The aggrieved minorities under section 93—the separate-schools section—may make their appeals for remedial measures to it. In India the Governor-General in the Centre or the Governor in the Province is alone responsible for the protection of minorities, and he can disregard the advice of the ministers in this respect.

Functions
of the
Governor-General

The term 'Council' in Canada means the Privy Council. Members of the Cabinet are sworn in as Privy Councillors. A man who is once appointed as Privy Councillor, retains the membership for life. But the Privy Council never meets as a body ; its work is performed by the Cabinet.

The Privy
Council.

V. The Cabinet

Though the Governor-General and the Privy Council constitute the formal executive, the political executive is the Cabinet, which is usually composed of the First Minister and 18 other ministers. These ministers are : (1) Secretary of State for external affairs ; (2) President of the King's Privy Council for Canada ; (3) Minister of Finance ; (4) Minister of Trade and Commerce ; (5) Minister of Public Works ; (6) Minister of Railways and Canals ; (7) Minister of Marine and Fisheries and of Naval Defence ; (8) Minister of the Interior ; (9) Minister of immigration and colonization ; (10) Minister of Militia and Defence ; (11) Minister of Agriculture ; (12) Minister of Customs ; (13) Minister of Inland Revenues ; (14) Minister of Justice ; (15) Postmaster-General ; (16) Minister of Labour ; (17) Secretary of State ; (18) and Minister of Mines. The post of

Ministry
and the
Cabinet

the Attorney-General is usually held by the Minister of Justice. The Solicitor-General, Parliamentary Secretaries of the Department of External Affairs and of Militia and of Defence are of the Ministry but not of the Cabinet.

After a general election or a serious defeat of the ministry in the House of Commons, the Governor-General sends for the leader of the party commanding a majority or the leader of the Opposition and charges him with the formation of the new Cabinet. He accepts the recommendations made by the leader so charged. But as in the provinces of India, so in Canada the Prime Minister has a difficult and delicate task in selecting his colleagues. He must so select his colleagues as to give proper representation to (1) French Canada; (2) to the Roman Catholic population of the Dominion that is not French; (3) to the other eight provinces; (4) and to the English-speaking population of Quebec. Three Cabinet ministers are usually taken from French Canada, three from Ontario, and at least one from each of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The Premier also summons his Cabinet men who are Premiers of provincial governments or leaders of the Opposition in provincial legislatures. These persons get themselves elected to the House of Commons to the seats which are vacated by members who look to promotion to the Senate or to a government post. The Premier, however, is not required by convention to assign any ministerial office to the senators. But he has to consider the claims of the financial interests of Montreal and Toronto. These cities exercise much influence in the selection of the Minister of finance.

How a
Cabinet is
formed

The first Minister, who usually holds the post of Secretary of State for external affairs, draws 12,000 dollars, the other ministers receive 7000 dollars, and the two Parliamentary Secretaries get 5000 dollars as salary per year. Ministers without portfolio do not draw any salary.

Salary of
Ministers

The ministers are jointly responsible to the legislature. A minister who cannot agree to any decision arrived at by his colleagues resigns. With the permission of the Governor-General, which is never refused, he can explain in Parliament the reasons for his resignation and the Premier gives a suitable reply; till recently every member of the Cabinet, who belonged to the House of Commons, in accepting an office to which a salary is attached, had to seek re-election. But this law has now been repealed. The Cabinet exercises as much control over legislation as does its British prototype. The rigidity of party discipline contributes to the supremacy of the Cabinet.

Collective
responsibility

VI. The House of Commons

The Dominion Legislature consists of two chambers, namely the House of Commons and the Senate. The House of Commons is elected by the people for five years, unless sooner dissolved. The Governor-General can dissolve Parliament at any time if his ministers ask for it, or if he thinks that a crisis has arisen and there should be a general appeal to the constituencies. But the Governor-General seldom exercises the prerogative of dissolution. He dissolves Parliament usually on the advice of the Cabinet.

The House of Commons consists of about 245 members. The Constitution Act of 1867 lays down that Quebec shall have the fixed number of 65 members and that there shall be assigned to each of the other provinces such number of members as will bear the proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at such census) as the number 65 bears to the number of the population of Quebec (ascertained). As Ontario is the most populous province, it sends 82 members.

The Dominion Act of 1920 awards the franchise to every male and female British subject, aged 21 and over, resident in Canada for a year and in the constituency for two months. British Indian, Japanese and Chinese cannot enjoy the franchise if he or she is a naturalised subject in British Columbia. Judges appointed by the Governor-General, the chief electoral officer of the district, Election clerks, persons disfranchised for taking recourse to corrupt and illegal practices, lunatics, inmates of public charitable institutions, criminal prisoners, and persons disqualified in provincial election on racial grounds, are not allowed to exercise franchise.

Twenty members, including the Speaker, form the Quorum. The Speaker is elected in the first meeting of the House of Commons after a general election. The election of the Speaker must be approved by the Crown. In England the Speaker once elected, continues to be re-elected term after term till he becomes infirm. But in Canada the convention has grown up that the Speaker should be elected alternately from among the English-speaking and the French-speaking members. The office of the Leader of the Opposition is formally recognized and he draws a salary.

Any British subject may be a candidate in an election for a seat in the House of Commons. Residence in the constituency from which one seeks election is not necessary. But government contractors and members of provincial legislatures are ineligible. The Canadian House of

Commons contains merchants, manufacturers, farmers, a few labour men, doctors and lawyers ; professors seldom seek election. Many persons become members of Parliament with a view to secure a Judgeship, a Commissionership, or some other permanent and remunerative job. Members can address the House either in English or in French.

At the opening of a session a speech, foreshadowing the legislation that is to be introduced during the session and describing the material conditions in the Dominion, is addressed to the members of Parliament. The speech comes before the House of Commons on a motion made from the government benches. One of the promising young men of the Government moves that "an address be presented to His Excellency, the Governor-General, offering the thanks of this House to His Excellency for the gracious speech which he has been pleased to make to both Houses of Parliament." After the motion has been seconded, the Leader of the Opposition offers a general criticism of the policies of the government. The Premier gives suitable reply to it. All the leaders on the two front benches, as well as the back-benchers take part in the debate.

Debate on
the Address
to the
Governor-
General

Bills imposing any charge on the people of the Dominion or making any grant for the services of the Crown must originate in the House of Commons. The rule of Procedure lays down that "all aids and supplies granted to His Majesty by the Parliament of Canada are the sole gift of the House of Commons ; and all bills for granting such aids and supplies ought to begin with the House, as it is the undoubted right of the House to direct, limit and appoint in all such bills, the ends, purposes, considerations, conditions, limitations, and qualifications of such grants, which are not alterable by the Senate." Money Bills must be introduced by the ministry ; private members cannot introduce bills of this description.

Sole right of
initiating
Money Bills

VII. The Senate

The members of the Senate are nominated for life by summons of the Governor-General under the Great Seal of Canada. The Senate consists of 96 senators, namely, 24 from Ontario, 24 from Quebec, 10 from Nova Scotia, 10 from New Brunswick, 4 from Prince Edward Island, 6 from Manitoba, 6 from British Columbia, 6 from Alberta and 6 from Saskatchewan. Each Senator must be at least 30 years of age, a born or naturalized British subject, and must reside in and be possessed of property, real or personal to the value of 4000 dollars within the province for which he is appointed. Marriot rightly observes that the Canadian Senate has never possessed either the

Composition

glamour of an aristocratic and hereditary chamber or the strength of an elected assembly, or the utility of a senate representing the federal as opposed to the national idea. The provinces are not equally represented in it, nor is the mode of appointment calculated to secure the selection of men who would champion provincial rights. Nomination to the Senate goes to those who contribute handsomely to the Party funds or to the businessmen who are expected to secure special legislation for the benefit of great corporations. "From the first," writes Wrong, "appointments to the Senate came under the full control of the mechanism of the party. The security of the position for life, and the freedom from the labours of an election, have made a Senatorship a desirable crown of party service; and to this use the office has been put.Men who have given long service in the House of Commons, sometimes claim a Senatorship for their declining years. Other claims are from those who have given similar service in the party organization, or it may have contributed liberally to the party funds. No government, Liberal or Conservative, has made any serious effort to save the post of a senator as a reward for any other kind of public service, and in the present condition of public thought it would be quixotic to expect that anything but party interests should be considered."

**Senate and
the Party**

Quarrels between the two Chambers are not common. On rare occasions a political party, defeated at a general election, has used its strength in the Senate to harass and thwart a new government. The Senate is more powerful than any other nominated second chamber, because there is a limit to the number of its members. Discussion over bills between the two Houses is carried on by message and not by conference.

Deadlocks

The Senate cannot claim, either by law or by convention, a fixed or any considerable number of seats in the Cabinet. There have been Cabinets of which no member was of the Senate. Generally one or two members of the Cabinet are taken from the Senate.

The Senate does not play any very important part in legislation. Government bills usually originate in the House of Commons; whereas private members' bills and bills for divorce are first introduced in the Senate. It has already been stated that finance bills cannot originate in the Senate. The Senate only gives formal confirmation to tariff bills which are sent to it from the House of Commons. In the period between 1922 and 1930 when the Senate consisted of a Conservative majority, it asserted the right to amend or reject money bills. The Senate was formed originally with the idea of providing a sort of judicial tribunal supervising and reviewing the legislation of the Commons. These expectations have not been fulfilled.

**Part played
by the
Senate**

VIII. The Judiciary

There is a Supreme Court in Ottawa, having appellate, civil and criminal jurisdiction in and throughout Canada. The Supreme Court, however, does not possess any power of interpreting the constitution. This work is still being done by the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council. Different kinds of Court There are five puisne judges and one Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Each province has a superior court and most of the provinces have county courts with limited jurisdiction. All the judges in these courts are appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the ministry. The judges hold office for life on good behaviour, and thus their independence is secured.

Canada voluntarily accepts the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as the final court of appeal. The French Canadians regard the Privy Council as a special guardian of minority rights. If a litigant prefers to appeal from a provincial decision to the Supreme Court and not to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, permission is normally refused to carry the case from the Supreme Court to the Privy Council again. Dr. Keith observes that, "even in Canada doubt has been widely felt regarding the desirability of the appeal in cases where no constitutional issue is involved. It is, in fact, impossible to justify the delay and expense involved in taking to the Privy Council cases turning merely on private law." Jurisdiction of the Privy Council

IX. Provincial Government

The nine provinces have each a separate Parliament and administration, with a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General. The Lieutenant-Governors are responsible to the Governor-General, who fixes their salary and who can also remove them from office. Lieutenant Governors But a Lieutenant-Governor appointed after the commencement of the first session of the Parliament of Canada is not removable within five years from his appointment except for a cause assigned, which is to be communicated to him in writing within one month after the order of his removal is made, and is to be communicated by message to the Senate and the House of Commons within one week thereafter if the Parliament is then sitting, otherwise within one week after the commencement of the next session of the Parliament. Two Lieutenant-Governors have been removed from office by the Dominion Government. The Lieutenant-Governor has to act according to the advice of the provincial ministry.

As in the six of the eleven provinces in India the legislature is

bicameral, so in Canada two out of the nine provinces have got two Houses of legislature. These two provinces are **Legislature** Quebec and Nova Scotia. The upper chamber is called Legislative Council. The members of the Legislative Councils are appointed nominally by the Lieutenant-Governor, but in reality the provincial Premier nominates them. There are twenty-four members in each of the two Legislative Councils. The provincial Legislative Assemblies consist of different number of members varying from 90 in Quebec and Ontario to 48 in British Columbia. The relation of the Cabinet to the Legislature is similar to that prevailing in the Dominion Government.

At first the Dominion Government used to exercise the power of disallowing laws passed by provincial legislatures rather frequently. But the older provinces carried their cases to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which overthrew the decision of the Dominion Government in several cases. Now-a-days the Dominion Government seldom exercises the power of disallowance.

X. The problem of Federal Finance in Canada

The problem of federal finance has become most acute on account of the depression and the enormous rise in the expenditure on social services. The social welfare expenses of **Deficit financing in provinces** provinces and municipalities more than doubled between 1913 and 1921, and doubled again between 1921 and 1930. With a parallel rise taking place in the costs of education, the provinces were already finding it difficult to raise the necessary revenues even before the beginning of the depression of 1929-35. When the depression broke, conditions became chaotic in even the strongest provinces. The Dominion, in order to keep the provinces from going bankrupt, was obliged to rescue them by grants representing a proportion of the provincial costs, and by loans for general purposes where these were necessary. Deficit financing by provinces on an unparallel scale became the order of the day; revenues were deflected from the ordinary purposes of government to relief; and business was taxed heavily.

The provinces clamoured for grants from the ampler revenue sources of the Dominion. Some provinces suggested that the percentage relationship between the subsidies giving to **Claims of provinces** the provinces in 1867 and the total revenue of the Dominion should be maintained. Some put forward a claim for sharing the customs revenue of the Dominion. Other provinces demanded that the Dominion should abandon to the provinces certain taxes, such as that on incomes. Two alternative courses seemed to have been open to the Dominion—either re-

allocation of sources of revenue on a uniform basis among the provinces or the transfer of functions from the provinces to the Dominion. Both these courses, however, are unacceptable. The adoption of the first course would vastly increase the existing inequalities between the provinces. Provinces with aggregations of surplus taxable income would have their revenues adequate to cover their social, educational and developmental responsibilities. The adoption of the second course would involve a degree of centralization destructive of the Canadian Federal system.

To consider these problems in all their bearings and to suggest remedies, a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations was appointed on August 14, 1937. The Commission made extensive enquiries for two years and a half and published its report in 1940. The Commission was asked to "express what in their opinion, subject to the retention of the distribution of legislative powers, essential to a proper carrying out of the federal system in harmony with national needs and promotion of national unity, will best effect a balanced relationship between the financial powers and obligations and functions of each governing body, and conduce to a more efficient, independent and economical discharge of governmental responsibilities in Canada." The Commissioners were specially charged "to examine the constitutional allocation of revenue sources and governmental burdens to the Dominion and provincial governments, the past results of such allocation and its suitability to present conditions and the conditions that are likely to prevail in the future."

The Royal
Commission
(1937-40)
and its form
of reference

The Commission recommends that unemployment aid should be a Dominion function. It holds that since the economic structure of the country is now fundamentally national as far as opportunities for employment are concerned, it cannot be compartmentalized for the purpose of meeting unemployment needs. Conditions which produce unemployment are in no way local; they lie in national and international trade cycles, and to some extent in climatic cycles. Therefore, burdens do not fall with equal incidence on the different provinces; and attempts by the provinces to cope with them through Dominion grants-in-aid are held to be "a mockery of responsibility in public finance." "It is fundamental to our recommendations," says the Report, "that the residual responsibility for social welfare functions should remain with the provinces and that Dominion functions should be deemed exceptions to the general rule of provincial responsibility."

Unemploy-
ment aid

The Commission suggests two plans with a view to effect a balanced relationship between the financial powers and obligations and functions of each governing body. The first Plan is the real

plan ; whereas the second one is only a make shift by which matters would remain as they are excepting that the Dominion Government would assume the costs of unemployment relief and would grant subsidies to three provinces. Under the first Plan, "the Federal Government takes over the entire debt of each province (or 40 per cent of the combined provincial and municipal debt), it assumes full liability for the non-interest bearing debt and administers the balance, subject to the annual payment by the province of a sum equal to the annual interest received by it from these sources ; it accepts complete responsibility for the relief and care of the unemployed employables, leaving poor relief, in the proper sense of that term, to the provinces (including the municipalities) ; it replaces the present subsidies to the provinces by National Adjustment Grants to enable a provincial government to balance its budget, after maintaining its social service at an average standard, provided it is established that its rate of taxation conforms to an average Dominion level. Future borrowings by provinces are to be made on their own credit or through the Finance Commission on terms." The Provinces are asked to withdraw from certain fields of taxation which the Commission defines as national in character. These include taxes on inheritances, incomes and corporations, though the Dominion Government is required to transfer certain percentages of collection to the provinces. The Commission also recommends the setting up of a permanent body of experts called the Finance Commission, which will re-examine the amount of subsidies by the provinces every five years. The public opinion in each province is to be left free to apply the subsidy according to the needs of the province. "If the Commission's recommendations are put into effect," observes F. W. Dafoe, "the principal taxing powers will be returned to the hands of the Federal Government ; the Dominion's grants to the provinces will again be based on fiscal need ; the provinces will once more be assured of revenues adequate for their essential needs without unbalancing the budget ; and the main burden of the country's finances will again rest upon the Dominion."

CHAPTER XXVI

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

I. The Country and its Constitution

The Commonwealth of Australia, consisting of six colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, was proclaimed on January 1, 1901. The administration of Papua was transferred to the Commonwealth in 1906 and the Antarctic territories have been placed under it in 1933. Australia is a big country, consisting of nearly 30 lakh square miles ; but it is very sparsely populated. There are only 223 persons per 100 square miles and the total population is only six and a half million. Geographically the Australian communities consist of two entities :—(1) a continental mass in the east and south-east, containing a very wide range of resources and (2) the insular areas of Tasmania and Western Australia, which have to depend on production of agricultural commodities. The two areas are separated from each other by an arid region.

Component
parts of the
Common-
wealth

The motive which impelled the leaders of Australian communities to form a federation was to "achieve increased national honour and added national dignity". Asquith welcomed the establishment of the Commonwealth in the House of Commons as "A whole which we believe is destined to be greater than the sum of its component parts, and which, without draining them of any of their life, will give to them in their corporate unity, a freedom of development, a scale of interests, a dignity of stature, which, alone and separated, they could never command". It was urged that the federation would provide effective defence of Australia, adequate protection against the immigration of coloured people, safeguard Australian interests in the Pacific, and promote trade and industries by removing the customs barriers between the colonies.

Motives of
federation

The leaders of the six colonies desired to set up a new political community, organized in the main on the British model, with a bicameral Parliament, responsible government on the Cabinet system, and a Supreme Court of Appeal to interpret the new constitution, and to take the place in Australia of the Privy Council. They have succeeded in their task to a remarkable degree. There are, of course, a few points of difference between the English Constitution and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia. The English Constitution is largely an unwritten one, while the Constitution of

Comparison
with the
British
Constitu-
tion

the Commonwealth is a written one. The former is unitary in character and the latter is federal by nature. The English Constitution is flexible and the Australian Constitution is rigid by nature.

The Constitution of Commonwealth can be altered by the Commonwealth Parliament by absolute majorities and by a referendum at which the alteration must be approved by a majority of voters and a majority of States. No alteration, however, can be made diminishing the proportionate representation of any state in either House of Parliament or the minimum number of representatives of a state in the House of Representatives or increasing, diminishing or otherwise altering the limits of the state, unless the majority of the electors voting in the State approve the proposed law. Efforts to introduce great changes in the relation of the States and the Commonwealth by referendum have usually been defeated at the polls. No less than twelve proposals were negatived, in four different appeals to the country, between 1911 and 1926. In 1929 a very important change, however, has been introduced by the insertion of Section 105A into the Constitution. This Section empowers the Commonwealth to make agreements with the States with respect to state debts, including the taking-over and conversion thereof, and including future public borrowing, both by Commonwealth and States. It empowers the Commonwealth Parliament to make laws for the carrying out by the parties thereto of any such agreement; and it makes such agreements binding on the parties, when validated by the relevant Parliaments, notwithstanding anything contained in Commonwealth or State constitutions or in any Commonwealth or State law, until altered by agreement between the parties thereto.

The question of a revision of the Constitution involving imperial legislation is still unsolved. When Western Australia demanded the right of secession in 1934-35 the Joint Committee of the Imperial Parliament reported against even receiving the petition.

The life of the Commonwealth Parliament is limited to three years only as against the five years' duration of the British Parliament. The Speaker of the British House of Commons does not identify himself with any party; but the same aloofness of the Speaker is not noticeable in the Commonwealth.

Amendment
of the
Constitution

Other points
of difference
with English
Constitution

II. The Executive

The Executive power, vested in the King, is nominally exercised by the Governor-General, who is appointed by the King on the advice of the Commonwealth Government. He is thus a nominee of the Government in office. The Governor-General's functions have been reduced almost to those

The
Governor-
General

of a "rubber-stamp" and his connection with the political side of Government has become purely formal. He must be guided in his attitude towards ministers by the same principles as that of the British King towards his Cabinet.

The real executive authority is exercised by the Cabinet, which consists of the Prime Minister and ten other ministers. The Prime Minister at present holds the portfolios of the Minister of Information and Minister for the co-ordination of Defence. The other members of the Cabinet are (1) the Minister for the Navy and Minister for Commerce; (2) Postmaster-General and Minister of Health; (3) Minister for External Affairs and Industry; (4) Minister for the Army; (5) Minister for Air; (6) Minister for the Interior; (7) Treasurer; (8) Minister for Trade and Customs; (9) Vice-President of Executive Council; (10) Attorney-General.

A minister must be either a member of the Federal Parliament or must get himself elected to it within three months of his appointment. The Prime Minister receives a salary of £4000 per annum. The salary of other ministers is not at all high, as the total amount of the Cabinet Fund, divided among them all, is only £16939 per year.

The Prime Minister selects his own colleagues; but in the Labour Party the practice has developed of giving the caucus, and not the Prime Minister, the right to choose ministers. This practice has given rise to the problem of divided loyalties.

The Cabinet system in Australia is as much criticised as it is in England. Some critics assert that the Cabinet is extraordinarily vacillating and dilatory. King O' Malley asserted that ministers were supposed to be "rubber stamps" in the hands of officials. It has also been argued that the Cabinet "is little more than a meeting of departmental chiefs, content to approve what permanent officials insist must be done, thereby enslaving both Cabinet and Parliament in the grip of a powerful and highly efficient bureaucracy". Political thinkers in Australia want a machinery for the working of the Cabinet system which will, at one and the same time, provide the conservative influence of the official and the vigorous detachment of the energetic Prime Minister.

III. The Commonwealth Parliament

Legislative power is vested in a Federal Parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. There must be a session of Parliament at least once every year. The Senate consists of 36 senators, six being elected from each of the six original states. The term of a member of Senate

is six years, but as a rule the Senate is renewed to the extent of one-half every three years. Each state is a single electorate for voting purposes. The franchise for the Senate is the same as in the House of Representatives.

The House of Representatives consists, as nearly as may be, of twice as many members as there are senators, the number chosen in the several States being in proportion to population as shown by the latest census. The present number of members is 76. The House continues for three years from the date of its first meeting, unless sooner dissolved. A voter must be either a natural born subject of the king, or have been for five years a naturalised subject under a law of the United Kingdom or of a State of the Commonwealth. Universal adult (male and female) suffrage has been established in the Commonwealth.

The Senate cannot originate or amend money bills. Disagreement between the two Houses may result in dissolution of the Senate ; if the disagreement continues even after the meeting of the newly elected Senate, a joint sitting of the two Houses is held. The strength of the Upper Chamber being half of that of the House of Representatives, the opinion of the latter is bound to prevail. The position of the Senate is, thus, very much inferior to that of the House of Representatives.

IV. Judiciary

The judicial power of the Commonwealth is vested in a federal Supreme Court, called the High Court of Australia. It consists of a Chief Justice and five Justices, appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council. The judges hold office during good behaviour. The High Court has original jurisdiction in all matters arising under treaties, between States of the Commonwealth, or affecting representatives of other countries, as well as in other matters as empowered by the Parliament. It may also hear and determine appeals from judgments of its own Justices exercising original jurisdiction and from judgments of any other Federal Court, or of the Supreme Court of any State. As a rule no appeal lies to the Privy Council from the decision of the High Court regarding the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any State or States or regarding the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of any two or more States.

But if the High Court certifies that the case should be determined by the King-in-Council, then appeal may be made to the Privy Council. But the High Court or principle refuses such certificates.

V. Relation between the Commonwealth and the States

The Commonwealth of Australia has followed the model of the U. S. A. in the distribution of powers between the Federal Government and the States. The States did not give up their full right to legislate at Federation. They gave to the Commonwealth certain specific and well-defined powers, reserving for themselves the residue of the powers, then remaining. The Governors of the States are appointed by the Imperial Government and they are in no sense subordinate to the Governor-General. The Commonwealth Government cannot disallow the laws passed by the State legislatures. But when the Commonwealth exercises its power over subjects of concurrent jurisdiction, the States must obey the Federal Government

The States
enjoy the
residuary
powers

The Commonwealth has powers over commerce, shipping, finance, banking, currency, etc., defence, external affairs, postal, telegraph and like services, census and statistics, weights and measures, copyright, railways, conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State.

Federal
subjects

The States have got equality of status in the Commonwealth. The equality of representation in the Senate is a recognition of this equality. Moreover, the Commonwealth is prohibited from granting any preferential treatment to any state by any law regarding revenue, trade or commerce.

Equality of
States

At the time of the inauguration of the federation it was provided that the customs and excise, the two chief sources of revenue of the States, should be taken over by the Commonwealth, which was to return to the States, sums not less than three-quarters of the revenue derived from these sources, during the first ten years.

Financial
relations of
Common-
wealth and
the States

In 1910, the Commonwealth Parliament passed the Surplus Revenue Act, which provided for a payment to the States of 25 shillings per head of population in lieu of the three-quarters of the revenue from customs and excise. This also was found unsatisfactory. In 1927, the inclusion of Section 105A in the constitution empowered the Commonwealth to make agreements with the States with respect to the public debts of the States, including : (a) the taking over of such debts by the Commonwealth ; (b) their management ; (c) the payment of interest and the provision and management of sinking funds in respect of them ; (d) their consolidation, renewal, conversion and redemption ; (e) the indemnification of the Commonwealth by the States in respect of debts taken over by the Commonwealth ; (f) borrowing by Governments.

According to this Section the Financial Agreement Validation Act of 1923 was passed. The Agreement provides : (a) "That there shall be a Loan Council, consisting of one representative of the Commonwealth Government and one representative of each State, the Commonwealth representative having two votes and a casting vote and each State representative one vote. (b) That the Commonwealth and each State is to submit to the Loan Council from time to time a loan programme for each financial year ; and that the Loan Council is to decide how much of the total amount can be borrowed at reasonable rates and conditions, and may, by unanimous decision, allocate that sum amongst the various Governments, or, in default of such an unanimous decision, the sum available is to be apportioned between the Governments according to the formula prescribed in the Agreement. (c) That the Commonwealth takes over the gross public debts of the States existing on the 30th June, 1927, and the amounts borrowed since then ; and undertake as between itself and the States all liabilities of the States to the bond-holders. (d) That the Commonwealth will continue to allow to each State the amounts of the per capita contributions which were being made in 1927 towards State revenues, and that such contribution will be credited against the interest payable on the State debts taken over by the Commonwealth ; that the Commonwealth will make certain contributions towards the sinking funds in respect of those State debts ; and that the States will pay to the Commonwealth the balance of interest and sinking fund payments required after crediting the Commonwealth contributions. (e) That as a general rule, all future borrowings, whether for the Commonwealth or the States, are to be arranged by the Commonwealth under the direction of the Loan Council, are to be covered by the issue of Commonwealth securities, are to be subject to maximum limits as to interest, brokerage, discounts and other charges fixed by the Loan Council, and are to be restricted in amount in each year to the amounts which the Loan Council determines to be available at reasonable rates."

VI. Party system in Australia

The Labour Party is the most highly organised political party in the Commonwealth. In 1905, the Party adopted as its objectives (a) "The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community ; (b) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality." But the Labour Party had always been divided within itself,

because it gathered into its ranks a number of conflicting groups of people, such as tariff reformers, land nationalizers, small farmers, socialists and internationalists.

At the commencement of the Federation there were three parties—the Free-traders, Protectionists and a small group of Labour men. In 1909, the Free-traders and Protectionists joined hands and formed the Liberal Party. In 1917, members of the Liberal Party coalesced with those members of the Labour Party, who were in favour of conscription and formed the National Party. “From the very nature,” says Mr. D. R. Hall, “of the composition of the present party opposed to the official Labour Party, there have been continually two conflicting sections, the old Liberals, who naturally leaned towards the doctrine of *Laissez-faire*, and the development of private enterprise, and the Labour men who had been brought up in the opposite school, and had never shed their beliefs in the need for State ownership or State Control of private ownership.”

CHAPTER XXVII

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. The Constitution

The Union of South Africa is constituted under the South African Act, 1909, passed by the British Parliament. Under the terms of that Act the self-governing colonies of the **Component parts of the Union** Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (called the Orange Free State) were united on May 31, 1910, in a legislative union under one Government. The total area of the Union is 472550 square miles and it has 19 lakhs of European and 65 lakhs of non-European population.

The Union Parliament is competent to change the constitution, though the South African Act, 1909, imposed certain restrictions on constitutional changes. These restrictions have become mostly obsolete. The Union Parliament being no longer subject to the restrictions of the Colonial Laws Validity Act, has got as much right to change the constitution of the Union by simple legislative procedure, as the British Parliament has in the case of changing the constitution of Great Britain. **Amendment of the constitution**

In 1934, the Union Parliament passed an Act called the Status of Union Act, 1934, by which among other changes the Statute of Westminster has been implemented for the Union. The most important provision of the Act is in Section 4, which provides that "the Executive Government of the Union in regard to any aspect of its domestic or external affairs is vested in the King, acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union and may be administered by his Majesty in person or by a Governor-General as his representative." After the passing of the Act, General Hertzog declared that South Africa was so free and independent that she could select the King of the Belgians as her King. The implication of the clause lies in the fact that it takes away all check on the powers of the Ministry which has the support of Parliament for the time being. The Ministry can, under the Status of Union Act, (1) "sweep away the Cape Franchise which under the Status measure ceases to be effectively safeguarded in any way, (2) abolish the provinces, (3) extend the duration of Parliament, thus depriving the electorate of the power of control of its representatives, and (4) declare the secession of the Union from the Empire." **Status of Union Act** **Right to secede from the Empire**

(Dr. Keith's letter in the Natal Mercury, 16th April, 1934). Dr. Keith further observes that "no such unfettered authority exists in any part of the Commonwealth and the new constitution thus differs essentially from the British Constitution". But it may be pointed out that fundamental principles of the British Constitution may be changed by a ministry, having a stable majority in the House of Commons. For the king's veto power has fallen into disuse and the Parliament Act of 1911 has made the opposition of the House of Lords ineffective in case a reform is persistently demanded by the House of Commons.

The Status of Union Act has brought about a fundamental distinction between the position of Canada and Australia on the one hand and the Union of South Africa on the other. The former Dominions have no legal power to declare neutrality or secession, whereas the Union has the legal power now.

If Britain is at war Canada and Australia are also at war *ipso facto*. The Union, however, can declare neutrality and may sell goods to the nation with whom Great Britain is at war. Such a declaration of neutrality might prove most damaging to British schemes of naval operations, for the British Fleet cannot use Simonstown as a base without violation of that neutrality. On the declaration of the present War (1939), General Hartzog advocated a policy of neutrality; but he was outvoted in the legislature and resigned. The Union has declared war against Germany, thus making common cause with Great Britain.

Position of
the Union
in case
of war

II. Relation between the Union and the Provinces

The Union of South Africa differs fundamentally from the federal arrangements of Canada. The provinces of Canada enjoy considerable power free from the interference of the Dominion Government. But the provinces of the Union are entirely subject to the Union Government. The cause of this difference in the status of the provinces of the two Dominions is that there is federalism in Canada, but unitary Government in the Union of South Africa.

Unitary
Government
in South
Africa

The Governor-General in Council of the Union appoints an Administrator who is the head of the provincial executive. The Administrator exercises a definite control over provincial finance; for no appropriation, whether of money raised by provincial taxation or of Union grants, can be made, save on his recommendation to the Council. The Administrator must act with a Committee of four persons appointed by proportional representation. He presides over the meeting of the Committee. These facts show that the provincial Administrator has real power, and is not a figure-

head like the Lieutenant-Governor of a Canadian Province but the Administrator is much more dependent on the Union Government than the Lieutenant-Governor is on the Dominion Government.

The Provinces of the Union have authority to deal with local matters such as provincial finance, primary education, charity, municipal institutions, local works, roads and bridges, markets, fish and game, and penalties for breaches of laws respecting such subjects. The provinces may have also Jurisdiction in other matters which, in the opinion of the Union Government, are of merely local or private nature in the province, or in respect of which Parliament may delegate the power of legislation.

The general power of direct taxation conceded to the Provinces in 1909 has been taken away in 1921. The provinces have been given the right to levy hospital and education fees, and licence fees for dog, sporting, motor, flower-picking and game licences. They are also empowered to raise auction dues, taxes on vehicles, amusements, betting, personal income and company receipts on defined conditions, the ownership of immovable property and to impose licence dues on the right to import non-Union goods for sale. Besides these, the provinces receive subsidies from the Union Government.

On the passing of the Status of Union Act the provinces became anxious for their very existence. Hence the Act of 1909 was amended in 1934 to provide that no alteration in provincial boundaries or abolition of any Council or abridgment of its power should be carried out except on the petition of the Council. But the Union Ministry was of opinion that this Act has no binding force except as an expression of what was considered desirable as a constitutional doctrine.

III. The Union Executive

The Status of Union Act has made the Governor-General a mere figure-head. The Governor-General has, indeed, the right to dismiss Ministers, but such a right is meaningless as a safeguard. He is a nominee of the Ministry, and Mr. De Valera has established in the Irish Free State in 1932 the right of the Ministry to remove from office the Governor-General who is not desirable.

The Cabinet consists of eleven members besides the Prime Minister. The Cabinet has powers and responsibilities equal to those of the British Cabinet.

IV. The Union Legislature

The Union Parliament consists of the King, a Senate and a House of Assembly. The Senate consists of forty members, of whom 32 are elected (eight for each province) and eight are nominated by the Governor-General. Of these ^{The Senate} eight, four are selected mainly for their acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of the non-European races. Each Senator must be a British subject of European descent, at least 30 years of age, qualified as a voter in one of the provinces and resident for five years within the Union. Moreover, an elected senator must be a registered owner of property of the value of £500 clear. The provincial representatives in the Senate are elected by the members of the provincial Councils and the provincial representatives in the Assembly sitting together. The term of office of an elected senator is ten years; but the Senate may be dissolved within 120 days of the Assembly. Nominated senators vacate office on a change of Prime Minister.

According to the redistribution scheme of 1934, the Assembly has 150 members, of whom 61 are elected by the Cape, 16 by Natal, 57 by the Transvaal, and 16 by the Orange Free State. Suffrage has been conceded to females above 21 years of age in 1930. An Act of 1931 has extended the ^{The Legislative Assembly} franchise to all males of European, or White extraction over the age of 21, thus removing the property and wage qualifications existing in the Cape and Natal provinces. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State non-Europeans have no vote; in Natal the African natives and British Indians are debarred from voting, and in the Cape educational and property qualifications are required of non-Europeans. There must be a session of Parliament every year. Members of the Assembly are returned by single-member constituencies. The Assembly continues for five years from the date of its first meeting unless sooner dissolved.

The Senate has no financial initiative, except as regards the imposition or appropriation of fines or penalties. It may not amend any Bill so as to increase any proposed charges or burden on the people, nor any Bill so far as it imposes ^{Powers of the Senate} taxation, or appropriate revenue or moneys for the service of the Government. It can reject measures which it cannot amend. If a Bill is passed in the Assembly in two successive sessions, and rejected twice by the Senate, the Governor-General may convene a joint sitting, when the Bill may be passed if approved by a majority of the total number of members of both Houses. If, however, the Bill deals with the appropriation of revenue or moneys for the public service, the joint ^{Its weakness} sitting may be held in the same session as the rejection. The weakness and inferiority of the Senate is apparent

from the fact that it has only 40 members, while the Assembly has 150 members and thus in a joint sitting the Senate will have very little influence.

V. Judiciary

The Union has a Supreme Court, which consists of an Appellate Division with a chief justice and four judges of appeal. In each province there is a Provincial Division of the Supreme Court. The judges appointed since 1912 hold office till they attain the age of 70 years. No judge can be removed from office except by resolution of Parliament. The Common Law of the Union is the Roman Dutch Law. The decisions of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court are final save in so far as an appeal may be permitted by special leave to the King in Council. But the Judicial Committee does not encourage such appeals.

Supreme
Court and
Provincial
Courts

VI. The Native Problem in the Union

The framework of African society has been shattered by the conquest of European peoples. The Bantus have a fine legacy of co-operative tribal traditions; and the task of the Western settlers is to build anew the social structure of the natives on an assimilation of this legacy with the elements of western culture.

The policy hitherto followed by the Union Government has been one of segregation in native Reserves. "What in its crudest form does this policy of segregation mean?" asked Jan Hofmeyr in his book, "South Africa" (Modern World Series, 1930). "Nothing more than the exclusion of the native from the white man's life, save in so far as he is necessary for ministration to the white man's needs, the setting aside for his occupation of land so inadequate that dire necessity will drive him out to labour for the white man, the refusal to regard him as other than a means to an end, or effectively to discourage his development as an end in itself." Such a policy is producing unrest among the natives. The problem may assume formidable dimensions in view of the fact that the interests of five million Bantu natives has been made subordinate to those of less than a third of that number of Europeans.

Gravity of
the problem

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONSTITUTION OF EIRE (IRELAND)

I. A Free Sovereign State

The position of the Irish Free State within the British Empire was defined by the Treaty of December, 1921. Article I of the Treaty declared that "Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State". The old Constitution of the Irish Free State asserted that the State forms part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Status of
the Free
State up to
1937

On June 14, 1937, a new Constitution was approved by the Irish Parliament and enacted by the people by means of a plebiscite on July 1, 1937. The Constitution came into operation on December 29, 1937. The Constitution declares that Ireland is a sovereign, independent democratic state. It affirms the inalienable, indefeasible and sovereign right of the Irish nation to choose its own form of government, to determine its relations with other nations and to develop its life, political, economic and cultural in accordance with its own genius and tradition. The significance of the omission of all references to the British Crown in the Constitution is that the Government of the Eire will conclude treaties with foreign powers and make diplomatic appointments. It may remain neutral even when the British Government is at war with foreign power. It has actually remained neutral up till now in the present War (May 1941). The Irish Parliament alone is authorised to declare war, though the Irish Government may take measures to meet attack pending the assembling of the Parliament. The Government is further empowered to make treaties which do not involve a charge on public funds.

Omission
of reference
to the
Crown

The preamble to the new Constitution leaves no doubt as to the Sovereignty of the Irish State. It reads as follows; "In the name of the most Holy Trinity from whom is all authority and to whom as our final end all actions both of men and states must be referred, we, the people of the Eire, humbly acknowledging all our obligations to our Divine

Full
sovereignty
of the Eire

Lord Jesus Christ, who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of nation and seeking to promote the common good with due observance of prudence, justice and charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution."

It should be noted that this is not a sudden move on the part of De Valera, who has always advocated a complete break with England. He held that the British connection was fatal to the spirit of Ireland, because the Irish are Catholic and agricultural, whereas the English profess materialism and industrialism. The British subjects are already classed as aliens in the Irish Free State, though they are relieved of the disabilities of aliens by order of the Executive Council. He refused to take the oath to the King, forced the resignation of the Governor-General and secured the re-appointment of a retired village grocer in his stead. In December, 1936, on Edward VIII's abdication he showed the unmistakable trend of his policy by passing an Act which abolished the post of Governor-General and omitted to mention the King in the Constitution.

It is a
logical
consequence
of De
Valera's
policy

II. The Executive

The Governor-General is substituted by a President, directly elected by popular vote for a term of seven years. He is the head of the executive and the titular Commander-in-Chief. Being elected by the people directly he is in a position to exercise enormous influence. He is assisted, but not controlled by a new kind of Privy Council, in which there are rival political leaders, judges, and other distinguished citizens. The President has no right to dismiss a Ministry which commands the support of the Dail (Chamber of Deputies or Lower House) but he may refuse a dissolution to a Prime Minister who has ceased to command a majority in the Dail. He is endowed with Powers to safeguard the Constitution. He may refer to the Supreme Court any bill which he deems repugnant to the Constitution and if it reports that the bill is unconstitutional, he is required to refuse his signature to the measure. If a majority of the Senate and a third of the Dail request him to refuse assent to a bill of national importance, he may refer it to a referendum or general election.

The
President

Dictatorial
power of the
President

Thus, it will be seen that the Irish President is far more

powerful than the French President, though his powers fall far short of those of the President of the U. S. A. The Prime Minister is not responsible to him, but he may be a rival in popular esteem to the Prime Minister.

Relation
with the
Prime
Minister

The Prime Minister, like his British prototype selects, and controls his colleagues. He can advise the President to dissolve the Dail regardless of the advice of other ministers, so long as he is able to maintain his parliamentary majority. If he fails to advise the President to summon the Dail, the latter might convene it. In case the Prime Minister refuse to resign even when he is defeated, the President shall dismiss him.

Powers
of the
Prime
Minister

III. The Legislature

¶ The Irish Parliament consists of two Houses, viz., a House of Representatives called Dail Eireann, and a Senate, consisting of sixty members. Of these sixty members of the Senate, the Prime Minister nominates eleven, six are elected by the universities, and the remaining 43 are elected from five panels of candidates established on a vocational basis, representing the following public services and interests : (1) National Language and Culture, Literature, Art, Education and such other professional interests ; (2) Agriculture and allied interests, and Fisheries ; (3) Labour, whether organised or unorganised ; (4) Industry and Commerce including banking, finance, accountancy, engineering and architecture ; (5) Public administration and social service, including voluntary social activities. The Senate can exercise a suspensive veto for ninety days only over bills passed by the Lower Chamber. It does not control the executive, which is responsible to the Dail only. The Dail Eireann, consisting at present of 138 members, is elected by adult suffrage by a system of proportional representation. It is the real depository of power.

Bicametal
Legislature

IV. The Constitution

The Constitution can be amended within a period of three years after the President has taken up office, by ordinary process of law-making, but any proposal which the President considers important will be referred to the people in Referendum. After the first three years no amendment of the Constitution can be effected except with the approval of the people given at a Referendum.

Process of
amending
the Consti-
tution

A very important feature of the proposed Constitution is that which makes it applicable to all Ireland whenever territorial

reintegration is achieved. It thereby empowers the Government and Parliament of Eire to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of "national territory", including Ulster.

Position of Ulster "Happily there is clear intimation," observes Prof. A. B. Keith, "that there is no intention to make use of the right, but the assertion of the claim, coupled with the omission of acceptance of membership of the British Commonwealth, must be justly resented by Northern Ireland."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION

I. Characteristics of the French Constitution ✓

The present Constitution of France was set up by the Constituent Assembly in 1875. France has been called the "laboratory of constitutional experiments"; because between 1789 and 1875 she adopted and rejected nearly a dozen Constitutions. All these Constitutions were complete in details, but the least revolution had proved sufficient to overthrow each and every one of them. The Constitution of 1875, however, is of an unsystematic and fragmentary character, while the Constitution of the U. S. A. is a single document. The French Constitution is contained in three Constitutional laws passed on February 24 and 26 and July 16, 1875 respectively. The French Constitution, unlike the English Constitution, has been made and not been evolved in course of time. But like the English Constitution it precludes neither precedent nor growth. And this freedom has undoubtedly been the basis of the health and strength of this Constitution as compared with the manifold Constitutions that preceded it.

The French as well as the English Governments are described as of Parliamentary type. But the English Parliament is quite unfettered in making any law it likes, while some restrictions have been placed on the French Parliament. It cannot change the Constitution by the ordinary procedure of law-making. According to the Amendment of 1884, even the joint session of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies which is empowered to change the Constitution, cannot abolish the Republican form of government.

The English Constitution is a flexible one but the French Constitution is characterised by modified rigidity. The French Constitution can be changed by the following procedure. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies must meet separately, either on its own motion or at the request of the President and declare, by an absolute majority, the need for a revision of the constitutional laws. Then the two Chambers would sit together in one body as a National Assembly and pass or reject the proposal. The amendment will become a part of the Constitution, if the absolute majority of the members of the Assembly, whether they cast a vote or not, are in favour

This chapter describes the Constitution of the Third Republic. The Leftist parties have secured a majority in the election held in October, 1945 and are contemplating a thorough revision of the Constitution.

of it. Such a procedure cannot bring a revolutionary change in the Constitution, because the National Assembly, being composed of Deputies and Senators cannot be expected to make such changes as would deprive them of spoils in future. There have been only three amendments to the Constitution of 1875 and none of these are of any fundamental character.

In England every citizen, be he an official or non-official, is subject to the same tribunal. In France there is a separate court named the Administrative Court for trying government servants acting in their official capacity.

Administrative
Court

11. The French President

The President is the titular head of the executive in France. He is elected for seven years by a majority of votes, by the two Houses of the French legislature sitting together as a National Assembly at Versailles. There is no age limit for election to the position of the French President.

Any French citizen may be elected, provided he is not a member of the French royal family. He is re-eligible for any number of terms. According to the law of 1928, he receives an annual salary of 18 lakh francs, plus 9 lakh francs for household expenses, plus another 9 lakhs for entertainment and travelling expenses. All these put together meant about 2 lakh 80 thousand rupees at the rate of exchange prevailing in 1938.

The President as the head of the executive has the command over the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. He promulgates the laws passed by the Chambers and ensures their execution. He selects his ministers from the Chambers or sometimes from outside. He has the power of appointing and removing all officers to the public service. He has no power of vetoing a bill, passed by the legislature, but he can send a measure back to the Houses for reconsideration. He has the right of addressing a message to the Chambers through some person. He can adjourn the Chambers at any time for a period not exceeding one month, but he cannot adjourn them more than twice in the same session. He can close the regular sessions of the Houses after they have sat for at least five months. He can convene extra sessions at any time. He can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies with the consent of the Senate. But he must order a fresh election to be held within two months of the dissolution, and must convene the Houses within ten days of the election. He has the right to pardon any person condemned by the judicial courts. He can declare war only with the previous ref both the Chambers. He can conclude treaties with

His formal
powers

foreign powers, but if a treaty affects the area of France or of her dependencies he must secure the approval of the legislature.

All these powers, except those of merely ceremonial nature are exercised by or through his ministers, by one of whom every one of his acts must be counter-signed. In this respect his position is similar to that of the English King. He ^{His real powers} is personally irresponsible and not legally removable by a vote of the Chambers, though they can make it difficult for him to retain the office. But the Chamber of Deputies can accuse him of high treason, in which case he would be tried by the Senate, and, if convicted, would be deprived of his office. The Ministers are responsible for executive acts to the Chambers and not to the President. The President is thus 'a constitutional king for seven years.'

Some writers hold that the President is the prisoner of the Ministry and of Parliament. But in view of the important functions performed by him, it is going too far to take such a view of his position. He personifies the unity of the state. Like the English King he advises the ministers on all important public affairs. Like the king again, he refrains from attending the cabinet meetings; but unlike the king, the President attends the meetings of the Council of Ministers twice or thrice a week. He can thus indirectly influence the Government, though his vote is not counted for final decision. He designates the Prime Minister out of the leaders of a dozen political groups in Parliament, when a cabinet is overthrown. From the foundation of the Third Republic to its downfall in 1940, the average life of the French Cabinet has been only ten months. This gives considerable scope for the personal intervention of the President. Much depends on his personal likes and dislikes. When a new President is elected, the old cabinet resigns to give him an opportunity of nominating a Cabinet of his own choice. But he does not usually choose a person as Premier, who has no chance of securing a workable majority in Parliament.

✓ The American President is directly elected by the people, while the French President is elected by the Legislature. This difference in the method of appointment largely explains why the former is so strong, and the latter so weak. The President of the U. S. A. is independent of the Legislature and able to resist it, while the French President has very little power to oppose the French legislature. The Ministers in the U. S. A. are the servants of the President of the U. S. A.; while the Ministers in France are responsible to the Legislature. "There is no living functionary," wrote Sir Henry Maine, "who occupies a more pitiable position than a French President. The old king o

Utility
of the
President }

The French
President
compared
to the
heads of
Executive
of other
countries

France reigned and governed. The constitutional king, according to M. Thiers, reigns but does not govern. The President of the United States governs but does not reign. It has been reserved for the President of the French Republic neither to reign, nor to govern.) But according to Barthou, the French President is not a phantom king without a crown. He can make his influence felt by means of active advice. The Ministers usually consider his advice with the greatest attention and respect because of his position and experience. The German President under the Weimar Constitution was elected for seven years by the vote of the people. He could, however, be removed from office by the vote of the people on a motion of the Reichstag passed by a two thirds' majority. A

III The French Ministry "

The President of the Republic is the titular head of the Executive, but the real head is the Prime Minister, who is also the President of the Council of Ministers. (In theory, a Minister need not be a member either of the Chamber of Deputies or of the Senate, but in practice, Ministers are usually taken from the ranks of Deputies and Senators.) But Ministers of War and Marine have often been chosen from among generals and admirals, who are not members of the Legislature. In England there are three different grades of salary for Ministers, but in France every Minister draws an annual salary of 180,000 francs, plus an allowance of 10,000 francs for the maintenance of their official automobile that is, in all about Rs. 1400 per month. Though the salary is the same, yet the position and importance of all Ministers are not equal. The Prime Minister enjoys the largest amount of power. Below him is the Minister of Justice, who acts also as Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and President of the Council of State and of the Tribunal of Conflicts. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of the Interior and Finance are next in importance. The Ministers of Education, War, Marine and Agriculture are also important because they have large patronage in their hands. The portfolios of Commerce, Labour, and Public Health are of lesser importance. There may be some ministers without portfolio. There is no fixed limit to the number of ministers. As in the case of the Provinces in India the number depends on the necessity of satisfying different groups. Thus, Tardieu appointed 28 members to his Cabinet in November, 1929, against the 18 members in the preceding Briand Government. An individual minister in France is much more powerful than a minister in England in his relation to the Prime Minister. A minister

peculiarity of the French Ministry is that after the fall of a Cabinet, ministers belonging to it take office in the succeeding Cabinet. (When the Daladier Cabinet fell in October 1933, Sarraut, a minister of this Cabinet formed a new Government of 18 ministers with twelve ministers of the Daladier Cabinet. On the resignation of a Ministry a general election does not follow. If France were involved in the turmoil of a general election everytime a Cabinet fell, Democracy would have long since broken down there.)

In England the Ministry is responsible to the House of Commons only; it does not resign on an adverse vote of the House of Lords. But in France the Senate can reverse a Ministry as it did the Bourgeois Ministry in 1896, Briand Ministry in 1913, Heriot Ministry in 1925, Tardieu Ministry in 1930, Laval Ministry in 1932, and Blum Ministry in 1937 and again in 1938.

In recent years a number of Under-Secretaries have been appointed to assist the ministers. The Under-Secretaries cannot countersign a Presidential act; ^{Under-Secretaries} nor are they entitled to attend all Cabinet meetings. But they are responsible to the Legislature. In 1930 Tardieu appointed as many as fifteen Under-Secretaries.

A formal distinction is made in France between the Council of Ministers and Cabinet Council. When the ministers meet formally as the Council of Ministers, the President of the Republic acts as Chairman of the Council, though he cannot vote. ^{The Council of Ministers and the Cabinet} The ministers may also meet informally without the President of the Republic, in which case they are said to meet as the Cabinet Council. The President of the Council of Ministers, who is invariably the Prime Minister, presides over the Cabinet Council. "The Cabinet Council," observed a French Minister humorously, "is a place where you may smoke; the Council of Ministers is a place where you may not smoke." The Cabinet is unknown to law, while the Council of Ministers is a body recognised by law. Finer points out that the Council of Ministers deliberates on policy and is national in character; while the Cabinet deliberates on tactics and is parliamentary in character. The members of the Council of Ministers are ex-officio members of the Council of State, which is the highest judicial tribunal in France for the trial of administrative cases. (The Council exercises the functions of the President of the Republic in case of his death, resignation or incapacity for action until the National Assembly can meet and elect his successor.

Every act of the President is countersigned by the Minister with whose department the act is concerned. The Constitution further lays down that "the Ministers shall be collectively

responsible to the Chambers for the general policy of the Government and individually for their personal acts." But the ministers joining a Cabinet do not repudiate their life-long doctrines; hence there is very little of homogeneity in the Cabinet. ✓ Finer opines that political practice has virtually deleted the words 'collectively responsible' from the Constitution. In three different ways the responsibility of ministers to both the Houses of the Legislature is enforced. ✓ First, questions are asked in the Chamber of Deputies concerning the action of a minister with his previous consent. Questions may be asked orally, from the floor, and when they are answered by a minister, the Deputy asking the question has the right to reply; but no further debate is allowed. Questions may also be asked in writing, in which case the answer must be published in the Journal Official within eight days. ✓ Secondly, Interpellations may be addressed to a minister. An Interpellation differs from the ordinary question in that it gives cause for a general debate, in which everyone has the right to participate. If a member wants to address an Interpellation he must apply in writing to the President of his Chamber stating the substance of his Interpellation. The President reads the demand to the Chamber, after which the minister concerned gives a reply. Then the House decides upon the date when the Interpellation will be discussed. The discussion is closed by a vote known as *Ordre du Jour* (Order of the day), in which the House expresses its confidence or no-confidence in the Government. If the Chamber passes an *Ordre du Jour* of no-confidence, the Government is forced to resign. This is the normal and frequent procedure by which French Ministers fall from power. ✓ Thirdly, each Chamber may appoint its investigating Committees with the object of collecting information regarding the action of a ministry. Such Committees have been granted the powers appertaining to investigating magistrates by a law of 1914.

The French Prime Minister presides over the Cabinet Council, holds the Ministry together, tries to manage the Legislature as best he can, and makes great efforts to remain his popularity in the country. His task is much more difficult than that of the English Prime Minister, because he is never sure of the support of the Groups which have promised to help him. The French Premier has to attend international conferences too. He can at any time act in place of one of his ministers. In recent years a tendency to relieve the Prime Minister of the charge of any particular department has been noticeable. Thus, Poincaré in 1928, Doumergue and Flandin in 1934, Blum in 1936-37, and Chautemps in 1937-38 did not hold any portfolio.

Position of
the French
Premier

IV. Causes of Ministerial Instability in France

Ministries in France are notoriously unstable. Since the foundation of the Republic, sixty-nine years ago (1871-1940), France has had one hundred and five different Cabinets. Thus, the average life of a Cabinet has been less than seven months. The longest Ministry was that of Waldeck-Rousseau which lasted for two years, eleven months and eleven days (June 22, 1899 to June 3, 1902). The shortest Ministry was that of Camille Chautemps in 1930 which lasted for twenty-four hours. The causes which contribute to the instability of a Ministry in France are mainly five—namely, powerlessness of the Cabinet to dissolve Parliament; the existence of a multiplicity of groups; the prevalence of Interpellation; responsibility of the Cabinet to both the Houses; and great powers of the Commissions.

Short-lived
Ministries

✓ In England when the Cabinet feels that the House of Commons does not represent the Nation, it may bring about the dissolution of the House and order a general election. In France the President of the Republic can dissolve the Chamber, before the expiry of its legal term, only with the consent of the Senate. But the only instance of dissolution is to be found in 1877 when Marshall MacMahon dissolved the Chamber in the hope that the new elections would be more conservative. A dissolution is generally regarded as a *Coup d'etat*; hence no other President has exercised this power, nor has the Senate ever again given consent to it. As the Government of the day is deprived of the weapon of appealing to the country from the factions' opposition of the Chamber, real political power is thrown into the hands of any group, which might at any time hold the balance of power.

Cabinet has
no power
to dissolve
the Chamber

✓ The multiple party system in France prevents the growth of a single party which can command a majority in the Legislature. The formation of diverse groups is promoted by the fact that the Cabinet has no power to compel a group to choose between loyalty to it and a general election. If fifteen or twenty members form themselves into a group, they can become the arbiter of the fate of Government. The Cabinet tries to secure the adhesion of as many groups as possible. Every Government is a combination in which principle plays very little part. "Ministers, not feeling any solid strength behind them," states Jules Roche, "desiring to live, seeing themselves at the mercy of the Chamber of Deputies, never dare to be themselves, to defend what they think it most just, and fight what they believe to be bad and dangerous. They try above all to get the favour of the majority." But they cannot live long

Evils of
the Group
system

by sacrificing principles to political exigency. As soon as the Government makes a concession to one Group, other Groups become greedy and if the Cabinet tries to satisfy them, others become estranged from it. Besides its declared adversaries, the Government has to face attacks of those of its supporters who have the ambition of becoming ministers in the next Government. By desertion they perhaps find their way into the incoming Cabinet. A French Cabinet is generally formed by reshuffling the out-going Cabinet. This fact is mainly responsible for the loose party discipline in France.

Interpellations are so ingeniously and surreptitiously put that the minister to whose department they may relate is often discredited. They are not restricted to Fridays on matters of confidence in the Government. The Cabinet cannot control the time of discussion. It goes out of office whenever a vote of no-confidence is passed as the result of an Interpellation.

The Chamber of Deputies arrogates to itself the right of interfering not only with the general policy but also with the minute details of administration. As the ministers have no stable majority to support them, they are often put to great disadvantage. Besides this, the Senate also enforces its authority on the working of the Cabinet in various ways. Thus, between double responsibilities, the ministry is often discredited and eventually ousted.

The Commissions The practice of appointing Commissions with ex-ministers and experienced Deputies and Senators as members and investing them with large powers also contribute to the instability of a Ministry in France. "They weaken the Ministers," observes Finer. "because they are powerful rivals and the Chambers look to them for guidance, whereas, in England, the sources of inspiration are purely Ministerial. Moreover they are the Deputies and Senators organized as continuous guilds, and they always act as prosecuting attorneys and professional defensive societies, towards Ministers." They are entitled to call for any information from the departments and are thus able to prepare the ground for the defeat of Ministers.

The Senate

The Senate is the Upper House of the French Legislature. Before the Great War it consisted of 300 members, elected in the 86 Departments (districts) of France, in Algeria, in the territory of Belfort and in the colonies by Electoral Colleges. To this have been added after the War 14 members for Alsace-Lorraine, making 314 Senators in all. The Senators are elected by an

Electoral College in each Department or Colony meeting at the capital of the Department or Colony. The Electoral College consists of (a) the Deputies of the Department; (b) the members of the General Council of the Department; (c) the members of the Arrondissement (sub-divisions) Councils within each Department and (d) the delegates of the Communes within each Department. Communes having population between 500 and 1500 are allowed to send 1 delegate to the Electoral College. The larger Communes are represented by a large number of delegates, those having 60,000 and above send 24 delegates, while Paris sends 30 delegates. As the Communes number 36,000 they have got the preponderent voice in the election of Senators. No one can be a Senator unless he is a French citizen of at least forty years of age and enjoys civil and political rights. As the mode of election is indirect and the age qualification is high, most Senators are recruited from among sedate local politicians. Senators are elected for a nine-year term. Elections to the Senate take place every three years, one third of the Senate body being elected at a time.

Number,
mode of
election and
term of
Senators

The legislative powers of the Senate are equal to those of the Chamber of Deputies except as regards the financial bills. The Senate is more conservative by temperament than the Chamber of Deputies. It performs the function of resisting hasty legislation admirably well. Bills usually originate in the Lower Chamber, though there is no definite law about it. The Chamber of Deputies, however, has no power to compel the Senate to discuss a bill. If the Senate does not like a particular bill, it will simply bury the bill in silence. It has very often sent the bills, passed by the Lower House "into no man's land of a Commission whence, the only despatch concerning them, is missing."

Powers of
the Senate
in law-
making

The method of settling quarrels between the two Houses as provided in the Constitution is not at all satisfactory. A conference between two "Commissions," one appointed by each House, debates together the points at issue between the two Houses but they vote separately. If this method fails to bring an agreement, nothing further can be done.

Mode of
settling
differences
between the
two Houses

Money bills must originate in the Chamber of Deputies, but the Senate can amend them by way of rejecting or reducing items of taxation or appropriation. Though it can reduce taxes or supplies, yet its power of increasing them is weak. The Chamber of Deputies purposely keeps back the Budget of the year till the latest possible moment, so as to leave the Senate no time for consideration and amendment unless it takes upon itself the responsibility of driving the Ministry—to

Power over
finance

a provisional levy of taxation needing to be subsequently confirmed. Like the House of Lords the French Senate has been hostile to all schemes of taxation of socialistic kind.

The Senate now controls the administration as much as the Chamber of Deputies. During the first twenty years of the Constitution the Senate did not attempt to drive out a Ministry by a vote of no-confidence. But as has been pointed out before, there have recently been many cases in which the Senate has dislodged Ministries from power. Most of the members of the Cabinet are taken from the Chamber of Deputies. But ministers may appear in either House to explain the policy or to answer questions.

Special powers of the Senate The Senate possesses two special powers. No dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies before the expiry of its statutory term can take place without the consent of the Senate. It sits as a High Court of Justice when summoned to sit as such by the President for the trial of grave offences against the state.

R VI. The Chamber of Deputies

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by adult (21) male suffrage, women having no franchise in France. A person who has been a resident in a Commune for at least six months prior to the compilation of voters' list becomes a voter in that Commune. No property or educational qualification is required for a voter, and no plural voting, as in England, is allowed. A Deputy must be of at least 25 years of age. No member of families which have reigned in France can become candidate for Deputyship; nor are men in active military service eligible. There is also a long list of civil servants who are debarred from offering themselves as candidates in the constituency in which they hold a public office. The chamber is elected for four years and the general election must take place within sixty days preceding the expiry of the full term. Between 1919 and 1927 Deputies were elected in multi-member constituencies, but now they are elected by *Scrutin d'Arrondissement* or single-member constituencies.

Sessions The ordinary Session of the Chamber opens on the second Tuesday of January and lasts upto the middle of July. There is also an extra-ordinary session from October to December. Parliament has also to meet two days after martial law is declared without any call from the executive. The President

* On October 28, 1938 when one-third of the Senate was re-elected the position of Parties in the Senate was : Socialists and Communists, 17 ; Democrats of the Left, 152 ; Republican Union, 69 ; Action Republicaine Nationale et Sociale, 16 ; Democratic Union, 27 ; Independents, 33.

of the Republic is bound to call a session when the absolute majority in each House asks for such a session. The Government also can convene a session whenever it pleases.

The Deputies are organised in different groups, which are classified into Right, Centre and Left, according to their seating arrangement. On the first January, 1937, the groups were as follows :

Groups
in the
Chamber

Right	
Independants d' Union Republicaine et Nationale	4
Independants Republicains	12
Federation Republicaine de France	53
Parti Social Francais	8
Republicains Independants et d' Action Sociale	27
Groupe Agraire Independant	11
Groupe Independant d' Action Populaire	15
	130
Centre	
Democrates Populaires	13
Alliance des Republicains de Gauche et des Radicaux Independants	11
Gauche Democratique et Radicaux Independants	36
	90
Left	
Radicaux et Radicaux-Socialistes	113
Gauche Independante	27
Union Socialiste et Republicaine	29
Socialiste S. F. I. O.	149
Communistes	72
	390
Unaffiliated	6

Total number of members 616

In October, 1939, the Communist members were expelled from the Chamber of Deputies. But in October 1945 they have secured the largest number of seats, 153.

The Chamber of Deputies exercises strict control over administration and legislation through its committees, called Bureau. The Committee can enquire into all the works of a Department and recommend or refuse the measures the Department desires. Such an interference from the Committee necessarily reduces the authority of the Ministry, for its bills may be so much altered by the Committee that they might be quite different from what the Ministry intended them to be. It exercises three functions :—(1) making of laws, (2) criticism of the executive of Departments and (3) displacement of Ministries. The last function makes the French Deputy much more powerful than the English M. P.

Powers of
the Chamber
of Deputies

It has been well said that "three Powers rule France—the Deputies, the Ministers and the Local Party Committee." The governing function of the Ministers needs no explanation. The Deputies rule France by exercising great influence through the Bureau and by inspiring fear in the mind of Ministers lest they should vote against

Position of
Deputies

Ministry. (The Local Committees are like cliques consisting of minor officials or ex-officials, shop-keepers, lawyers, doctors, teachers and journalists.) The Deputy must please the clique and press the Minister and the Prefect (head of the local administration) for granting this or that favour for the clique. The bulk of the people are less attached to this or that party than they are in English-speaking countries. Hence, the clique can work for this or that candidate, and the successful candidate must keep the clique satisfied.).

✓ The National Assembly of France is, in fact, the sovereign body. It consists of a joint meeting of the Legislature, namely, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The purpose of holding the National Assembly which assembles in Versailles is to elect the President of the French Republic or to consider a revision or amendment of the Constitution. It is only when both the Houses individually agree to an amendment by an absolute majority that the National Assembly is summoned. The powers of this Assembly to revise or to amend the Constitution are very wide excepting that no change of the republican form of government can be attempted. By this Assembly the President is elected by an absolute majority. Thus it is evident that the French Legislature is the judge of its own actions; while in America the Judiciary is entitled to consider the validity of the laws of the land.

Functions of
the National
Assembly

VII. Parliamentary Procedure in France

Parliamentary procedure in France differs considerably from that of England. In France the closing of a parliamentary session has no influence on the legislative procedure. In England if the session ends before a bill has been voted all the preparatory work is done over again in the new session; but in France bills which have not been voted before the end of a session will be voted during the coming session. Moreover, voting by proxy is allowed in the Chamber of Deputies. Those members of a group who are present in the Chamber may vote for their absent fellow-members. Sometimes it so happens that several Deputies vote on behalf of the same absent colleague, with the result that more votes are sometimes cast than there are members in the Chamber. But in case of doubt, any fifty members of the Chamber may demand a "Ballot at the Tribune," by which each Deputy being called in alphabetical order hands his ballot personally over to one of the officers of the House, who drops it in the urn. To enable absentee members to come and vote the "Ballot at the Tribune" is kept open for one hour. On the outbreak of the present war

Peculiarities
of French
procedure

many Deputies joined the war. Hence voting by proxy was introduced at all stages of legislative procedure.

The chief peculiarity of the French system lies in the great power of Committees of both Houses of the Legislature. There are twenty great permanent Committees or Commissions of the Chamber of Deputies, namely, (1) Committee on General, Departmental and Communal Administration ; (2) on Foreign Affairs ; (3) on Agriculture ; (4) on Algiers, the Colonies and Protectorates ; (5) on Alsace-Lorraine ; (6) on the Army ; (7) on Social Insurance and Relief ; (8) on Commerce, Industry and Commercial Treaties ; (9) on Accounts and Economics ; (10) on the Tariff ; (11) on Public Education and Fine Arts ; (12) on Hygiene ; (13) on Civil and Criminal Legislation ; (14) on Merchant Marine ; (15) on the Navy ; (16) on Mining and Mechanical Power ; (17) on Aeronautics ; (18) on Labour ; (19) on Public Works and Means of Communication ; (20) on Finance. Each Committee consists of forty-four members. There are 12 Committees of the Senate, each consisting of 36 members. The Committees are elected every year, but the same persons may be and are usually re-elected. The Government cannot necessarily command a majority in the Committees, because they are elected by the groups in proportion to their numerical importance, the lowest number in a group entitling it to elect members on each Committee being 14. Other Committees are also appointed as occasion demands, but they consist of 33 instead of 44 in the Chamber of Deputies. Each Committee has a President and a reporter, who have got considerable authority. When a bill is proposed either by the Government or by a Private member, it is studied by the appropriate Committee. Such bills cannot come up for discussion in the Chamber until after the Committee has presented a report on the matter. The Committee often makes substantial changes in the bill.

When a bill, having been duly proposed and considered by the Committee, comes before the Chamber of Deputies, and Deputy may ask "question préalable" that is, whether discussion of the bill should not be avoided either on the ground that the proposed bill is unconstitutional or that it is inopportune. A vote is taken on the question and if it is passed, the bill is dropped ; if the question is set aside, a discussion on the bill as a whole begins. When the discussion is closed, a vote is taken to determine whether the Chamber wants to discuss the bill section by section. If the vote is negative, the bill is rejected. If not, a discussion of the bill, section by section along with proposed amendments, is taken up. At this stage the Committee can withdraw any section if it perceives its fault. Then a final

Process of making law }

vote is taken on the whole bill as amended. If the bill is passed, it is sent to the Senate, where it follows much the same procedure as in the Lower House. If the Senate adopts it, it is laid before the President of the Republic for promulgation.

The Finance Committee is the most powerful of all the Committees. It can alter the various items in the budget proposed by the

**Powers of
the Finance
Committee
and pro-
cedure of
passing the
budget**

Government at its own pleasure. It can refuse some appropriations and add others. It considers the budget through various sub-Committees, each of which has a Reporter working under the Reporter-General. The Reporter-General presents the budget to the Chamber and pilots it through the House. The Finance Minister has no power to move amendments to it. Thus the actual control over finance has passed to the members of the Finance Committee, who, however, are not effectively answerable to the public. "When the Ministerial scheme," observes Lord Bryce, "comes before the Chamber, the Reporter appears as a sort of second and rival Finance Minister, whose views may prevail against those of the Cabinet. The Government of the day has little influence, except what it may personally and indirectly exert, upon the Composition of the Commissions, which may contain a majority of members opposed to its general financial policy, or to the view it takes of particular measures. The natural result is to render legislation incoherent, to make the conduct of financial policy unstable and confused, and to encourage extravagance, because Ministers cannot prevent expenditure they think needless. A further consequence is to reduce the authority of an Executive which can be over-ruled." Unlike the British procedure any French Deputy can propose that new items be inserted or larger sums be provided for existing items, but he must at the same time propose a new revenue or a corresponding increase in an existing revenue. But no proposal can be made to increase salary or pension of Government servants. In recent years there has been so much quarrel over the budget that Parliament has often failed to vote it in time. In order to enable the

**'Provisional
Twelfths'**

Finance Minister to carry on the administration "provisional twelfths" are voted by each House every month. These sums are divided among the different branches of Government by a Presidential decree. When the budget is finally voted, the sums already appropriated are deducted from the totals. The Senate cannot insert or increase items other than those previously proposed by the Government in the budget as it first reached the Chamber of Deputies.

VIII. The French Judicial System

The highest Court in France is the Cassation Court consisting

of three sections namely, (1) The Court of Petition, (2) The Civil Court and (3) The Criminal Court. Appeals from the lower courts are heard by this highest court. Each of the sections is under a Judge President.

The Cassation Court

The lower courts may be classified broadly into two divisions namely, (1) The Ordinary Courts, Civil and Criminal; and (2) the Administrative Courts. The lowest Ordinary Courts are the Courts of the Justice of the Peace, their jurisdiction being limited to a Canton.

The lower Courts

The next higher court is the Court of the First Instance. It has jurisdiction, both Original and Appellate, over a Department and consists of one Judge President and two other Judges. The next higher court is the Court of Appeal having jurisdiction over one or more Departments. In France there is another type of court, namely, the Court of Assize which tries serious criminal cases. These courts have their sessions quarterly and try with the help of the jury. In addition to these courts there are also a number of Commercial Courts for dealing with Commercial cases. The President of the French Republic appoints the Judges who hold office during good behaviour and are removable only by the Cassation Court.

Courts of First Instance and of Appeal

Commercial Courts

IX. The Party System

Recent Phase

The party politics of post-War France is characterised by a greater emphasis on coalition of allied groups and a sharper cleavage between the social classes. The elections of November, 1919, brought into power a coalition known as the *Bloc National*, which represented an alliance of diehards, Catholic clericals and big financial and industrial interests generally. Its policy was to make Germany pay for the damage done by the war. It considered even Clemenceau not stern enough against Germany. Under Millerand, Briand and Poincare it remained in power till 1924, when the latter's efforts to invade the Ruler brought about the downfall of the coalition.

The Bloc National

A new coalition, the *Cartel des Gauches*, composed of a group of moderate factions representing the small industrialist, the rentier, the peasant proprietor and the civil servant, came to power in 1924 under the leadership of Herriot. It advocated a policy of peace abroad, recognised the Soviet Government of Russia officially and tried to avoid addi-

Cartel des Gauches

tional taxation. But when it attempted to raise additional taxes in April, 1926, the Ministry lost its majority.

✓ Poincaré again came to power at the head of a new coalition, called the *Union Nationale*. He was able to balance the budget

(*Union Nationale*) after sixteen years and to restore the gold standard in 1928. As the franc was fixed at one-fifth of its pre-War level, the rentiers were deprived of four-fifths of their income and the Government was relieved of four-fifths of its capital charges. But French industries received a great impetus and captured foreign markets by underselling the foreigners. The depression, which took place in 1929, caused heavy loss to French industry. The Government had to spend a vast amount on armaments and could not balance the budget.

In the elections of 1932, the *Union Nationale* was defeated and a less conservative coalition came into power under Herriot. The new coalition, too, failed to make up the deficit in the budget because it was afraid of alienating its supporters by any scheme of additional taxation. The Stavisky scandal (financial) in which a Cabinet Minister was involved brought about the downfall of the Ministry. On February 6, 1934, the French Royalists and Communists made common cause in rioting in the streets of Paris.

At this critical juncture Doumergue, an octogenarian ex-President, came to the rescue of the Republic and formed a Ministry, called the National Concentration. Doumergue thought of calling a Constituent Assembly at Versailles with the object of carrying reforms to prohibit the proposal of expenditure by Private members, to curtail the right of Civil Servants to strike, and to empower the Premier to dissolve the Chamber at will. But as the last proposal savoured of Fascism, the left wing of his Ministry revolted and he had to resign.

✓ After a good deal of shuffling and reshuffling of the Ministry, Leon Blum, the Socialist leader, was able to come to power in February, 1936. He got the support of a coalition of the left wing parties, called the Popular Front. M. Blum was able to introduce 40 hours working day for labour in all industries, to give them 15 days' leave with full pay in a year and many other amenities. On February 26, 1937, ex-Premier, Pierre-Etienne Flandin, made a heavy attack on Blum; but Blum was able to defeat the attack by 362 to 211 votes. The Blum Ministry fell in July, 1937. Then the Radical-Socialist Chautemps formed a more conservative Government with the orthodox economist Bonnet as Minister of Finance. Bonnet was able to give business a temporary relief through a new devaluation of the franc. On January 12, Bonnet asked Chautemps to

(*Ministries of Blum, Chautemps*)

break with the Communists and to include in his Cabinet representatives of the Centre groups in the Chamber with a view to restore confidence to business. The Socialists were unwilling to take this step and in consequence the Chaumemps Ministry resigned on January 14, 1938. Chaumemps formed another Ministry almost exclusively with the Radical-Socialists, but it too had to resign on March 10, 1938. Seeing this Ministerial crisis in France Hitler seized Austria. Blum now formed a Ministry with the Socialists and the Radical Socialists. He had asked for the co-operation of the Centre but was refused. The Popular Front Cabinets failed to solve the financial and economic issues and hence there occurred now a definite turn towards more Conservative policy. Daladier, a former professor of History, who commanded the support of both the Socialists and of the Conservative groups formed a Government on April 4, 1938.

In July 1936, Jacques Doriot launched a Fascist party called the French Popular Party. Financial interests and the young middle-class Frenchmen were casting their eyes about in search of a leader who would be able to stem the rising and all-powerful mass movement that constituted the People's Front under Blum. They got the leader in Doriot, an ex-Communist like Mussolini. He attained considerable success. He proclaimed the New French Revolution, with the division of France into three distinct social groups, the worker, the peasant, and the middle class. The Fascists must have been powerful in France before June, 1940, otherwise the fall of France would not have been so sudden.

The Fascist
Party in
France

X. The Petain Government

It is a curious coincidence that the Third French Republic came into existence on the 4th September, 1870, when the Germans had invaded and occupied a portion of France; and again during another German occupation it came to an end on July 10, 1940. It was on the latter date that the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate met jointly in the National Assembly at Vichy and adopted a single Article of constitutional law as follows: "The National Assembly grants all power to the Government of the Republic, under the authority and the signature of Marshal Petain, with a view to promulgation, through one or more acts, of a new constitution for the French State. This constitution shall guarantee the rights of work, family and native country." This law was passed with the same outward adherence to the letter of the then existing constitution as was shown in passing the Enabling Act of 1933 by the German Legislature. The Chamber of Deputies consisted of 618 members and the Senate of 314 members. As

Petaim made
Dictator on
July 10,
1940

an absolute majority of the total number of members is necessary for passing a constitutional law, at least 467 members in the joint session must vote for the bill. As a matter of fact, 569 members voted for it, 15 abstained from voting and 80 only opposed it.

Having thus got the dictatorial authority Marshal Petain issued a series of decrees to suspend the Constitution of 1875. On 11th July, 1940, he assumed the functions of the Head of the French State (unoccupied France only); and suspended the constitutional provisions relating to the election of the President of the Republic. By another decree of the same date the provision relating to the meeting of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies every year on the second Tuesday in January and keeping them in session for at least five months each year was repealed. Both the Chambers of Legislature were adjourned until further order. Similarly, the right of the Chamber of Deputies to indict the President or the Ministers and the right of Senate to try them on a charge of conspiring against the state were abolished.

Marshal Petain assumed full governmental powers as the Head of the French State by the Constitutional Act No. 2 of 11th July, 1940. He has power to appoint and remove Ministers and Secretaries of State, who are responsible to him, and not to the legislature. The Legislative and financial powers are exercised by him in ministerial council. He commands the armed forces of the nation, receives ambassadors and has power to negotiate and ratify treaties. He has the right of pardon and amnesty. The only limitation he has set upon his authority is that "He shall not have power to declare war without the previous assent of the Legislative Assemblies." But as this limitation has been imposed by his own authority, he can, if he thinks convenient, supersede it by another decree.

By a decree of July 12, Marshal Petain has declared that when, for any reason, he will be prevented from exercising the function of the Head of the State, M. Pierre Laval, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, shall automatically assume it. In case Laval is also unable to discharge these functions, the Council of Ministers shall, by a majority of seven votes, designate the Head of the State.

The Vichy Government is supported and dominated by the great industrialists and businessmen. They have been able to occupy all the key positions in the government offices. It is in their interest that the government tried to destroy the solidarity of the Labour movement. The Government attempted to deprive the Trade Unions of all real power by forming mixed social committees on which the repre-

Suspension
of the Con-
stitution of
1875

Powers of
the Head of
the French
State

Position
of
M.P. Laval

Position of
Labour

representatives of workers were to serve with those of the employers and the technicians under the strict supervision of a Government's delegate. The Trade Unions were only to deal with the professional interests of their members. The General Confederation of Workers, the French T. U. C. was dissolved in 1940. But the opposition of Labour was so vehement that the Government did not dare to enforce the so-called Labour Charter.

The force of opposition to the Vichy Government is gaining strength every day. The Universities, the Church and Labour are trying their level best to undermine the authority of the Government of Petain. Public demonstrations in honour of the Republican regime took place in many of the provincial towns of unoccupied France on May 1st, 1942. During the Christmas of 1943 Marshal Petain made a pathetic appeal to the French nation to put a stop to sabotage and disturbances. But so long as he or his Government remained slavish to the German people, the resistance of the French people did not stop.

Opposition
to the Vichy
Government

CHAPTER XXX

CONSTITUTION OF SWITZERLAND

Characteristics of the Swiss Constitution

The Swiss Constitution is the most democratic of all the constitutions of the world. It is a Government, under which the principles of direct democracy have been extensively applied through Initiative and Referendum. If, however, difference in religion and language be considered a hindrance to democratic government, as it is done in India, Switzerland is most unsuited for democracy. Here about 57 per cent of the population are Protestants, nearly 41 per cent are Catholics and 0.5 per cent are Jews; 71 per cent speak the German language, 21 per cent French, about 6 per cent Italian, and little more than 1 per cent Romansch. In spite of these apparent handicaps of diversity of religion and language, this little country of four million people has worked out a system of government which in certain respects combines the stability of the American system with the responsibility of the British system.

The Constitution of Switzerland is federal in character. It is a Federation of 19 Cantons, each having the right to send two members to the Council of State and six half-Cantons, sending one member each to that body. The half-Cantons have separate Cantonal Governments. The Constitution is rigid in character, because the Federal Assembly has no power to amend the Constitution. Proposals for amendment may emanate either from the Federal Assembly or from fifty thousand voters submitting a draft of the proposed change to the Federal Assembly. The latter process is known as Initiative; but if the people initiate a proposal, the Federal Assembly has the right of making a counter-proposition to the people. Whether the amendment is proposed by the Federal Assembly or by the fifty thousand voters, it must be submitted to Referendum. It must secure the support of a majority of the voters as well as a majority of the Cantons. Between 1874 and 1932, the Federal Assembly proposed 42 amendments of which 33 have been accepted; but only a few attempts at amending the Constitution by means of popular Initiative have been successful.

As the Constitution is of the rigid type, it is also a written one. It is twice as long as the Constitution of the U. S. A. But as in all other Constitutions, conventions play an important part in it. The Constitution guarantees freedom of the press, freedom of worship and equality of all

Lesson of
the Swiss
Constitution
for India

A federal
and rigid
Constitution

Process of
Amendment

Laws and
Customs

Freedom

citizens before the eyes of law. But the Jury system is not mentioned in it.

II. Structure of the Federal Constitution

Switzerland was a Confederation up to the year 1848, when the present federal state came into existence. The Constitution of 1848 as amended and modified by the important revision of 1874, is the basis of the present Constitution of Switzerland. ^{Federal subjects} (The distribution of powers between the Federal and the Cantonal Government is generally similar to that of the American and Australian Federations.) The Federal Government has control over foreign relations, declares war and peace, makes treaties, manages national army, owns and works almost all the railways, post, telegraph, copyright, currency and national finance, banking and customary duties, water power, monopoly of gunpowder and the production of alcohol; and legislates upon commerce and contracts. It determines questions as to the meaning and construction of the Constitution including cases in which a Canton is alleged to have transgressed that instrument. In the U. S. A. this function belongs to the Supreme Court. In other respects too the Swiss Federation has wider powers than the American Federation. Thus, it may deal with matters relating to private law, education and commerce, and administer many state monopolies.

(The Federal Government possesses some concurrent powers exercisable conjointly with the Cantons, and can supervise the action of the Cantons in certain fields, such as industrial conditions, insurance, highways, the regulation of the press and education requiring the Cantons to provide instruction which shall be compulsory, unsectarian and gratuitous. When it exerts these concurrent powers its statutes prevail against those of a Canton. ^{Subjects under concurrent jurisdiction} The residuary power belongs to the Cantons.)

The Federal Government consists of four authorities:—(a) the Legislature, *viz.*, the National Assembly, which is the supreme representative body; (b) the Executive, *viz.*, the Federal Council, which is an administrative body of seven members; (c) the Judiciary, *viz.*, one Federal Tribunal; (d) ^{Organs of Federal Government} the people of the Confederation, which, being the final authority empowered to act by its direct vote, has the ultimate control of legislation, and through legislation of the Government as a whole. The people exercise their control through Initiative and Referendum.

III. The Federal Legislature

The Federal Legislature, called the National Assembly, consists of two Houses—the National Council and the Council of States.

The National Council is elected by the citizens of the Cantons in Cantonal districts by proportional representation. The number of members which a Canton would elect depends upon its population. The smallest Canton sends one member, while Berne sends 31 members. Every adult male has voting power. In 1930, the term of the House has been extended from three to four years. Previously every 20,000 persons used to send one member, now each 22,000 send one member. The total number of members is 187. Officials of the Cantonal Governments may offer themselves as candidates for seats in the National Council.

Composition of the National Council

The Council of States is the second chamber and is analogous to the American Senate. It consists of two members from each full Canton, and one member from each half Canton chosen by each Canton according to its own laws. Some Cantons choose councillors for one year and some for three years. The salary of members is paid by the Cantons.

The Council of States

The two Chambers sit together as a National Assembly for the election of the Federal Executive Council and of its President, Vice-President, Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Federal Army, the Chancellor of the Federal Tribunal and also for the determination of legal questions, and for granting pardons.

The National Assembly

In theory, the two Chambers have equal powers in legislative, administrative and judicial affairs. But in practice the National Council is more powerful than the Second Chamber. The Swiss Constitution makes no provision for settling disputes between the two Houses; and in fact disputes have been rare. When, however, such a friction occurs, it is set at rest by popular Referendum.

Relation between the two Houses

The Swiss Legislature is comparatively free from party turmoils and transacts its business in the most efficient way. Its scope of authority, however, is limited in two ways. It cannot displace the Ministers, and in the legislative sphere it cannot say the last word, since that belongs to the people. Another peculiarity of the Swiss Legislature is the absence of the Committee system. The Federal Council (the Executive) is asked to frame bills at the wishes of the people when they exercise the power of the Initiative or at the dictation of the dominant party. Either Chamber may by resolution request the Federal Executive to prepare a bill on any specified subject.

Peculiarities of the Swiss Legislature

These bills are then discussed and enacted by the Swiss Legislature. "As the Assembly usually includes," observes Rappard, "no former members and but very few members of the Federal Government, its function in fact often resembles that of an advisory rather than that of a sovereign body. Government measures are seldom seriously amended and still more seldom rejected by the Legislature, which in this respect has always shown itself far more docile politically than the people at the polls. The success of the Referendum in Switzerland is both a cause and a consequence of this extreme parliamentary docility."

IV. The Federal Executive

The Federal Executive consists of seven members, elected by the Federal Assembly for ~~four~~ years. Members are eligible for re-election. Some members have held office as long as thirty-two years. Each member is paid a salary of ^{The Federal Council} about thirty-three thousand rupees a year (32000 Swiss Francs). The members of the Federal Council cannot be removed within this period. One of the members is annually elected by the Federal Assembly to be the President of this Council and he bears the title of President of the Confederation.

The Federal Council is not a Cabinet in the sense that it does not lead the Legislature and is not displaceable thereby. But it is not as independent of Legislature as the President of the U. S. A. The second striking feature of the Federal Council is that it stands outside the parties, and does not determine party policy. Determination of policy belongs to the Assembly, though in practice, the Council by its knowledge and experience exerts much influence upon questions of general principle. In foreign affairs it has almost a free hand. When the action or policy of the Federal Council is disapproved by the Assembly, it does not mean a vote of censure on the Council. The Council changes its course of action according to the desire of the Assembly and continues in office. "The Swiss Federal Councillor," observes an eminent writer, "is like a lawyer or an architect in that his advice is sought and usually heeded; but he is not supposed to throw up his job in a hurry whenever his employer insists on having something done differently." The Federal Council acts, indeed, as a body, but its members are allowed to hold and even express differences in opinion. An administrative department is allotted to each of the members of the Council and he is held particularly responsible for that department. The Departments are: (1) Foreign affairs, (2) Interior, (3) Justice and Police, (4) Military, (5) Finance and Customs, (6) Agriculture,

Characteristics of the Swiss Executive

Commerce, Industry, (7) Posts and Railways. But the Council meets constantly as a sort of Cabinet for the discussion of important business. Its members appear, but do not vote, in both the branches of the Legislature. When business relating to a particular department is being discussed there, the member in charge of that department attends, answers questions and gives explanations and joins in debate.

The Federal Council has certain judicial duties too. As there are no administrative courts, the Council sits in judgment over the conduct of the civil servants. The Swiss Executive has got some outstanding merits. First, it is a non-partisan body and hence can mediate between contending parties. The Radical Democratic Party constitutes the largest group in the National Council, but the Federal Council consists of four Radical Democratic Councillors, two Catholic Conservatives, and one representative of the Farmers', Workers' and Middle Class Party. Secondly, it assures the continuity of experienced and efficient men in office. The Executive Councillors are re-elected so long as they desire to serve. In no other democratic state has the Executive such a stability. As the Executive is stable, it secures continuity in policy.

V. The Federal Judiciary

The Federal Tribunal consists of twenty-four judges appointed by the Federal Assembly for six years. But the judges can be and are re-elected. The Tribunal has original jurisdiction in controversies arising between the Confederation and Cantons; it has also appellate jurisdiction in cases referred to it from Cantonal courts. Moreover, it has power to try cases of treason against the Confederation. It has criminal jurisdiction, with a jury of twelve. The Federal Tribunal can set aside a Cantonal law on the ground that it is in conflict either with the Federal Constitution or with Federal laws. It differs from the U. S. A. Supreme Court in the fact that it has no power to declare any Federal law to be invalid. In 1928, a court has been set up to try cases under administrative law.

Elected
Judges

VI. Political Parties in Switzerland

Switzerland with her diversity of races, religions and languages would have been the breeding ground of large number of political parties, generating hatred and animosity towards one another, had she been actuated by the spirit which prevails among the so-called minority communities in India. But the intense patriotism of the Swiss people has saved

No bitter
partisan
spirit

them from such a calamity. Race, religion or language do not constitute the basis of any party in Switzerland. The tradition of the Swiss political life has been its remarkable freedom from party politics. But in recent years the influence of the Party system is making itself felt even in this permanently neutralised state. "Party Organization," observed Munro in 1931, "has tightened during the past decade and professional organizers, known as party secretaries, have become more in evidence as well as busier." In November, 1932, the Conservatives held a mock trial of Socialist leaders which led to rioting. The court held Léon Nicole, editor of the Socialist newspaper '*Le Travail*', responsible for rioting because he had incited the Socialists to violence. In 1933, the Canton of Geneva returned M. Nicole and a Socialist majority to the Federal Assembly. The Socialists also gained control of the City Governments of Zurich and Lausanne. Their success as well as the example of the Nazis in Germany led to the formation of the National Socialist Confederation, which like the Nazis is anti-Jewish in tendency. The Socialist Party is the second largest in the National Council, yet it has not been able to elect one of its members to the Federal Executive; nor have the Fascists been able to make many inroads on the Swiss system of Democracy. The position of the parties after the election held on October 27, 1935, was as follows :—

Council of State

Parties	Number of Members
Catholic Conservatives	19
Radical Democratic	18
Farmers, Workers and Middle Class	3
Liberal Democratic	2
Social Democratic	1
Social Political	1
	44

National Council

Radical Democratic	48
Social Democratic	50
Catholic Conservative	42
Farmers, Workers and Middle Class	21
Liberal Conservatives	7
Communist	2
Other Parties	17

187

VII. The Swiss Civil Service.

The Swiss Civil Service is recruited by competitive examination, but in appointing persons to the more important and responsible posts, the Federal Council exercises its discretion.

Permanent officials of the departments assist in the drafting of legislation. There are now more than fifteen thousand persons, that is, more than eight per cent of the whole number of persons gainfully employed in the country, who are public officials under the Federal, Cantonal and City Governments. They are organised under powerful Trade Unions. By a law of 1925, provision has been made to give higher salary to married officials than what is given to bachelors ; and also for granting additional allowance for each dependent child. In view of the alarming decrease of population among the higher classes in India, such a step should be taken in this country too.

VIII. Direct Democracy and the Causes of its Success in Switzerland

In Switzerland, provision is made for the direct participation of the people in the Government in three ways, namely—the *Landsgemeinde* or general meeting of the people, Initiative and Referendum. In six Cantons the people meet usually on the last Sunday in April in the open air in what is called the *Landsgemeinde*. Here they discuss public questions, arrive at important decisions, revise, if necessary, the Cantonal Constitution, enact ordinary laws, impose taxes and exercise effective control over the Cantonal Executive Commission. They carry on these important businesses with dignity, decorum and order. "At the present time," observes Prof. Brooks, "it is generally conceded that the *Landsgemeinde* will be perpetuated indefinitely in the six democratic Cantons of Switzerland as the most natural, most vital and most beautiful embodiment of Democracy." In the other Cantons, though the people do not meet in Town-meeting, yet they can make their influence decisive through the institutions of Referendum and Initiative. Eleven Cantons have adopted the obligatory Referendum for all ordinary laws ; and all the Cantons excepting one have the Initiative for ordinary legislation.

In Federal Government, Referendum is obligatory on all constitutional amendments. If thirty thousand voters request in a petition within ninety days after the passing of an ordinary law, that the law should be referred to the people, Referendum has to be invoked in that case. But the Constitution provides that the Referendum can only be applied to laws and resolutions of general application and which are not of an urgent character. This clause has been interpreted as excluding treaties, the budget, and grants-in-aid for local improvements. In 1928, however, a Convention, signed by the Swiss Government relative to the free-zone dispute with France,

was referred to the people, who rejected it by a large majority. It has already been pointed out that 50,000 voters by petition can *initiate* an amendment to Federal Constitution, but surprisingly enough there is no Initiative on ordinary laws in the Federal Authority. Between 1874 and 1932, 90·4 per cent of the Federal laws and decrees have come into effect without a referendum ; it is only on forty laws out of four hundred and fifteen that the Referendum was asked. Of these forty, the people and the Cantons rejected twenty-six and accepted fourteen. The proportion actually voting has risen from 51·6 per cent between 1911 and 1920 to 60·7 per cent between 1921 and 1931. It is usually found that the laws which seek to impose any new financial burden, or seek to infringe the rights over private property are usually overthrown, irrespective of their merits. Thus, in 1931, a law for state old-age insurance was rejected, though it was unanimously adopted by the Lower House ; in 1922, a socialist proposal for capital levy was also rejected ; in 1926, the people similarly rejected a proposal for a government wheat monopoly. Bonjour claims that Referendum “is the surest method of discovering the wishes of the people—an excellent barometer of the political atmosphere” ; that “it compels the legislator to conform with the aspirations of the people,” and that “it puts an end to acute conflicts between people and governments, and provides one of the safest barriers there can be against revolutionary agitation.” Finer, however, thinks that the voters are ill-fitted by their education and their selfish instincts to pronounce impartial and sound judgment on complex issues of legislation ; and that the country would be better off, if the voters “learn to choose some one whom on the grounds of honesty, capacity and consonance with their general point of view and interests they can trust.” But it cannot be denied that the Referendum stimulates patriotism and inspires a sense of responsibility in the citizens. It affords an excellent arena for political education. It brings the governing class in close contact with the masses, on whom rests the final authority. The people feel that they are really sovereign.

A number of factors has contributed to the success of direct democracy in Switzerland. First, the country is permanently neutralised by International Law ; hence, it is free from the complications arising out of an active foreign policy. Secondly, the Swiss people are remarkably frugal and simple. They do not like extravagance on the part of the government. They exercise their power with moderation. Thirdly, as Switzerland is a small country, it is possible to refer many issues to popular vote. The general education of citizens enables them to give sound decision in a majority of cases. The Swiss schools impart excellent civic

Causes of
success of
Swiss
democracy

training. The peculiar character of the Executive also contributes to the success of democratic governments in Switzerland. But the ultimate cause of the success of democracy in Switzerland is to be sought rather in the good sense of the Swiss people than in any extraneous constitutional arrangement. A people inclined to take extreme views in matters relating to principles and policy of government would find the Swiss system unworkable.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S. A.

✓. Its Character

The constitution of the United States of America is based on the principle of checks and balances. This scheme of Government was framed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century under the influence of certain doctrines and beliefs and hopes and apprehensions. The principles from which the authors of the first constitution set out were four in number, viz. — (1) to secure the absolute sovereignty of the people, (2) to recognise complete equality among citizens, (3) to protect the people against usurpation or misuse of authority by their officials, and (4) to protect the rights of the states against the encroachment of the central or federal authority.

Principles
of the
Constitution

~~History~~ There was intense and bitter jealousy between the thirteen colonies, who formed the original members of the confederation. The Declaration of Independence asserted: "These united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." The Confederation was formed in 1781, but no central authority having an effective will of its own was created. The States attached so much importance to their individual independence that they were afraid to grant to any central authority an executive power which might ultimately deprive them of all their rights. But this system could last only for eight years. In 1787 the States met in a Convention at Philadelphia and drew up a Constitution which set up a Central Government. The preamble of the Constitution explains the reasons for taking this step: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." This Constitution came into force in 1789.

Origin of
the Consti-
tution

The American Constitution is a federal one, by which the National or Federal Government is vested only with a delegated authority. "The delegation of powers to the National Federal Government," observes Sir Maurice Amos in his recent work on the American Constitution (1938), "is to be regarded not as a concession made by the several states, but as coming from the people of the United States at large. That is to say, that the sovereignty of the United States

Nature
of the
Federal
Government

and the sovereignties of the individual States are derived independently from the same source. And if it be true that the line of demarcation between the sovereignty of the Federal Government and that of the forty-eight States is to be regarded as so traced that whatever powers the Constitution has not given, either expressly or by implication, to the Union, are reserved to the States, that is not because the States have any primacy over the Union, but because the common creator of both, the people, has so willed it." The Constitution contains three lists of powers, namely, a list of what the Congress can do, a list of what the Congress cannot do, and a list of what the States cannot do. The Congress is given power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; to borrow money on the credit of the United States ; to declare war to raise and support armies and to maintain a navy ; to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States ; to establish a uniform rule of naturalization ; to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, to legislate for the national capital, the city of Washington, and the district of Columbia in which it is situated, and "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." ✓ The second list provides that the Congress may not suspend the privilege of the writ of 'habeas corpus,' 'unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it' ; it may pass no bill of attainder or ex-post facto law ; and it may give no preference 'by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.' The original Constitution provided that no direct tax "shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration" ; but the 16th Amendment of 1913 virtually repealed it by providing that "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

✓ The first ten amendments of the Constitution guarantee complete equality among the citizens and protect them against abuse of power by their officials. These amendments guarantee religious toleration, the rights of free speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and petition ; prohibit unreasonable searches and general warrants and deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law ; and guarantee trial by Jury in criminal prosecution and in civil suits at Common Law.

The States are prohibited from entering into any treaty, alliance or confederation ; coining money, emitting bills of credit ; making anything but gold and silver coin a tender in

payment of debt ; passing any bill of attainder or any law impairing the obligation of contracts.) The 13th Amendment prohibited slavery, the 14th the making of any law which may abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens, the 15th prohibited the denial of the franchise on account of 'race', colour, or previous condition of servitude, and the 19th prohibited making of any law denying the right of women to franchise. The States can make laws on any other subject, thus allowing them to have major share in all the business of legislation and execution of laws. The subjects reserved to the States include the whole law of real and personal property, the law of contract and of tort, commercial law, the law of trusts, family law, the greater part of administrative law relating to such subjects as labour conditions, factory laws, child labour, public health, public morals, education, and the law relating to the organization, power and procedure of the Courts. But the recent tendency in American Government is to attempt at uniformity with regard to laws relating to conditions of labour, commercial law, marriage and divorce.

Rights of
States

✓ The second characteristic of the American Constitution is that it is not only a written but also a rigid one. It is impossible for the Federal authority alone to change or amend it. Amendments may be proposed in either of two ways ; either by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress ; or by a Convention called together on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the States. An amendment proposed in one or other of these ways has to be ratified by the legislatures of, or by Conventions in three-fourths of the States. But the Constitution has grown in course of time by means of customs and usage, judicial and administrative decisions and formal legislation.

A rigid
Constitution

✓ The third characteristic is the power of the Federal Court to decide on the legality of laws passed by the Congress. The Supreme Court is independent of both the Legislature and the Executive and it holds the Constitution to be the supreme law of the United States. In 148 years from 1789 to 1937, sixty-four Acts of the Congress out of a total of approximately 58000, have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. According to Burgess the permanent existence of republican government depends upon this power of the Judiciary more than on anything else, because, "elective government must be party government—majority government ; and unless the domain of individual liberty is protected by an independent, unpolitical department, such government degenerates into party absolutism and then into Caesarism." But the judicial supremacy reduces the power of the Congress and makes it a non-sovereign law-making body: According to

Supremacy
of the
Judiciary
and its
effects

some publicists the Congress is in a perpetual stage of non-age and the American people are bound by a testament made by their forefathers. But Sir Maurice Amos opines that the National Government ought to be compared not to an infant, an alien or a married woman, but to an agent, to whom certain authorities have been delegated by the sovereign people. The present generation may change the arrangement made by their forefathers, hence it is wrong to say that the people are bound by the testament of the latter. Another evil arising out of the judicial supremacy is that political questions are not discussed on their intrinsic merits, but on their conformity to the Constitution or otherwise. Moreover, in recent years the Supreme Court has set aside many laws relating to the New Deal of President Roosevelt. It has, therefore, been charged with partisan spirit or with stiff, unyielding conservatism.

2. Checks and Balances in the Constitution

The fathers of the American Constitution entertained a lively suspicion of the officers of the Government and also of Democracy. To guard against the usurpation of powers by any one organ of Government, they not only made the Constitution supreme, but also provided a number of checks and balances. These checks and balances were devised to secure the sovereignty of the

A balanced Constitution—people. The following are the checks and balances provided in the Constitution of the U. S. A. :—Under the influence of Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers, the functions of Government have been divided into the Legislative, Executive and Judicial departments. Each department has been made independent of others. The two branches of the Legislature, the Senate and the House of Representatives are balanced against one another. The Congress is limited by the veto of the Executive. The Executive is limited by the right of the Senate to disapprove the public service appointments and disallow the treaties made by the President. The Judiciary, as the interpreter of the Constitution, has the function of declaring void any action of the other departments of Government which transgressed the will of people as set forth in the Constitution. The Federal authority as a whole is set up against the State Government. The State Government is balanced by the Local Government. Behind all the organs of Government—Federal, State and Local—lies the power of the people. "The Ultimate fountain of power," observes Bryce, "popular sovereignty, always flows full and strong, welling up from its deep source, but it is thereafter diverted into many channels, each of which is so confined by skilfully constructed embankments that it cannot overflow, the watchful hand of the Judiciary being ready to mend the
at any point where the stream threatens to burst through."

VIII. Changes in the Spirit of the Constitution

The circumstances under which the original Constitution was drawn up have radically changed and along with the change in circumstances, a change in the spirit of the Constitution has been necessary. The original Constitution was framed to suit a territory of which only about 100,000 square miles were inhabited by a little over 2,000,000 white people. At present the United States covers an area of 2,974,000 square miles and has a population of 130 millions.

Territory
and
population

The framers of the Constitution wanted to keep the departments rigidly separated from one another. But growth of the party system, which they could not foresee, has brought the Executive and the Legislature in closer relation with each other. "It is from the non-legal party

Influence of
the party
system

machinery that the legal machinery of government derives its motive power." Without the party machine and organization it would have been very difficult to work out the Constitution. Another significant change is the entrusting of power greater than what the Constitution intended to do to the President. President Roosevelt and President Wilson frequently addressed the Congress in person and pressed it to deal with matters they deemed urgent. The nation has put great trust in President Roosevelt.

Then again the states have grown less jealous of the Federal authority than before. This is evidenced by the Sixteenth Amendment which gives to Congress the power of levying and collecting taxes on incomes derived from any source. By the application of the theory of implied power the Federal authority is now extending its sphere of activity, especially in matters of trade and transport. It must be clearly understood that these changes have been introduced, not by formal amendments to the Constitution, but by custom and Convention. Convention has changed the mode of electing the President. The framers of the Constitution intended that the President should be elected, not by the citizens directly but indirectly by the electors, who were expected to exercise independent judgment. But the enforcement of party discipline has made the electors mere party-agents, who are bound to vote for the nominee of the party.

Growth of
power of
Federal
Government

IX. The President

The executive power is vested in the President of the United States of America. He is assisted by the Vice-President. No person except a natural-born citizen is eligible to the office of President; neither is any person eligible to that office who has not attained the age of thirty-five years and

Election
of the
President

been fourteen years a resident within the United States. The Constitution makes the following arrangement for the election of the President and Vice-President. Every four years the citizens of each State elect qualified voters of that State to act as electors of the President and Vice-President. There are as many electors in each State as it has Representatives and Senators in Congress. The electors of each State have only one vote. A majority of votes of the States is necessary for a choice. These provisions were made to keep the election free from direct popular influence.

Method of
election

But this intention has been foiled. Long before the election, party managers try to find out the man who is likely to win the election, who is likely to be pliable in the matter of policy and appointments, and to be efficient in government. Well-known men have many enemies, so 'dark horses' are preferred. Once the managers are able to find out the men of their choice, they try to meek the public and the politicians familiar with their characters and careers. Then in June, that is, five months before the election of Presidential electors, the Party Conventions meet to adopt candidates for Presidency and Vice-Presidency. Each Party holds a Convention which is described as "a howling, screaming, demented mob of partially or wholly intoxicated men and women numbering over 2,000, meeting to listen to speeches, to yell whenever their 'favourite son' or his gang of friends are mentioned, to bellow defiance when an opponent is praised." But the political wire is pulled behind the Conventions by powerful bosses, who "trade policies, ambassadorships, Cabinet posts and State appointments for votes." The electors are elected on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November every four year and they elect the President and the Vice-President on second Monday in January following. But these two steps have become merely formal, because when the voters in each state elect electors, they know for which President and Vice-President the latter are going to vote. The candidate who is adopted for the post of President is not usually consulted before the party adopts a programme and no body expects the successful candidate to adhere to it. Before 1940 the Convention of the Constitution was that President should not be re-elected for more than one term. But the Convention was disregarded in the last Presidential election in November, 1940, and President Roosevelt has been elected for the third term.

the position of the President is one of the most important in the world of men. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. He has the power to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the State. He appoints by and with the advice and consent of the State, Judges of the Supreme Court, Ambassadors, Ministers and

Powers
of the
President

Consuls. He appoints the members of his Cabinet, who are responsible to him and not to the Congress. He may convene the Congress in special session and when the two Houses are unable to agree upon a date, he may adjourn the Congress. He cannot make laws, and he cannot even take part in the talks in the Congress, as the British Prime Ministers can, but he has the power to veto a law. His veto, however, may be overridden, if both the Houses repass the Bill, each by a two-thirds majority. All sorts of important talks are performed by the President. He must keep Congress informed of the state of the union. He must receive foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. He must see that the laws are faithfully executed. He can pardon criminals. In times of war or danger the people allow the President to make what laws he likes for the time being.

The President and his Cabinet have got large discretion in the creation and application of rules relating to matters like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Tariff Commission and the Shipping Board. The President can make ordinances in the matter of tariff arrangements and public lands. In recent years the President has assumed very large powers in promoting the New Deal. In June, 1933 the National Industrial Recovery Act was passed to remove obstructions to the free flow of inter-state and foreign commerce ; to promote co-operative action between trade-groups ; to induce and maintain united action of labour and management under Government supervision ; to eliminate unfair competition ; to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capacity of industries ; to avoid undue restriction of production ; to increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power ; to reduce and relieve unemployment ; to improve standards of labour ; and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve national resources. The Act authorized the President to approve, and by approving to put into force, codes of fair competition for any trade or industry which might petition to be regulated, or as to which the President might be satisfied that there prevailed in it abuses inimical to public interest or contrary to declared policy of the Act. The President got the power of prescribing the maximum hours of labour, the minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment. But in May, 1935 the Supreme Court condemned the whole system of code-making power. In the case of the Schechter Poultry Corporation and others vs. the United States, the Chief Justice remarked : "Congress cannot delegate legislative power to the President to exercise an unfettered discretion to make whatever laws he thinks may be needed or advisable for the rehabilitation and expansion of trade or industry." But the Supreme Court

Powers
of the
President
under the
New Deal
(1933-37)

experienced a change of heart in regard to the New Deal after the re-election of Roosevelt in 1937. It upheld the constitutionality of the National Labour Relation Act in five cases, which were decided on the 12th April, 1937. The Act entrusts the Executive authority with large powers. The National Labour Relations Board on finding that any employer is engaged in any 'unfair labour practice' can issue an order requiring the offender to 'cease and desist' from his offence, and 'to take such affirmative action, including reinstatement of employees with or without back pay', as will effectuate the policies of the Act.

✓ In conducting foreign affairs the President has very large powers. He cannot, indeed, declare war, but the Congress has never declared war except upon the suggestion of the President. He lays down the main line of foreign policy, and carries on negotiations with foreign Powers.

Powers in
conducting
foreign
affairs

He determines the policies of neutrality, and armed intervention and threatens a foreign Power with war, whenever necessary. These powers of the President are not subject to the control of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the parliamentary assemblies, nor of the party system. "It was precisely in the war powers and in foreign policy," that the Fathers desired a single, unchecked and vigorous executive"; observes Finer, "they have attained it, and even the power of party has been unable to overcome this dictatorship, which may be good or evil, according to the man is wise or foolish, but not as the citizen body, enlightened as well as parties may enlighten them, might desire."

✗ The President has enormous power of patronage. In June, 1927 besides the consular and diplomatic officers, there were in all 559,138 employees in the entire Executive Civil Service, of whom 422,998, that is about 75%, were recruited by competitive examination and 137,140 offices were filled by nomination. Of these 16,700 posts were confirmed by the Senate. About 20,000 posts carrying a substantial salary are altogether the subject of President's patronage. In filling up many of these posts he is guided by the opinion of the Senator or Senators (belonging to the President's party) from the State in which the appointment is to be made, or of the local party leaders. But many other posts are filled up by him personally. Moreover, the President's power of removing an executive officer is a constant threat to the security of the Senator's nominees. This power was confirmed by the decision of Chief Justice Taft in the case of Post-master, Myers vs. United States in 1926. But in the case of Ruthbun vs. United States in 1935 the Supreme Court held that as Ruthbun held the office of the member of the Federal Trade Commission, whose duty is quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial in character, his dismissal by the President before the expiry of the term of his office was illegal.) The Constitutional

Patronage
of the
President

position with regard to the President's power of removing an officer depends, therefore, upon the character of the office concerned.

If the President's party commands a majority in Congress, his Message and Veto Powers become the vehicle of legislative leadership. President Wilson secured important laws relating to the banking system, the income tax and control of trusts through his Messages. President Taft observes that the President "is himself a part of the Legislature, in so far as he is called upon to oppose or disapprove acts of Congress. A President who took no interest in legislation, ignored his responsibility as the head of the party of carrying out ante-election promises in the matter of new laws, would not be doing what is expected of him by the people". The power of the President ultimately depends on his personality.

Legislative
leadership

V. The Cabinet

The Cabinet in the U. S. A. consists of the heads of departments. The departments are ten in number, namely, the Department of Treasury, the War Department, the Post Office, the Navy, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labour and the Department of Commerce. The tenth is the Department of Justice, which is really the Judiciary. The heads of these Departments are merely personal assistants of the President. They are appointed by him with the consent of the Senate, which body, however, has seldom refused to approve of the selection made by the President. They are not members of the Congress and are not responsible to it. "The Cabinet is", observes President Taft, "a mere creation of the President's will. It is an extra-statutory and extra-constitutional body. It exists only by custom. If the President desired to dispense with it, he could do so. As it is, the custom is for the Cabinet to meet twice a week, and for the President to submit to its members questions upon which he thinks he needs their advice, and for the members to bring such matters in their respective departments as they deem appropriate for Cabinet conference and general discussion."

VI. The Legislature

The Legislature of the United States is called the Congress. The Congress consists of two Houses—the House of Representatives and the Senate. Representatives are elected for a term of two years by the voters of each of the States in proportion to the population of that State as determined by the latest Federal census. Senators are now elected by

Its composition

voters to serve for six years. Each state is represented by two Senators. There are 96 Senators and 435 members of the House of Representatives. Representatives are elected alternately in the year of the Presidential election, and half-way through the President's term, so that he may know what the public think of his policies. Senators are elected for six years, one-third of the members being elected every two years, in order that each session of the Congress may have in it men experienced in public affairs. A Senator must be at least of thirty years of age, and a Representative must be above twenty-five years of age.

The Senate has equal law-making power with the House of Representatives. Every Bill must pass the House of Representatives as well as the Senate. Then it is presented to the President for his signature. If he vetoes it, and both Houses pass the Bill by the vote of two-thirds of each House, it becomes a law without the President's signature. If the President fails to veto or return a Bill to the House in which it originated before the end of ten days from the time he receives it, the Bill becomes a law.

The Senate is presided over by the Vice-President of the United States. It has got not only legislative functions but also important Judicial and Executive powers. It is a high court for trial of cases of impeachment. It also confirms the appointments made by the President and ratifies treaties made with foreign powers. In one respect the Senate is inferior to the House of Representatives. Revenue Bill originates in the House of Representatives, and not in the Senate. But the Senate can insert wholly new proposals of its own, and strike out everything except the enacting clause. Hence Bryce observes that "even in finance the Senate has established itself as at least equally powerful with the House, although this does not seem to have been contemplated by the Constitution". The Senate has many Committees, among which the most important are Committees on Appropriations, Finance, Foreign relations, Justice, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Inter-state Commerce and Pensions. Through these Committees the Senate is able to keep in touch with the Executive departments which work in isolation from the Legislature. The action of the President with regard to foreign policy is checked by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Treaties are ratified not by the Congress as a whole but by the Senate only. The Senate is more powerful than the House of Representatives because it is a smaller body, containing men of experience, who are also important party leaders. It is the ambition of every member of the House of Representatives to become a Senator. As there is no time-limit for the debate in the Senate, each Senator can block some Bills indefinitely. The House of

Representatives cannot accomplish anything without its concurrence. The Senate has been able to make itself eminent and respected.

✓VII. The Judiciary

The Judicial power of the United States is vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress has from time to time, ordained and established. The Supreme Court consists of a number of Judges who meet at Washington. The Judges are appointed for life by the President with the consent of the Senate. The Supreme Court has jurisdiction in: (1) All cases, in law and equity, arising under the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States; (2) Causes affecting Ambassadors and Consuls of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; (3) In cases of controversies to which the United States is a party, or between a state and the citizens of another state, citizens of different states, and between citizens and foreign states. It has original jurisdiction in state cases, or those affecting Ambassadors or Consuls; in other cases it has only an appellate jurisdiction. It hears appeals from the inferior Federal Courts, which have been set up all over the country. The Federal Judges have it as their prime duty to safeguard the Constitution and to treat as void every legislative act of the Congress, which is inconsistent with the Constitution.

The
Supreme
Court

Its juris-
diction

III. Government of the States

The component units of the United States of America, namely, the States, are autonomous republics, their powers and functions being specified by the Constitution. (The division of functions between the State Government and Federal Government is based roughly on the principle that subjects of general interests, having application to the Federation as a whole, are administered by the Federal Government while subjects in which the various States are individually interested are administered by the state Governments.)

Jurisdiction
of the States

According to the provisions of the Constitution, every State must have a Republican form of Government and a definite Constitution. The legislature in the States consists of two Houses—one Upper and the other Lower, and the members of the Upper House are elected for four years while the members of the Lower House are elected for two years. The State legislature may exercise its legislative functions within limits set by the provisions in the Constitution.

The State
Legislature

✓ The Executive in the states is also elected by the people. The Governor is the chief executive with a term of office varying from two years to four years in different States. **The Governor** Certain States have their Lieutenant-Governors also. Other State officials are appointed on an elective basis and can be removed only by impeachment by the Lower House. The principal function of the Governor is more or less like that of the President and consists in supervising the administration of the laws of the land and in informing the Legislature of the needs of the State. He is empowered to veto the decisions of the Legislature but the Legislature also by a two-thirds or two-fifths majority may override the veto. The Governor is the commander of the militia of the States.

Every State possesses its own Judiciary consisting of the Supreme Court down to the lowest courts of justice. **The State Judiciary** ✓ The Supreme Court is the final court of appeal in the State and has at its head a Chief Justice and several other associate Judges. The Judges are generally appointed by the people but in some States by the Legislature also.

The States have almost absolute power to make their own Constitution subject to certain procedures of amendment and to the condition that the Constitution must be of a republican type. **Autonomy and independence of the States** ✓ The States can levy their own taxes, have their own system of local government, can elect their own Executive and Legislature and a Judiciary. Every State maintains its own citizenship and a man can be a citizen of the United States of America only by being a citizen of a State.

✓ The States are not entitled to secede from the Federation. They cannot exercise powers which are constitutionally exercised by the Federal Government, and also those powers, **Restrictions on the powers of the States** ✓ which do not come within the jurisdiction of the States under the Constitution. With regard to these limitations, Bryce aptly observes that "in the partitionment of governmental functions between Nation and State, the State gets the most but the nation the highest so that the balance between the two is preserved."

IX. The Supreme Court Issue and the Constitution

Franklin Roosevelt, elected President of the U S A in November, 1932 and re-elected in 1936 and 1940, undertook a policy of national recovery from the slump, as soon as **The New Deal** ✓ he came to office for the first time. (His policy, known as the New Deal, means that the Congress should empower the President to spend huge sums of money on employment, agriculture, industry and financial reorganisation and to allow

him power to spend the money at his own discretion) He received the support of the Congress and his policy was evidently endorsed by the American people as was evidenced by his success at the polls at two successive elections. The Supreme Court has pronounced as many as sixteen decisions which properly may be regarded as affecting laws emanating from the New Deal. In five cases it upheld the New Deal laws and in eleven declared them unconstitutional.

Such a course of action, taken by the Supreme Court, led President Roosevelt to send a message to Congress announcing his plan for reforming the Judiciary on February 5, 1937. The plan provided: ^{Roosevelt's plan to reform the Supreme Court} (i) "that the President may appoint a Justice to the Supreme Court in addition to every Justice who has not, or does not resign before reaching the age of 70 years and six months, with the proviso that the total number of Judges should not exceed 15; (ii) that the President may appoint an additional Judge to inferior courts under similar conditions, with the proviso that the total number of such Judges shall not exceed 50; (iii) that if, as and when a law is declared unconstitutional by an inferior court, the case will go straight to the Supreme Court; (iv) that a proctor shall be created to keep track of all cases in which the constitutionality of a law is challenged, and inform the Government".

At present there are nine Judges of the Supreme Court, six of them are over 70. Had the President's plan of enlarging the Court been approved, he would have been allowed to appoint six additional Judges. This would have brought the Supreme Court to his side, because three out of the nine existing Judges were generally regarded as favourable to the New Deal. ^{Increase in the number of Judges}

It should be noted that the total strength of the Supreme Court has been changed as many as five times before. When first established, it had six Judges. Eleven years later it was reduced to five. After that, the number was varied by different Congressional Acts from six to ten. Congress first fixed the number at nine in 1869. Afterwards it was reduced to seven and then raised to nine again. But it has remained at nine for more than 50 years. This history shows that the Congress would be perfectly within its rights if it changes the number of Judges from nine to fifteen. ^{Changes in the number of Judges}

But the real issue is that in this case the Executive and the Legislature are taking a definite step for overcoming the opposition of the Supreme Court, which has been regarded so long as the guardian of the Constitution. (The American people are at

liberty to amend the Constitution in any way they like ; but the procedure of amendment is a difficult one.) President Roosevelt believes that there is no need of amending the Constitution, because it is broad enough to permit all necessary reforms, if properly interpreted, and that if the Supreme Court, as it now exists, cannot or will not make the right kind of decisions, the Congress and the Executive are justified in revising or enlarging its personnel.

Those who are opposed to his plan of Supreme Court Revision argue that the programme of the New Deal has not worked well that by the President's own admission one-third of the nation is still undernourished ; that industrial relations have become chaotic ; that the Federal debt is mounting with unprecedented speed, and that it is a good thing to have a court which dares to put on the brakes. They further argue that the President's plan implies extension of power for the Executive and opens the door for bossism and tyranny. David Lawrence in his recent book, "Supreme Court of Political Puppets" upholds the action of the nine Judges and asserts that national recovery can be brought about in the U. S. A. by leaving matters run their course "with a minimum of interference by the State". It seems that the struggle is not only over the Constitution of the U. S. A. but also one between State interference and Laissez-faire and between Labour and Capital. The President's plan is supported by an overwhelming majority in the ranks of organized labour by farm organizations and liberal thinkers. "No issue since Lincoln's time." observes a writer, "has gripped the nation like that raised by the Court Revision Plan."*

* The Judicial Committee of the Senate though composed of Democrats (President's own Party), reported adversely to the bill and it was dropped.

CHAPTER XXXII

GOVERNMENTS IN GERMANY AND ITALY

V. Traditions of German Government

The nation-state in Germany was created in 1871 under the leadership of Prussia. Prussia itself had grown out of the 'mark' or principality of Brandenburg, ruled by the House of Hohenzollern. The Hohenzollern rulers built up a strong centralized government with the support of the 'Junkers' or landlords. The Government was carried on by a highly efficient bureaucracy, controlled by a hard-working despot. The Prussian people, like the ancient Romans, preferred to be led and governed by their monarch. A tradition of Prussianism was created in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century and was bequeathed to the German people when they were united under the Empire in 1871. "Prussianism," writes Barker, "meant the system of a transcendent State, uniting a congeries of territories—a State expressed in the directing will of a monarch or leader who was supported, on one side, by the army and the army officers whom he had gathered round him, and on the other, by a trained and disciplined staff of administrative officials, loyal to their employer and versed in all the technique of running and arranging smoothly the various wheels of his business. In the ideal of Prussianism the people, in the sense of the gathered and welded body of the inhabitants of the congeries of territories, is a managed multitude, content with its management. The State is not immanent in the people, and it does not spring from the thought and the will of the people. It is rather a transcendent being—a being resident in the director and his double staff—which regulates the life of the people from its own height."

Meaning of
Prussianism

The colossal defeat of Germany in the last war seemed to have disillusioned the German nation in the matter of autocratic Government. They, therefore, veered round to an extremely democratic form of Government which they set up by the Weimar Constitution of 1919. «But democracy failed to solve the economic and political problems of the German people. In this crisis Hitler promised them prosperity at home and prestige abroad. Their faith in democracy, which had never been strong, weakened visibly and in 1933 Hitler was able to seize all power in his own hands. Theoretically the Weimar Constitution still forms the legal basis of the German State, but it survives only as an empty shell. To explain this point it is necessary to give in some details an account of the Weimar Constitution, which in itself is worth

Dictator-
ship—a logi-
cal develop-
ment

studying for its unique character. In the political terminology current in Germany, the mediæval empire is called the First Reich, the period from 1871 to 1918 the Second Reich, the years from 1918 to 1933 the Weimar Republic or Interregnum, and the Hitlerite regime the Third Reich. The term 'Reich' cannot be properly translated into English ; but "it is a Kingdom of Heaven, in the sense that it is, or is to become, a community in the acknowledgment and realization of 'values,' as well as a Kingdom on earth."

W. Characteristics of the Imperial Constitution

The German Empire, established as the result of the 'blood and iron' policy of Bismarck, was neither truly federal, nor democratic in character. In form, it was a federation of 25 states each with its own Parliament, having authority over all matters not defined in the treaties as imperial. Matters of common interest such as foreign relations, foreign trade, the army and navy, customs and excise duties, borrowing, railroads, canals postal and telegraphic services, currency and banking, patents and copyrights, weights and measures, the regulation of industry civil and criminal law, judicial procedure were handed over to the Imperial Government. But in many cases, the actual administration of these functions was left to the component states, under the supervision of the Imperial Government. Prussia exercised a preponderant influence in the federation. The hereditary king of Prussia was the hereditary German Emperor, exercising in theory as well as in fact the supreme executive authority. In all federations the Second Chamber is usually composed of equal number of representatives from all the component units ; but in the German Second Chamber, the Bundesrat, Prussia alone had seventeen seats out of fifty-eight seats. She practically controlled the votes of the three neighbouring states. She alone could veto all proposals for making changes in the army, navy and fiscal system and prevent any change in the Constitution. The Bundesrat acted as the Supreme Court and settled disputes between the federal government and the states and between one state and another. But the preponderant influence of Prussia in that body stood in the way of impartial administration of justice in such cases of conflicts. The federation was not the outcome of voluntary union between the different units ; it bore the mark of compulsion of one state Prussia, over others.

The Government was not truly federal

The legislature of the federation was the Imperial Parliament divided into two Chambers,—the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The members of the Bundesrat were not elected by the citizens of the different states. They were simply nominees of the states

governments, and as such they voted according to the instructions of the governments they represented. The Reichstag or the Lower Chamber consisted of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by universal manhood suffrage. But it had no right to initiate legislation, to express its opinion on the conduct of affairs, nor to ask Government for reports. Its consent, however, was necessary for making new laws and for imposing new taxes. The Emperor could dissolve the House at any time, and the mere threat of dissolving it often proved enough to make its members support the proposals of the Government. Moreover, no party ever secured a clear majority in the House. The Chancellor could play one party against the other and thus have his own way. He was responsible to the Emperor and not to the Legislature. Thus under the Imperial Constitution the real bearer of the authority of the State was the monarch and his civil and military staff; electorate, parliament, and parties were mere outworks.

Nor was
it really
democratic

III. The Rise of a Unitary State (1918-1938)

The principle of federation could never gain complete recognition in Germany. If the old imperial constitution manifested strong tendency towards unitary government, the Weimar Constitution strengthened that tendency still further. The new Constitution no longer spoke of the eighteen federating units as states, but referred to them as territories (Länder), each of which must have a republican constitution. The powers left to these territories were so small that many constitutional authorities refused to recognise Germany as a federal state. Article six of the Constitution enumerated the powers which were solely in the hands of the federal government. These powers were: exclusive authority in all questions relating to foreign and colonial affairs; organisation and maintenance and discipline of the Defence forces; communications by posts and telegraphs and telephones; coinage and customs as well as internal free trades; nationality, settlement, immigration, emigration and extradition. With a view to conciliate the Catholic opinion of Bavaria, she was allowed to send her special diplomatic representative to the Vatican. Federal laws overrode state laws and in case of difference of opinion as to whether a state law was compatible with the Federal law, an appeal could be made to the Supreme Court for a more exact interpretation of the Federal law.

ralism
19

The Federal Government had concurrent jurisdiction with the States in other subjects like the civil and criminal law and legal procedure; passports, police, poor-relief and supervision of

travellers, the press, population, maternity and infant welfare ; public health and labour laws including social insurance and 'labour bureaux ; expropriation and socialisation as well as provision for war veterans ; trade, weights and measures ; money and bankruptcy including exchanges, traffic in food-stuff and articles of daily consumption ; industry, mining and insurance, high-sea navigation and fishing ; railways, inland waterways and aerial transport and traffic, theatres and cinemas. Article 12 provided that "so long and in so far as the Federal Government does not make use of its legislative power, the States retain the power for themselves". This provision, however, did not apply to the exclusive legislative powers of the Federal Government. The states were declared autonomous in their own concerns including the framing of their own constitutions. But this autonomy was more formal than real, because Article 48 provided : "If a territory fails to carry out the duties imposed upon it by the national constitution or national laws, the President of the Reich may compel performance with the aid of armed force".

In the Third Reich the seventeen Federated States or territories, namely, Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Saxony, Mecklenburg (consisting of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, which were united on January 1, 1934), Thuringia, Hesse, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Anhalt, Lippe, Schaumburg-Lippe, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen and Saarland, have become merely administrative units. The Unification Act of April 7, 1933, brought these territories under the rule of Governors directly responsible to Herr Hitler. Appointment and dismissal of the Governors is reserved to the Leader. By the decree of February, 1934 separate state citizenship has ceased to exist. By the law, reforming the Reich of February 1, 1931, the so-called sovereign rights formerly possessed by federated territories passed into the hands of the Reich Cabinet. The state legislatures were abolished and the state Cabinets were subordinated to the Reich Cabinet. The state Governors now draft and promulgate state laws only after securing the consent of the Reich Government. They are under the administrative supervision of the Reich Minister of Interior. Prussia, with about three-fifths of the area and population of Germany, is even more closely controlled by the Central Government than the other states. Germany has, thus, become a unified and centralized state. The centralization has been carried still further recently by carving out the administrative divisions more on geographical lines rather than on the old political basis. The Reichsrat, the second chamber of Germany, which represented the States, was abolished as it had become

Changes
in the Con-
stitution
in 1934

✓IV. Features of the Weimer Constitution

The Weimer Constitution was adopted by Germany under the shadow of defeat and it trailed clouds of the memories of defeat throughout its course. It was a liberal constitution no doubt, but it seemed to many a German patriot that the triumphant Democracies of the West had imposed the democratic ideology on the vanquished Germans. Imported Liberalism

The very first Article of the Constitution declared that the German federation is a republic. Supreme power emanates from the people. (The Constitution set up a mixed type of democracy—a mixture of primary democracy and representative democracy. Initiative, Referendum and Recall were the instruments of direct democracy, while proportional representation, universal adult suffrage for men and women and ministerial responsibility to the legislature were the characteristics of representative government.) Democratic features

We have already shown that the Weimer Constitution was in mere form a federal constitution, but in reality it tended to be a unitary one. The Federal Government was given the power to make any law which it considered needful for the sake of uniform regulation. Generally speaking, the States had power to make laws under the general principles laid down by Federal legislation. They could legislate on local self-government, agriculture and forestry, excluding agricultural labour, the fine arts, and on public welfare and security, in so far as these are not embodied in federal statutes. The States had practically no fiscal autonomy. Soon after the inauguration of the Constitution the state railroads were unified under the control of the Reich. Thus the tendency towards administrative centralization became pronounced. Federal features

✓The Weimer constitution, like the French and American Constitutions, contained a long list of fundamental rights of the subjects. Some of the important Articles are quoted below to show the contrast between the present position and the position envisaged by the Constitution. Rights of the subjects

"Liberty of the person is inviolable. A restriction upon, or deprivation of, personal liberty, may not be imposed by public authority except by law. Persons who have been deprived of their liberty must be informed not later than the following day by what authority, and upon what grounds, the deprivation of liberty was ordered; without delay they shall have the opportunity to lodge objections against such deprivation of liberty (Art. 114). Every German has the right within the limits of the general laws, to express his opinion orally, in writing, in print, pictorially, or in any other way. No circumstance arising out of his work or employment shall hinder him in the exercise of this

right, and no one shall discriminate against him if he makes use of such right (Art. 118). All Germans have the right to form societies or associations for purposes not prohibited by the Criminal Code. This right may not be limited by preventive regulations. The same provision applies to religious societies and associations. Every association has the right to incorporate according to the provisions of the Civil Code. Such right may not be denied to an association on the ground that its purpose is political, social or religious (Art. 124)". Besides these, security of livelihood for the worker was promised.

The fundamental rights were guaranteed by the Constitution itself, and therefore they could be abrogated by the Constitution.

Moreover, the Government could legally suspend these rights on the ground of emergency. The Constitution itself stated that exceptions to these rights "may be made by law." The fundamental rights failed to protect the individual liberty of the German citizens mainly because the democratic tradition was wanting in the country.

(Hollowness
of these
rights)

V. Executive and Legislature under the Weimer Constitution

The formal head of the executive was the President. He was elected by direct vote of the people for a term of seven years and could be re-elected any number of times. Between

Position and
functions
of the
President

1919 and 1933 there were only two Presidents,—Friedrich Ebert and Marshal Hindenburg. The Constitution provided for the recall of the President, if two-

thirds of the Reichstag demanded and majority of electors supported it.) But there was no occasion of using this power. The

President could not be a member of the Reichstag. He was the supreme commander of the Federal Defence Force and was the authority to appoint and dismiss all Federal officials and Defence Force officers. He had the prerogative of pardoning criminals. He represented the Federation in international relations, sent out and received ambassadors, concluded alliances as well as treaties with foreign powers subject to the condition that the declaration of war and conclusion of peace were effected by Federal law. All the actions of the President, however, required for their validity the counter-signature of the Chancellor or the appropriate minister.

The counter-signature implied the responsibility of the Chancellor or minister to the legislature. (In estimating the position of the

German President, Gooch observed : "The President is a symbol of unity and continuity, a master of ceremonies, a wheel in the constitutional machine. If he possesses tact and inspires confidence, he may play a useful part in turning awkward corners, imposing quarrels, in solving ministerial crises, in building

up the prestige of the Republic, but politically he is a cipher." In a similar strain Dr. Strong writes that "the German President occupied an even more pitiable position than did the President of the French, for the nominal executive in Germany was doubly checked, first, by a popular election, and secondly, by the presence of a cabinet responsible to the assembly".

But these writers ignore two significant factors in the position of the German President. He could make his influence real and effective because of the frequent ministerial crises. As no party commanded an absolute majority in the legislature, no ministry could remain long in power. There were twenty ministries between 1919 and 1933, that is an average life of eight months. The President was frequently required to choose the Chancellor. The politicians, therefore, paid the closest possible attention to the wishes of the President.

The more important factor, however, in raising the position of the President was the Emergency powers vested in him by the Weimer Constitution. Article 48 of the Constitution provided that: "If public safety and order in the Reich are materially disturbed or endangered, the President may take necessary measures to restore them, and may do this, if need be, by using armed forces. If a State does not fulfil the duties laid upon it by the national constitution or the national laws, the national President can hold it thereto with the help of the armed forces". (It might be argued that as the President had to secure the counter-signature of the Chancellor or a minister, these emergency powers were no danger to constitutionalism. But the President could remove one Chancellor and appoint another, and he could also dissolve the Reichstag) The danger from entrusting such wide powers to any national executive is a real one. This should be particularly noted by the Indian politicians in connection with the emergency powers of the Governor or the Governor-General. The German President issued as many as 130 decrees on the plea of emergency between 1919 and 1925; though in the period between 1925 and 1931 only some twenty decrees were issued under Article 48. In 1930, the whole of the budget was passed by the Bruening ministry through decrees. The Reichstag objected to it and the ministry appealed to the President, who dissolved the Reichstag. These facts show that dictatorial government was in the making even before the assumption of power by the Nazis.

The President appointed the Chancellor, and the latter selected a number of ministers. There was no restriction against the appointment of a person who was not a member of the legislature. The President could dismiss a ministry ^{The Ministry} which enjoyed the confidence of the legislature. The position of the Chancellor was somewhat analogous to that of the

Prime Minister in England. He settled the political programme of his Government, which was binding on all his colleagues. The principle of ministerial responsibility was clearly recognised, but that of collective responsibility was not realized.

The Legislature consisted of two Houses—the Reichstag and Reichsrat. The former was meant to represent the population and the latter the constituent states or territories. But the constitution laid down that 'national laws are enacted by the Reichstag'. So it may be said that the Weimer Constitution really set up an unicameral legislature. The country was divided into thirty-five districts for electoral purpose. To assure the representation of every political party, voting by lists was introduced. Every man and woman over twenty years of age was entitled to vote on the principle of proportional representation. A voter voted not for one candidate but for the list put by a party. The number of seats in each electoral district, secured by each party was ascertained by dividing its total vote by 60,000. The total number of members elected to the Reichstag was thus fixed in accordance with the number of votes cast.

The Reichsrat was formed to represent 'the German states in Federal legislation and administration'. It was made up of ministerial delegates from the fifteen German states and free cities roughly according to population. Each state was entitled to have at least one vote in this body ; but no single state could have more than two-fifths of the total number of votes. The Reichstag having passed a bill sent it directly to the President for promulgation. But if the Reichsrat had any objection to the bill it could protest to the ministry, in which case the measure had to be sent back to the Reichstag for reconsideration. If the Reichstag passed the bill again by a two-thirds vote, the President had either to promulgate it or submit it to a referendum. Thus the Reichsrat had only a suspensive vote. The Reichsrat advised the government in respect of government bills. The Federal ministers were required to keep it informed of the course of federal affairs. The duties of the Reichsrat were substantially those of an advisory council, that is, to make suggestions and recommendations, to impart information, to approve, check or delay a proposed measure.

In case of prolonged dispute between the two Houses, the President could refer the matter under dispute to Referendum.

The President could also refer any law to popular vote for ratification. Any law could be similarly referred to the people 'if' one-tenth of the voters by petition desired it. But the Budget Law could be referred only by the President if he so desired. Bills amending the Constitution had to be referred to the people, if the Reichsrat so demanded.

Article 76 of the Weimer Constitution laid down the following procedure for amending the Constitution : "Resolutions of the Reichstag for amendment of the Constitution are valid only if two-thirds of those present give their assent. ^{Amendment of the Constitution} Moreover, resolutions of the Reichsrat for amendment of the Constitution require a two-thirds majority of all votes cast. If by popular petition a constitutional amendment is to be submitted to a Referendum, it must be approved by a majority of the qualified voters.

Many causes contributed to the failure of the Weimer Constitution. One of the most important factors was the absence of democratic tradition in Germany. The German people could not reconcile liberty with order. They failed to create a strong executive, which would be strong enough to maintain order but not too strong to subvert the liberty of the subjects. ^{Causes of failure of the Republican Government} The fact that democratic government was introduced on the wake of a disastrous defeat also contributed to the failure of the republican experiment. It has been said that, "American democracy succeeded for it was sanctioned in a strenuous revolutionary war which led to independence. On the same analogy, the German democracy came to grief for, by the law of casualty it was closely connected with the breakdown of 1918") Moreover, the Civil Service and the Judiciary, imbued with reactionary tendencies, failed to move in line with the democratic government. Germany had been divided into numerous political parties even before the introduction of the Weimer Constitution. The adoption of proportional representation, therefore, artificially fostered a larger number of parties and rendered the smooth working of ministerial responsibility impossible. The bedrock on which the Constitution actually foundered was the emergency power of the President, as was provided by Article 48. The Government used it to such an extent that by September, 1932, the emergency decrees reached the total of 233. From 1930 onwards the German Government came to depend largely on these emergency powers. "Full and frank dictatorship", writes one close observer, "might have gained the saddle anyhow, but Art. 48 became the springboard from which the leap was taken."

71. Government of the Third Reich'

The Third Reich is designated by Germans as a *Fuhrerstaat* or leader state, a state based upon the principle of absolute obedience to the leader. The government of Germany is not a republican one, because the chief executive holds office for life and has power to nominate his successor. ^{Nature of the government} The nation has not got the power to choose the executive at

certain intervals. At the same time, the government cannot be said to be despotic, as the authority of the leader is ostensibly derived from the people. The Germans claim that their government is truly representative in character, because, according to their theory, 'true representation is the personification of the will of the people in a representative who feels himself to be one with the people'. But "the will which he represents, or rather incarnates, is a will which he inspires, and which would not exist without his inspiration. He represents a will projected from himself and reflected back upon himself. Immediate representation of the people by a single leader can never be representation of the original will of the people".

Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany on the 30th of January, 1933, but he did not possess a majority in the Reichstag.

He persuaded President Hindenburg to dissolve the Reichstag and to order a fresh election. The great Reichstag building in Berlin was burnt down on the eve of the election. The Nazis fastened the guilt of burning on their political opponents and especially on the Communists.

They promptly arrested the opposition leaders, muzzled the press and suspended the personal liberty provision of the Weimer Constitution. They had not, therefore, any difficulty in securing a majority of seats in the Reichstag. They took the further precaution of excluding the Communist members who had been elected. The purged Reichstag passed on the 23rd March in a single sitting 'the law to combat the misery of the People and the Reich,' popularly known as the Enabling Act. The Act purported to be an amendment of the Weimer Constitution, and as such was passed by two-thirds majority in the Reichstag, but it was an amendment which destroyed the very substance of the Constitution. The amendment practically conferred on the ministry, nominated by Hitler, the power to enact laws both inside and outside the Constitution. It provided that (1) "National laws can be enacted by the Reich ministry as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the Constitution. This applies also to the laws referred to in Article 85, paragraph 2 (the power to enact a budget) and in Article 87 (the power to borrow) of the Constitution. (2) That the laws enacted by the Reich ministry may depart from the Constitution so far as they do not affect the position of the Upper House and the Reichstag. The powers of the President remain untouched. (3) That the Reich Cabinet may, without any reference to the Reichstag or the Reichsrat, conclude treaties with foreign states. The law was enacted in the first instance for four years but it has been kept in existence by re-enactments. When President Hindenburg died in 1934 the powers of the President were merged with those of the Chancellor and Hitler began to exercise

The Executive vested with supreme power by the Enabling Act

the functions of the combined office. He holds the office for life. He nominates all the ministers and holds them responsible to himself. The ministers are not his colleagues but his subordinates.

In spite of the Article 2 of the Enabling Act the Reichsrat was abolished on the 14th February, 1934. The Reichstag continues to exist, but it has become a conclave of the Nazi party.

The Reichstag used to hold the executive responsible ^{The Legislature} to it. But it is no longer a check on the Government.

It is thoroughly under the control of the Nazi party. The party draws up a list of candidates for election to the Reichstag. No other candidate can stand for election. The voters can only approve or reject the list put forward by the Nazi party. The Nazis are so very sure of the approval of their candidates by the voters that they have not made any provision for the case in which their list might be rejected.

VII. Judicial System and Liberty of Subjects

The German system of Judicial administration consists of ordinary courts and administrative courts. Under the Weimer Constitution the states had their own ordinary courts with Judges who were appointed for life and could be removed from office only by judicial decisions. But

Centralisation of Courts }

by a series of decrees culminating in an act of January 24, 1935, the administration of Justice has been completely nationalised. Under this law the Reich took over on April 1, 1935, some 65,000 judicial officials under its control. A single Ministry of Justice now functions for all the states as well as the Reich. Under the Weimer Constitution, appeals from the State Courts lay to the Supreme Court of Judicature, which was the final court of Justice in Germany. The Supreme Court could not, however, judge of the constitutionality or otherwise of laws. That function was exercised by a special High Court of Justice.

The present Dictatorial form of government leaves no room for the idea of constitutionally guaranteed individual rights. The Prussian Supreme Administrative Court is debarred by the Secret Police Act from reviewing the measures taken under it by the secret police. The administrative courts can no longer review the decisions of political leadership, nor can they act as arbiters in controversies between local government and supervisory departments. The citizen is not, indeed, deprived of the opportunity to submit to proper tribunals specific grievances caused by administrative acts, but the administrative courts are advised not to obstruct the conduct of administration by voiding concrete measures; they may simply outline the correct administrative

Loss of individual rights under Dictatorship

procedure. The right of forming any political party has been denied by the promulgation of a law of July 14, 1933. This law declares: "The National Socialist German Workers' Party is the only political party in Germany. Whoever undertakes to maintain the organisation of another political party, or to form a new political party, is to be punished with imprisonment in a penitentiary up to three years or with confinement in a jail from six months to three years unless the act is punishable by a higher penalty under other provisions". A law promulgated on July 5, 1935, established the novel principle that the courts shall punish offences not punishable under the Criminal Code, if they are deserving of punishment according to 'healthy public sentiment'.

There are at present about 1,900 lowest courts of first instance, which can try petty civil and criminal cases. If the case relates to property in which the amount involved does not exceed 1,000 marks, it is tried by a single Judge. In the trial of more serious criminal cases the Judge is assisted by two Assessors. Over these are 174 courts, called *Landgerichte* in each of which three Judges sit to deal with civil cases involving more than a thousand marks and criminal cases which are not within the competence of courts of first instance. Appeals from the latter are also decided in these courts. The *Landgerichte* can with one Judge and two Laymen try commercial cases. For the trial of capital cases, the *Landgerichte* are transformed into *Schwurgerichte* consisting of three Judges and six Laymen. Over these Courts there are twenty-nine *Oberlandesgerichte*, each of which contains criminal and civil panels consisting of three or five Judges. They exercise appellate jurisdiction. There are, besides this, the People's Courts, consisting of nine Judges to try cases of treason. The Supreme Court is the *Reichsgerichte*, which sits at Leipzig, and has one hundred Judges. It exercises a revisory jurisdiction over all inferior courts. Besides these, special Courts exist for all civil disputes arising from the relationship between employers and the employed. There are, moreover, 206 Sterilization Courts, which are composed of one Judge and two Medical men. Mentally and physically defective persons and all those who are thought unfit for propagation are sterilized by the decree of these courts.

VIII. The Civil Service

By the Civil Service Law of April 7, 1933 and its supplementary decrees severe restrictions have been put on the members of the Civil Service. The law applies not only to the regular civil servants but also to the employees in semi-public enterprises

and undertakings in which the government has a 50 per cent or larger financial interest. Judges, all court officials, notaries, teachers and professors, officials of the army, elected municipal officials are also included in the German Civil service. Everyone of these officials has to swear to the following statement. "I herewith testify on oath that despite careful examination, no circumstances are known to me which could justify the supposition that I am not of Aryan descent or that one of my parents or grand parents at any time professed the Jewish religion. I am aware that I am liable to legal prosecution and dismissal from service if this declaration does not contain the truth." The Jews were thus effectively driven out of public and semi-public services. Another decree provides that "officials may be dismissed from service, who, because of their previous political activities, do not offer surety that they at all times act unreservedly for the national state". This decree excludes all but the staunch adherents of the Nazi party from service.

IX. Local Government in Germany

The spirit of local self-government has been effectively destroyed by the Municipal Ordinance of January 30, 1935. This decree places all German countries and municipalities, except Berlin, on one single statutory foundation, thus substituting national legislation for state legislation. The Deputy Leader Hess appoints a party delegate for each municipality. The party delegate has no administrative function, but his consent is required for the adoption of the charter. He sends three names of qualified experts in administration after consultation with members of the Municipal Council to the Minister of Interior who selects from among them the Mayor and the Mayor's substitute. Municipalities of more than ten thousand inhabitants have whole-time salaried Mayor or his substitute. Whole-time Mayors are appointed for twelve years, and others for six years. The administrative responsibility for the conduct of local government is vested in the Mayor, who is helped by the advice of the Municipal Council. The Mayor must consult the Council before enacting ordinances and adopting the budget. But the advice of the Council is not binding on the Mayor. The members of the Council are not permitted to vote on any projects submitted to them. They are appointed by the party delegates in agreement with the Mayor for a term of six years.

✓ X. The Organisation of Labour

A striking feature of the Weimer Constitution was the establishment of the Economic Council. It laid down the follow-

ing provisions. "For the protection of their social and economic interests, workers and salaried employees shall have legal representation in Workers' Councils for individual undertakings and in District Workers' Councils grouped according to economic districts and in Workers' Council of the Reich. The District Workers' Councils and the Workers' Council of the Reich shall combine with representatives of the employers and other classes of the population concerned so as to form District Economic Councils and an Economic Council of the Reich for the discharge of their joint economic functions and for co-operation in the carrying out of laws relating to socialisation. The District Economic Councils and the Economic Council of the Reich shall be so constituted as to give representation thereof to all important vocational groups in proportion to their economic and social importance. All bills of fundamental importance dealing with matters of social and economic legislation shall, before being introduced, be submitted by the Government of the Reich to the Economic Council of the Reich for its opinion thereon. The Economic Council of the Reich shall have the right itself to propose such legislation. Should the Government of the Reich not agree with any such proposal, it must nevertheless introduce it in the Reichstag, accompanied by a statement of its own views thereon. The Economic Council of the Reich may arrange for one of its members to advocate the proposal before the Reichstag. Powers of control and administration in any matter falling within their province may be conferred upon Workers' Councils and Economic Councils. The constitution and function of the Workers' and Economic Council are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Reich." Thus, in the Reich Economic Council, capital and labour were given the same number of members with equal voice in the discussion of both economic and social policy.

During the thirteen years preceding the Nazi revolution Trade Unions were accepted as the agencies for collective bargaining to set wages, hours and other conditions of employment. The Trade Unions more than doubled their membership during these years as compared with pre-war figures. But under the
The Labour Front Hitlerite Dictatorship all Labour Unions and the corresponding employers' associations have been dissolved. A Labour Front including both workers and employers has been set up in May, 1933. Its organisation is regional as well as functional. The smallest unit of Labour Front is constituted by the members in a single firm. These are gathered in 14,744 local groups. They are again collected into 821 districts and 32 regional groups. In its vocational aspect, the Labour Front is organized in 18 divisions. The law of January 20, 1934, forbids strikes and lockouts. The work of the Labour Front is primarily

social and educational. Its most notable achievement has been the success of the "Strength through Joy" association which provides its members with low-cost trips and excursions during holidays, and arranges sports, lectures, concerts and theatrical performances.

But these benefits have been purchased by labour at a very heavy cost. "The workers are," writes Arthur Feiler in the *Survey Graphic*, "little better than slaves in the drive for rearmament. Strikes are forbidden. The workers are no longer free to move from town to town, plant to plant, even job to job. A man may change his situation only if the change fits into the aims of the regime. No employer is permitted to hire any employee without the explicit consent of the official Labour Exchange." According to the decree of February, 1937, "the individual's ambition or desires are subservient to the state's interest.".....During the September, 1938, crisis, tens of thousands of workers were requisitioned from industry, and without even time to say good-bye to their wives and children, they were loaded into special trains and sent to work on the fortifications along Germany's western frontier. But in normal times too, as a writer in *Foreign Affairs* has recorded, "armies of workers are transported from one part of the country to another like prisoners of war".

Workers
reduced to
condition of
slaves

Characteristics of the Italian Constitution

The Sardinian Constitution of 1848 is, theoretically, the Constitution of Italy to-day. As successively Lombardy, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Naples and Sicily, Venice and Rome were incorporated in Sardinia, the Sardinian Constitution was extended to these territories. Italy is a unitary state with a flexible constitution. The ordinary parliamentary enactment is sufficient to effect constitutional changes. It is due to this flexibility that the Italian Constitution has been able to assimilate all the changes brought into it by Signor Mussolini. "The flexibility of the Italian Constitution has saved it from complete submergence under the stress of the vigorous social and political reorganisation which has followed the War in Italy. If it had been a rigid constitution it would certainly by now have been broken, whereas it has up to this moment only been bent." We shall first of all describe the normal features of the Italian Constitution and then discuss the Fascist system of Government. As in England so in Italy there is a King. Upto 1919 the Italian King performed functions analogous to those of the English King. But since the appointment of Mussolini as Prime Minister, the King has been completely overshadowed. There was a parliamentary executive in Italy before the inauguration of the

The Italian
Constitution
of 1848

Fascist regime. Article 65 of the Constitution of 1848 says that the Ministers are responsible to Parliament and that no law or Governmental Act shall take effect until they have received the signature of a Minister. Under the Fascist regime the Government became fixed and practically irresponsible.

{ Nature
of the
Executive

✓ XII. Rise of the Fascist Government

Just after the Great War constitutional democracy in Italy was threatened with destruction by the growth of a strong Socialist party in Parliament and of an equally strong Syndicalist movement outside the Parliament. Under the pressure of the demands of the Socialists and Syndicalists, Signor Gislitti, the Liberal Prime Minister, had to bestow upon the workers in the North a large measure of factory control in 1920. This measure roused the antagonism of many Italians who determined to fight the extra-parliamentary Syndicalist movement by organising local Fascist Committees.

{ Chaotic
condition in
post-war
Italy

{ Origin of
the Fascist
Party

"The origin of the word Fascist is the Latin 'fascies,' the bundle of twigs fastened around an axe, emblem of authority which the old Roman lictors carried when they accompanied the Consuls, and which symbolised the right to inflict corporal and, if necessary, capital punishment." The early Fascists punished the Syndicalists or Communists or Bolsheviks (they indifferently designated all three) whom they considered to be offenders against social peace and security. In July 1921, the Syndicalists declared a general strike and to subdue them Signor Mussolini asked the Government to hand over to the Fascists, within 48 hours, six seats in the Cabinet and the control of the Air Force. As these demands were refused, the Fascists moved towards Rome and encamped just outside the city in 1922, in a menacing attitude. The King then saved the situation by inviting Signor Mussolini to form a ministry. Thus the unconditional Fascist movement was harnessed to the chariot of constitutionalism.

✓ XIII. The Corporative State

Mussolini aimed at creating a Corporative State, in which the citizen, whether acting individually or in association with his fellows, were declared to be subject to the higher being, the higher ends, and the higher means of a national organism which was integrally realized in the single party and its leader. (In the Corporative State the single party, under the guidance of the leader expresses and represents the whole purpose of the State.) The apologists

{ Meaning of
Corporative
State

of Fascism claimed that the Corporative State put an end to the antagonism between Capital, Manual Labour and Intellectual Labour by subordinating all the three sections equally to the national interest.

The idea of the Corporative State developed through three stages. In the first stage, Italians were attracted by the negative side of the French Syndicalism which attacked the democratic system with its geographical constituencies, the political parliament and the political parties. They sought to erect a new social order based on the management of each industry or occupation by its own syndicate. In the second stage the Fascist Party tried to set up a number of 'mixed syndicates' or 'corporations', uniting both the employers and the employed in each of the economic units. As early as 1920, Signor Rocco suggested that 'the workers' union and the employers' associations should be unified, trade by trade, into one mixed syndicate'. Between 1922 and 1934 the Fascist Party and the Fascist Government were establishing their control over the syndicates of the workers in order that they might be brought into harmony with the syndicates of employers. A Ministry of Corporations was established on July 2, 1926; the Charter of Labour promulgated by the Grand Council of the Fascist Party in 1927 spoke much about corporations; and a central council of corporations was set up in 1930 but as yet there were no actual bodies uniting employers and the employed in any category of production.

Stages
of its deve-
lopment

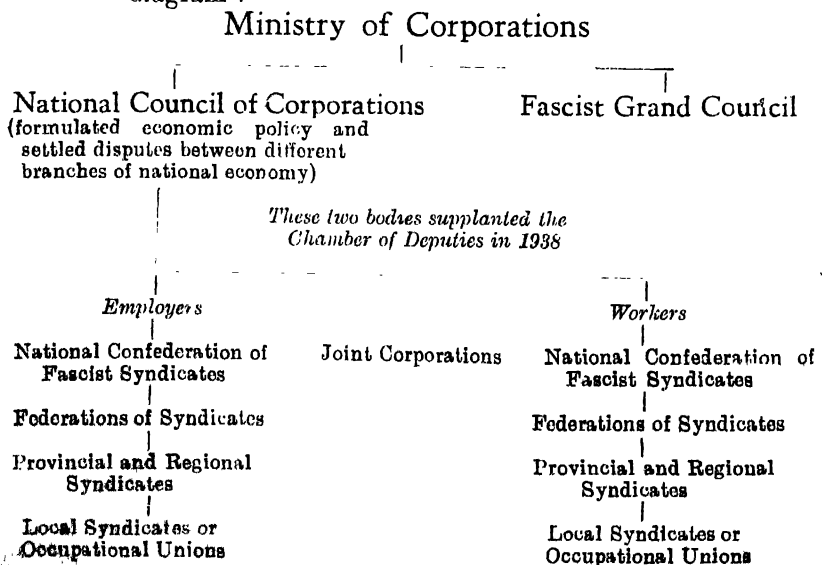
During the transitional period the unions of workers were brought under the control of the party and the Government by various measures. The most important of these was the Charter of Labour, published on April 21, 1927. It described the purpose of Labour "as the well-being of the producers and the development of the national strength. Professional or syndical organisation is free, but the recognised syndicate alone, under the control of the state, has the right of legally representing the employers and the employed, of stipulating for collective labour contracts for all belonging to its category and of imposing contributions on them. The collective contract is the expression of the solidarity of the various factors in production and is the means of reconciling the opposing interests of employers and the employed and subordinating them to the superior interest of production". The workers lost the right to strike. The condition on which legal recognition was granted to a trade union was that it must contain at least 10 per cent of the workers employed in that particular industry and that its members must be 'of good moral and political conduct from a national point of view'. Only one trade union could be recognised in each industry; but even if 90 per cent of the workers

The Charter
of Labour

engaged in it were not members of the union, they had to pay subscription to it and were bound by any agreement which the union made with an association of employers. The agreements related to discipline, hours of work, wages, weekly rest, annual holidays, treatment of workers during sickness, etc. Big industrialists exerted great influence on the Fascist Party and some of them occupied important places in the ministry. The Government could at its discretion approve or set aside the election of the President and Secretary of the union.

The third stage in the development of corporations was reached in 1934 when twenty-two corporations or joint standing industrial councils in twenty-two categories of economic life were set up. These categories included such trades as cereal farming, fruit growing, forestry, fisheries, grape culture and wine making, water, gas and electricity supply, the chemical trades, paper and printing, the building trades, the metal industries, glass and pottery, arts and professions, the clothing trade, theatres and public entertainments, hotels and restaurants, sea and air transport and external communications. Each corporation was composed of representatives of employers and workers and a few technical experts and members of the Fascist Party. The functions of the corporations were to adjust disputes, to regulate wages, hours of work, conditions of employment, and costs of production, to supervise employment bureaus, to promote education and to advise the government on all industrial questions.

The final form which the corporative organization took in Italy may be illustrated by the following diagram :



In each district there was one syndicate of workers and one of employers for each category of trade. The local syndicates of workers and employers in each category were grouped into provincial or regional syndicates, which again were grouped into federations. The Federations were further organized into nine confederations, of which four represented the employers and four the workers in Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Credited Insurance and one represented professional men and artists. The separate organizations of workers and employers were brought together in the Joint Corporations, which were twenty-two in number as explained above. The most important members of these corporations found place in the National Council of Corporations, which functioned under the Ministry of Corporations.

The syndicates were made the basis of the electoral system in Italy in 1928. At that time there were thirteen nationwide confederations of Syndicates—one each for the employers and the employees in (1) Industry, (2) Agriculture, (3) Commerce, (4) Banking, (5) Maritime and Aerial Transport and (6) Land Transport and Inland navigation and a thirteenth association of artists and other intellectual and professional classes. Eight hundred candidates were designated by the twelve Syndicates of employers and employees as follows :—

Category	Total number of persons in the category	Number of candidates nominated.
Agricultural Employers	3,14,658	96
Agricultural Employees	10,21,461	96
Industrial Employers	71,459	80
Industrial Employees	13,00,000	80
Commercial Employers and Employees		48 + 48
Maritime and Air Transportation: Employers and Employees		40 + 40
Land Transportation and Inland Navigation Employers and Employees		32 + 32
Bank Employers and Employees		24 + 24
Professional men and artists		160
		<hr/>
		Total 800

Out of the 800 candidates thus designated the Grand Council of Fascists selected a list of four hundred persons. The Grand Council could also put new names in the list. The list used to be announced in the official gazette, and three weeks later was submitted to the electorate of the country, voting as one whole constituency. The electorate consisted of all males of 21 years of age and over, provided they had paid at least one day's salary to their appropriate syndicate. The ballot paper bore the formula, "Do you approve of the list of Deputies designated by the National Grand Council of Fascism?" The answer was to be a simple 'yes' or 'no'. At the election of 1929 the list obtained over 98% of the total votes and at the election of 1934 the figure was 99.8%.

✓The Fascists believe that corporativism provides a new conception of the form and structure of the State. It provides a new basis of representation, the functional instead of geographical, and also introduces a new self-discipline of all the factors concerned in the field of economics. Mussolini often declared that the aim of corporativism was a higher social justice for the whole of the Italian people.

{ A critical estimate of Corporativism

The higher social justice implied a higher standard of living, with guaranteed work, a fair wage, and a decent house and also meant the participation of workers both in knowledge of the process of production and in the determination of its necessary discipline. But in actual practice the Corporations have acted merely as advisory bodies concerned with fulfilling the needs of the State. The leaders of the Fascist party exercised rigid control over the corporations. The standard of living of the workers declined. Politically, the system of state-controlled corporations could not be a source of popular representation. "Representation based on economic groups," writes Barker, "however autonomous they may be, will be representation of different and divergent interests; indeed, the more they are autonomous, the more it will bear that character. A representative body so constituted, and therefore so divided, cannot be a powerful factor in the political system. It will need a cement to hold it together if it is to act as a factor at all; and that cement will necessarily be found in the permanent executive. A corporative parliament is a corollary, but in no sense a control, of the management of the State by an enthroned executive chief."

XIV. Structure of the Fascist Government

The Fascist Party on the assumption of power in 1922 expressed its intention to preserve the then existing political structure, and to govern within the framework of the Constitution of 1848. But during the last twenty-one years so many changes have been effected that nothing but the King and a fragment of the old Senate exist as relics of Parliamentary Government. In the place of subordination of the executive to the legislature, the Fascists have asserted the pre-eminence of the executive over the legislative power.

{ Changes in the Constitution of 1848

The King, Victor Emmanuel III (born 1869), is the nominal head of the executive. Mussolini, the real head of the executive, declared in 1922: "We shall leave monarchy outside our game, because we think that Italy would look with suspicion on a transformation of the Government which would eliminate monarchy." In 1925 he expressed the hope that the monarchy would not obstruct the Fascist revolution, and threaten-

The King

ed that if it did, "we would have to abolish it, as it would be a question of life and death". The monarch has not in any way interfered with the Fascist policy ; on the other hand, he seems to have accepted Fascism without reservation. He assumed the title of Emperor of Ethiopia by the Royal Decree of May 9, 1936. The sum of 11,250,000 lire (£1 = 78½ lire on 4-11-39) per year has been settled in 1919 as the Civil List and the Crown Prince gets an allowance of three million lire as allowance. "A king," observes Ogg, "with rather more power than parliamentary systems ordinarily permit, has been pushed entirely into the background—not deprived of certain of his ceremonial functions, it is true, but assuredly shorn of all his discretion and influence."

The law of December 24, 1925, states that the executive power is to be exercised by the King with the aid of his Government. The same law gives statutory recognition to the position of the Prime Minister as the "head of the Government". He is to carry on the Government until ^{position of the Duce, Mussolini} "the system of economic, moral and political forces, which raised him to power shall cease". By a decree of April 28, 1938, a new Statute of the Fascist Party was promulgated, whereby the position of the Duce was incorporated in the Constitution of Italy. The Prime Minister was made independent of any parliamentary vote of confidence or censure. No motion can be laid before the Senate or the recently created Chamber of the Fasci and Corporations without the previous sanction of the Prime Minister. The other ministers were nominated by him. They were responsible to him, and not to Parliament. The law of November 25, 1926, provides death penalty for any act directed against the life, liberty or integrity of the Prime Minister. "Our Prime Minister," stated Rocco, Minister of Justice, before the Senate, "is the recognised head of the great political, economic and moral forces of the country and those represented in Parliament, the evaluation of whose importance is subject to the decision of the sovereign."

The Executive had the power to promulgate decrees having the force of law in many matters. The Government was empowered to amend the Penal Code, to modify ^{Law-making power of the Executive} the Civil Code and to reorganize the system of judicial administration. It was authorised to modify the laws concerning public safety.

Mussolini abolished the Chamber of Deputies on December 14 1938. Its place was taken by the Chamber of the Fasci and Corporations, which met for the first time on March 23, 1939. It was composed of 650 members of whom ^{The Chamber of the Fasci and Corporations} 150 members are elected by the National Council of the Fascist Party, and 500 members elected by the National Council of Corporations. The Duce of Fascism, the

members of the Fascist Grand Council, with the exception of the Senators and the members of the Royal Academy of Italy were ex-officio members of this body. The President and Vice-Presidents were appointed by royal decree. The duties of the Chamber were performed by full assembly, by the Budget General Commission and by the Legislative Commissions.

The Senate was composed of the princes of the Royal House who were twenty-one years of age (now numbering 8) and of an unlimited number of members nominated by the King for life from among twenty-one specified categories.† The ordinary Senators must be of forty years of age. In October, 1938, the Senators numbered 357. Some members of the Senate have occasionally opposed the Fascist measures. But the Government was assured of a majority, and could in any case, obtain the necessary number of votes by appointing Fascist adherents to the Senate.

The Chamber of Fasci and Corporations had no right to discuss, much less to criticise the acts and projects of the government. It did not select the President, who was appointed by the royal decree. The President in turn selected the other officers. He also appointed and convoked the committees through which the Chamber carried on most of its work. The ostensible function of the new Chamber was to assist the Government in making laws. The Chamber had the right to discuss and approve the following measures : bills of a constitutional character ; general legislative delegations ; the budget and financial reports of the state, of autonomous administrations of the state, and of any public agencies which are of national importance and which are directly or indirectly financed by the state. The Chamber could also be convoked to discuss and approve other bills when the government so wished, or when such a step was proposed by a plenary session or by a Committee and is approved by Il Duce. Bills which were not laid before the Chamber as a whole were examined by the proper Committee. Il Duce might submit, for special discussion and approval, any bill

**Functions
of the
Legislature**

† These categories are as follows : (1) Archbishops and Bishops, (2) President of the Chamber, (3) Deputies having served for six years or in three legislatures, (4) Ministers of State, (5) Ministers' Secretaries of State, (6) Ambassadors, (7) Envoys having served for three years, (8) First Presidents and Presidents of the Courts of Cassation and the Court of Accounts, (9) First Presidents of the Courts of Appeals, (10) The Attorney-General and Procurator-General, (11) Presidents of Chambers or Courts of Appeals having served three years, (12) Counsellors of the Court of Cassation and Court of Accounts, (13) Advocates and officials of public ministries having served five years, (14) Generals of Army and Navy, (15) Counsellors of State having served five years, (16) Members of Provincial Councils, (17) Prefects, (18) Members of the Royal Academies, (19) Members of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction, (20) Those who by their merits and services have honoured the country, (21) Persons who, for three years, have paid three thousand lire in direct tax.

which he decided that it must be acted upon immediately. However, this normal procedure might be superseded by the issuance of royal decrees in the event of an emergency created by War or by financial difficulties, or when the legislative committees have not had time to finish their work within the time allotted to them. Vote was taken openly in the Chamber. Every contrary vote was considered as an act of insubordination against the Party ; the voter automatically lost his seat in the Chamber and was excluded from public life.

In September, 1928, the Fascist Grand Council was legally established as an organ of the state. It became "the supreme organ co-ordinating all the activities of the regime which arose out of the Revolution of 1922". It acted as a consultative body in considering the statutes, ordinances and policies of the Fascist Party, and as an advisory body on all questions of a constitutional character. Constitutional questions include succession to the throne, the attributes and prerogatives of the Crown, the composition and functions of the Grand Council, the Senate and the Chamber ; the attributes and prerogatives of the Head of the Government ; the right of the Executive to issue decrees having the force of law ; the organization of Syndicates and Corporations ; relations with Papacy and international agreements involving territorial changes. The Secretary of the Fascist Party is also the Secretary of the Grand Council. The Grand Council consisted of three categories of members, namely, (i) those who participated in the March on Rome, who are appointed to the Council for an unlimited period of time ; (ii) a certain number of Ministers and other high dignitaries, appointed for as long as they hold their respective office ; and (iii) an undetermined number of members, appointed for three years by Mussolini, the Head of Government. Members of the Grand Council received no remuneration. It was in reality, the ultimate source of both executive and legislative power, subject only to the Head of Government.

The Fascist
Grand
Council

XV. Local Government

With the disappearance of democratic government at the centre, the local bodies were also deprived of self-government. In the phraseology current in India we may say that under the Fascist regime all the District Boards, Local Boards, Union Boards and Municipalities in Italy were superseded and their administrative functions were entrusted to the members of the civil service. A high degree of centralization was effected in the government of local bodies between 1925 and 1930. Mussolini, who held the post of the Minister of the Interior along with many other posts, appointed

A high
degree of
Centraliza-
tion

all important local officials and advisory bodies for the more populous towns.

The whole of Italy was divided into 92 provinces, over each of which was appointed a Prefect. The Prefect was the chief official of his province and the provincial agent of the central government. He had to discharge his functions under the supervision and control of the Minister of the Interior. He was assisted by a deputy Prefect and one or two inspectors. The provincial elective councils were replaced by the nominated boards in 1927. The Boards had to help the Prefect in carrying on the administration of the province and also to supervise the government of the communes. In 1931 provincial councils of corporative economy were set up with a view to co-ordinate the productive activities of the province.

There are more than 7,000 communes in Italy. The Italian commune like the French commune may be a city, town or a village. There were elected boards in the communes before 1926 and each such board elected the mayor.

But the elective element was replaced by the nominated Podesta, an officer appointed for five years by the Minister of the Interior on the recommendation of the Prefect. The Podesta exercised all the functions of the municipal authority in strict subordination to the Prefect. In communes containing more than 5000 inhabitants advisory councils were set up and the councillors were nominated by the Podesta. But in cities having more than one lakh inhabitants the members of the advisory council were nominated directly by the Minister of the Interior.

The city of Rome, which had been administered by a Mayor and an elective council before 1925, came to be governed by a governor, two deputy governors and ten "Rectors", all nominated by the Minister of the Interior.

The Rectors did not constitute a board but had each his own departmental function under the general direction of the Governor. An advisory council of eighty members appointed from lists prepared by the various syndicates and associations was attached to the Governor. Thus we see that under Fascism local self-government and the liberties of communes and provinces were subordinated to the exigencies of the central executive.

XVI. Judicial System in Italy

Italy, like France, has two sorts of courts—the ordinary and the administrative. The ordinary courts decide cases between citizens and citizens, while the administrative courts are meant for trying officials, who are accused of transgressing the limits of their power in their official capacity. Each local area has its

local court, with jurisdiction to try petty civil and criminal cases. It is presided over by a magistrate or praetor. Above these local courts are the Superior Courts, which are more than one hundred in number. These courts hear appeals from the local courts and try original civil cases of more important nature. Important criminal cases are tried by courts of Assize with a Jury. But the Fascists established "special courts for the defence of the state" to try persons accused of offences against the Fascist regime without giving them the facility of Jury trial. These special Tribunals were composed of executive officials. Appeals from the Superior Courts lie to the Courts of Appeal which have headquarters in various parts of the country. A special section of the Court of Appeal was created by the Fascists to try cases arising under the provisions of the Labour Charter. The highest court in Italy is the Court of Cassation. The Fascists unified the five courts of Cassation into one tribunal in 1925. This measure introduced some measure of uniformity in the interpretation of law. The Judges in the Italian Courts are never recruited from the Bar; they are appointed from amongst persons who have qualified themselves specially for judicial service.

In each province there is an administrative court, composed of the Prefect and certain other provincial officers. Appeals from the provincial court lie to a special section of the Council of State. The Council of State consists of some fifty members, appointed by the Minister of the Interior. It scrutinises royal decrees, goes through the state contracts and performs similar other legal functions.



XVII. Present Tendency in Italian Politics

Benito Mussolini fell from power in the sixtieth year of his life and the twenty-first year of his regime in July, 1943. Marshal Badoglio, the nominee of the Anglo-American Allies, was entrusted with the task of forming a new Government. He dissolved the Fascist Party and repealed the powers of the Fascist Grand Council. Count Ciano, the Foreign Minister in the Fascist regime and son-in-law of Mussolini, was shot dead after a trial on the 10th January, 1944. (The Fascist party came to power by force, retained power by force, and as soon as leaders failed to achieve success in war, they were driven from power.) This may be interpreted as the failure of the Fascists to make any lasting impression on the minds of the Italian people. The Fire-Party Milan Manifesto issued in the last week of July, 1943, showed that many Italians were anxious to end the state of political passivity to which Fascism reduced them. But if a democratic regime is established now under the aegis of a foreign invading

army, it is doubtful whether it would enjoy lasting prestige once the first enthusiasm had passed. It is not unlikely, however, that the House of Savoy, the ruling dynasty of Italy, will disappear along with Fascism. Signs of anti-monarchical agitation are already in evidence in Italy. The present political situation of Italy is somewhat chaotic. The fate of the war will finally decide what sort of government will be set up in Italy.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN

I. Introduction

Constitutional government is an exotic plant in the soil of Japan, and as such its growth has been hampered by the social and cultural atmosphere of the country. Upto 1868 Japan remained divided amongst a large number of feudal chiefs who ruled their own territories in semi-royal style. The Emperor Meizi was restored to power in 1868 with a view to make the government of the country free from corruption and foreign influence. The feudal regime of the Shogunate had given some concessions to foreigners and the resentment against such a measure was largely responsible for the restoration of power to the Emperor. The restoration may be compared in some aspects to the French Revolution. It secured equality of all before the law and abolished class privileges of the feudal barons. All the land held by the feudal lords was transferred to the Emperor. Like the western industrialized countries Japan wanted to introduce a liberal constitution of the western type. In 1882, the Emperor appointed his Prime Minister, Prince Ito to make a thorough investigation into the western institutions and to find good models for the Japanese government. The constitution was prepared in 1889. It was a variant of the Prussian adaptation of the British political system.

II. The Constitution

The constitution of 1889 contains simply an outline of the principles. It has 76 articles, arranged in seven chapters. But there are many constitutional laws, written and unwritten, which condition the functioning of the organs of the state. Important matters like succession to the throne, the peerage, elections and finance are regulated by imperial ordinances which were promulgated in 1889. Though the Japanese constitution is a written one, yet there are some important spheres of government which are not regulated by any statute. One of the important conventions of the constitution is that the Genro or Elder statesmen (at present only one, namely, Prince Saionji) are consulted by the Emperor on the choice of a new Prime Minister. As the rank of elder statesmen has thinned down to one, the Emperor consulted a group of former prime ministers in a ministerial crisis which occurred a few years ago.

Written and
unwritten
elements

Revision of the constitution itself must be initiated by the Emperor. The Imperial Diet has power of deciding only on such revisions as are indicated by the Emperor. Article 73 of the Constitution provides that an amendment to the Constitution, submitted by the Emperor, can be discussed only when two-thirds of the members of either House are present. It can be adopted by a two-third majority in both the Houses. No formal revision of the Constitution has been made since its adoption in 1889, but numerous changes have been introduced from time to time by the simple process of law-making.

**Amendment
of the con-
stitution**

III. The Emperor

Sovereignty belongs entirely to the Emperor, and all power is exercised in his name. The actual power of the Emperor at the present time is much greater than that of any other monarch of the world. The Japanese Emperor is the highest priest of the national cult of Shinto. He is in supreme command of the Imperial Army and Navy and exercises this power independently of the advice of Ministers with the help of the chiefs of the Naval and Military General Staffs. The 'Supreme Command' consisting of the chiefs of the general army and naval staffs may order movements of troops and war vessels in the name of the Emperor without even consulting the minister of foreign affairs. This necessarily gives rise to complications in the diplomatic relation of Japan with foreign powers because the assurances given by the Foreign Minister may not be backed by the Supreme Command. This peculiarity of the Japanese Constitution also makes the power of the Emperor greater than that of any other functionary in the world. It is also because of this power of the Emperor that President Roosevelt requested in December, 1937, that a protest which the U. S. A. sent to the Japanese foreign office should be communicated directly to the Emperor.

**Emperor
and the
Supreme
Command**

The law-making power is formally vested in the Emperor and the Imperial Diet. But the Emperor may issue ordinances in cases of urgency without consulting the Diet. His power to issue ordinances for the government of colonies is unlimited by the Constitution.

**Law-making
power**

The Japanese Emperor, like the British King, 'can do no wrong'. He is not subject to any law. He cannot be removed from the throne for any reason whatsoever; and he is not to be held responsible for over-stepping the limitations of law in the exercise of his sovereignty. The British monarch is bound to follow the advice of his ministers, who are responsible to the House of Commons. But

**Why is he
so powerful**

the Japanese Emperor takes advice not only from the ministers but also from the 'Supreme Command', the Privy Council, and from the Genro or Elder statesmen. As the last three groups of advisers are not responsible to the legislature, the Emperor is able to exercise a much greater degree of personal discretion than what is allowed to the British King.

IV. The Privy Council

The Japanese Privy Council is composed of members of the Cabinet and 24 Councillors, a President, and a Vice-President appointed by the Emperor on the advice of the Prime Minister. Persons who have rendered distinguished service to the state in any capacity are usually appointed as Privy Councillors. The Privy Council is a consultative body. Whenever a question arises regarding the interpretation of the Constitution or the organic law, the matter is referred to the Privy Council and its decision is usually accepted. It considers treaties and certain imperial ordinances. The Emperor consults its opinion regarding measures which the Cabinet has recommended. The Privy Council is not responsible to the legislature.

V. The Cabinet

The Japanese Cabinet is not known to law, but like the British Cabinet it exercises great power and influence. The Ministry is composed of thirteen State Ministers including the Prime Minister. The Cabinet includes the Ministers Ministers in the Cabinet of the Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Finance, War, Marine, Justice, Education, Agriculture and Forestry, Commerce and Industry, Communications, Railways and Overseas Affairs.

There are four characteristic features of the Japanese Cabinet. First, the responsibility of Ministers, collective or individual to the Diet, is not clearly established either in law or custom. The Government can do whatsoever it likes in administrative affairs; and the Houses can express Relation of Ministers with the Diet independently of each other their judgment on what the Government had done. They may present written appeals to the Emperor against the action of the Ministers. They can suggest administrative measures to the Government. The Diet has the right of investigating the conduct of administration, although this is very narrowly limited and rarely used. It has the right of making inquiries on the responsibilities of Ministers, the right of receiving reports from the Government on the income and disbursements of the National Treasury, and on serious diplomatic questions, unless they are such as require absolute secrecy.

Secondly, a convention has been established that the posts of

War Minister and Minister of Navy should be held respectively by a General and an Admiral in active service. Such a convention practically gives either of the fighting services an unlimited veto right in the formation of a new cabinet. The corporate spirit among the Japanese military and naval officers is so strong that no officer would accept office in a Cabinet without the approval of the majority of his colleagues. When at the beginning of the year 1937 General Ugaki was entrusted with the task of forming a Cabinet, this approval was not given and consequently Ugaki failed to form a ministry.

Thirdly, the power of initiative of suggesting candidates for the office of Prime Minister rests with Prince Saionji, who is the only living member of the Genro or Elder Statesmen created at the time of inaugurating the Constitution.

Fourthly, a Cabinet Advisory Board has been established in May, 1935, by an Imperial Ordinance. The function of the Board is to make investigations into important national questions upon the request of the Cabinet. It may also present views on such politics to the Cabinet on its own initiative. The members of the Board are chosen by Imperial order from among experienced statesmen or citizens.

VI. The Imperial Diet

The Japanese legislature, called the Imperial Diet, consists of House of Peers and the House of Representatives. All the members of the House of Peers are not hereditary lords. The House of Peers consists of some 409 members, of whom about 200 belong to the nobility. The hereditary element consists of all the imperial princes above 20 years of age, all princes and marquises above 30 years of age, and a number of counts, viscounts and barons elected by their own order for seven years. Besides these there are some 125 members, appointed for life by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Prime Minister because of their meritorious service to the people. The richest class of tax payers elect a few members, and they are thereupon appointed to the House of Peers by the Emperor for seven years. The Imperial Academy, consisting of the Emperor's notable servants elects four of its members for a term of seven years.

The House of Peers has equal legislative power with the House of Representatives. But appropriation bills must originate in the lower Chamber. The upper Chamber, however, can amend or reject it. The Cabinet is more differential to the opinion of the House of Representatives than to

that of the House of Peers. The Japanese Upper Chamber has not power to try cases of impeachment.

The House of Representatives is composed of members elected in constituencies, sending three to five members each. Voting is by secret ballot, though each voter is required to write down the name of the candidate for whom he votes. The House of Representatives Members are elected for a term of four years, but the House may be dissolved sooner. The electoral law of 1925 has established universal male suffrage, the age qualification being 25 years. The candidates must be 30 years of age. The present number of members is 440.

The Diet is convoked annually by the Emperor for a period of ninety days only. This period may be prolonged, if necessary, by an Imperial order. The national budget must get the consent of the Diet. It is presented by the The Budget Government to the House of Representatives first; but it must be passed by both the Houses. In case the Diet fails to vote the budget, the Government is empowered to carry out the budget of the previous year. The budget is confined to expenditure alone, revenue being determined by law.

VII. Party System

There are two great political parties in Japan—the Seiyukai and the Minseito. The Seiyukai Party corresponds very roughly to the Conservatives advocating the development of internal trade by subsidising industry and agriculture. Two great parties The Minseito, like the old Liberals, believe in developing foreign trade on the basis of strict economy at home and good relations with foreign nations. Besides these two parties there are a few small groups of Proletariat parties. The militarists oppose both the great parties, though they themselves do not constitute a party in any sense of term.

It is a peculiarity of Japanese party politics that both the Seiyukai Party and the Minseito Party are controlled by clans which are interested in particular industries. The former is controlled by the Mitsui clan which is chiefly interested in banking, manufactured goods, heavy industry and armaments. The Mitsubishi family concern lies behind the Minseito Party. It controls shipbuilding and engineering, marine insurance and warehousing, electrical engineering and air-craft construction. It will be seen that though the political parties are dubbed Moderates in foreign policy, yet war-like preparations are beneficial to their financial interests. In May, 1937, the Minseito and Seiyukai Parties combined to bring about the fall of the Hayashi Cabinet.

Influence of hereditary clans

VIII. Present Tendency of the Japanese Constitution

The Japanese Constitution has practically broken down since the annexation of Manchuria in 1931. The invasion of Manchuria was undertaken by the Militarists on their own responsibility. The Minseito Government, which was then in power, had tried to restrain them in vain. The Minseito ministers resigned in December, 1931, and were replaced by the Seiyukai Cabinet with Innukai as Prime Minister. Innukai opened negotiations with China and immediately there arose a cry of lack of patriotism against him. Innukai was murdered by young patriots with navy revolvers on May 15, 1932. After this incident Viscount Saito formed the Government, but the militarists became more powerful than ever. In February, 1936, a group of fanatical young officers assassinated Viscount Saito and Prince Takahashi, two of Japan's most eminent senior statesmen.

Japan's political structure to-day has been described by one writer as a half-way house to Fascism. There is no individual in Japan who in scope of personal power could be compared with Hitler or Mussolini. But there is very little freedom of the Japanese Press. Elections have become almost meaningless. The Hayashi Cabinet which resigned on May 30, 1937, did not include a single member, who was affiliated to a political party. The role of the Diet has been reduced to that of a powerless and irresponsible form of criticism.

**Increase of
Influence of
the Army**

**Fascist
tendency**

**Reduction
of power of
the Diet**

CHAPTER XXXIV

CONSTITUTION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

1. Origin of the Soviet Constitution

The autocratic rule of Romanov dynasty, established in 1613, remained unshaken till the beginning of the twentieth century. The force which ultimately shook the omnipotent power of the Tsar to its very foundation was the rise of a class-conscious proletariat. The industrialization of Russia, which began in the second half of the nineteenth century, created a class of propertyless workers, numbering about three millions before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. The cause of the proletariat was championed by a group of radical intellectuals, who formed themselves into the Social Democratic Party in 1898. At the London Congress of 1903, the Social Democratic Party split up into two groups—the Bolsheviks (Majority) and the Mensheviks (Minority). The Bolsheviks advocated a policy of thorough-going revolution, while the Mensheviks favoured evolutionary methods.

The
Bolshevik
Party

The discontent of the people and the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War prepared the ground for the premature Revolution of 1905. A Soviet was formed in St. Petersburg in October, 1905 ; and its example was followed in a score of other Russian cities. The term 'Soviet' literally means any kind of council, but it has now come to denote a council of delegates chosen by the workers, soldiers or peasants in any factory, army or agricultural community. Lenin recognised the importance of the Soviet Organisation as early as 1905. The general strike which was proclaimed in October, 1905, completely paralysed the country's economic life. With a view to gain popular support, the Tsar had to issue a Manifesto promising the establishment of Duma or Parliament elected by democratic suffrage and the recognition of civil liberties. The revolutionary movement was sternly suppressed. The Tsar failed to transfer any real power to the representatives of the people. The incompetent military organisation of the Tsarist Government during the World War precipitated a revolution in Russia, as a result of which the Emperor Nicholas II abdicated on March 12, 1917. A Provisional Government under Prince Goerge Lvoff was set up by the Duma, but it retained power only upto May 16, 1917, when it was reorganized. Meanwhile Lenin returned from exile in April, 1917, and raised the slogan, "All power to the Soviets". On August 6, 1917, a new Cabinet was formed with M. Alexander Kerensky as Prime Minister.

Coming
of the
Soviet to
power

Kerensky was unable either to control the Soviets or to elaborate a concrete programme which would have met the demands of the masses. On November 7, 1917, the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet seized the Government authority, and handed it over the next day to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The Bolsheviks, who assumed the name of the Communist Party in 1918 controlled the authority of the Soviet Government.

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets assembled in July, 1918, and adopted a Constitution for the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. Its provisions were, in the main, adopted for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic in 1923. The Constitution has been changed, rather radically, by the 8th Congress of the Soviets, which met on December 5, 1936. This Constitution which is at work at present, is popularly known as the Stalin Constitution. The Constitution of 1918 will be referred to as the first Constitution, that of 1923 as the second Constitution, and the present one as the third or Stalin Constitution.

The three
Constitu-
tions

✓ VII. The Structure of Society and Rights of Individuals

The first twelve Articles of the Stalin Constitution describe the structure of society in the U. S. S. R. The Constitution declares : "The economic foundation of the U. S. S. R. consists of the socialist economic system and the socialist ownership of the tools and means of production. firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist economic system, the abolition of private ownership of the tools and means of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. The land, its deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railways, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large state-organized farm enterprises and also the basic housing facilities in cities and industrial localities are state property, that is, the wealth of the whole people." In the first two Constitutions private property and collective farms had no place at all. But in the present Constitution the right of every collective farm and of household over the house, productive live-stock, poultry, small farm tools, a plot of land attached to the house for personal use and the subsidiary husbandry on the plot has been recognised. The law also allows small-scale private enterprise of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labour, provided there is no exploitation of the labour of others. The Constitution also allows the right of personal property of citizens in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwelling house and auxiliary husbandry, in household articles and utensils and in articles for

Russia is
not a true
Communist
society

personal use and comfort, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens.

The earlier Constitutions had no list of fundamental rights and duties of citizens ; but the present Constitution has one. The first Constitution recognised simply freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda ; but the third Constitution grants freedom of performing religious rites to those who believe in any religion and the right of carrying on anti-religious propaganda to those who have no faith in religion. The Constitution guarantees to every citizen the right of remunerative work, the right to specified hours of rest and to holidays with pay, the right to free and unlimited education of every kind and grade, the right of women to fulfil the function of motherhood with all possible alleviation of the physical suffering involved, without pecuniary sacrifice or burden and further aided by universally organized provision for the care of infants and children ; and above all, the right to full provision according to need, in all the vicissitudes of life. "All these new and unprecedented rights of man," writes Sidney Webb, "are guaranteed by the proposed Constitution, not merely to a ruling class, a dominant race, a favoured sex, or even a specially insured minority, but universally according to need, without individual insurance premium and without exclusion of sex or colour or social post, to all citizens in city or village, including the backward peoples of nearly 200 tribes¹ throughout the vast continent." Over and above these special rights, the citizens of the U. S. S. R. are guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and the holding of mass meetings and freedom of street processions and demonstrations. But in reality, "the right of association is granted only to professional or social groups which have the government's approval, and attempts to form non-Communist political organisations or even independent Communist factions are promptly suppressed. The expression of unorthodox political or economic views, is barred in schools and universities."

Unprecedented rights of citizens

Political Structure of the U. S. S. R.

According to the constitution of 1923 the U. S. S. R. was a close federation of seven Soviet Republics namely, (1) the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republics (R. S. F. S. R. having

¹According to the Census of 1939 which was taken before the conquest of Poland, the number of citizens in U. S. S. R. is 170,126,000. According to the *Economic Hand-book of the Soviet Union*, published in 1931, the population of the Soviet Union is composed as follows : Russian 52.9, Ukrainians 21.2, White Russians 3.2, Kazakhs 2.7, Uzbeks 2.6, Tartars 2, Jews 1.8, Georgians 1.2, Azerbaijan Turks 1.2, Armenians 1.1 per cent. Other racial and national groups constitute less than one per cent of the total population.

105 million population), (2) the Ukrainian S. S. R. (32 million), (3) the White Russian S. S. R. (5.4 million), (4) the Trans-Caucasian Federation of S. S. Republics, (5) the Turkmen S. S. R. (1.2 million), (6) the Uzbek S. S. R. (5 million), (7) Tabzhik S. S. R. (1.3 million). Under the new Constitution the Soviet Union consists of eleven instead of seven member Republics. Armenia (1.1 million), Georgia (3.1 million), and Azerbaijan (2.8 million) which formed together the Trans-Caucasian Federated Republic have been made separate Republics, and the Kazakh (6.7 million) and Kirghiz (1.3 million) Republics, have also been raised in status and converted from autonomous republics within the R. S. F. S. R. into separate republics.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republics, include seventeen Autonomous Republics, a number of Territories, Provinces, and Autonomous Provinces. The Autonomous Republics are governed by their own Supreme Council and Council of People's Commissars. The purpose of these divisions is to guarantee cultural autonomy of every people.

The Constitution of the U. S. S. R. has got some of the features of federal government, but in reality it is a unitary government.

A unitary government with some features of federalism

The Union or Central Government has power over the following subjects ; foreign relations, treaties, war and peace, admission of new republics, ensurance of the conformity of the Constitutions of the constituent republics with the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., defence and direction of all the armed forces, foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly, establishment of the national economic plans of the U. S. S. R., confirmation of the unified state budget of the U. S. S. R. as well as of the taxes and revenues which go to form the All-Union, the republic and the local budget. administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishments and enterprises and also of trading enterprises of All Union importance ; administration of transport and communications ; direction of the monetary and credit system ; organization of state insurance ; contracting and granting of loans establishment of the fundamental principles for the use of land as well as for the exploitation of its deposits, forests and waters, establishment of the fundamental principles in the domain of education, of public health, establishment of the principles of labour legislation, legislation governing the organization of courts and judicial procedure, criminal and civil codes ; and laws regarding citizenship of the Union. The powers of the Union Government are wider than those of the Federal Government of the U. S. A., Switzerland and the proposed Federal Government of India. The wide scope of national planning, the right of confirming the taxes of the constituent republics, control over

trade, agriculture and industry, regulation of education, public health, and administration of Justice leave very little scope for the constituent republics and tend to make the government a centralised one. By a misuse of the terms 'Sovereignty' the constituent republics are guaranteed "the sovereign rights". But from the theoretical point of view, the government cannot be called a unitary one, because Articles 17 and 18 declare: "The right freely to secede from the U. S. S. R. is reserved to each autonomous republic. The territory of the constituent republics may not be altered without their consent") The Soviet of Nationalities, the Second Chamber of the Legislature, represents the constituent and autonomous republics, autonomous provinces and national regions. The federal tendency, however, is more apparent than real, because according to Article 20 the All-Union law prevails over the law of a constituent republic in case of conflict between the two.

IV. The U. S. S. R. Legislature

The legislature of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic is known as the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. It is the highest organ of state power. It consists of two chambers, the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

Composition
of the
two
chambers

The Council of the Union is elected by the citizens by electoral districts on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 population for a term of four years. The second chamber called the Council of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U. S. S. R. by Union and autonomous republics, autonomous provinces and national regions on the basis of 25 deputies from each Union republic, 11 deputies from each autonomous republic, 5 deputies from each autonomous province and 1 deputy from each national region.

Both the chambers of legislature have equal rights and both enjoy the right to initiate laws. A law is considered approved if adopted by both chambers by a simple majority vote in each. Sessions of both the chambers begin and terminate at the same time. Sessions of the Supreme Council are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council twice a year. Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium at its discretion or on the demand of one of the Union republics. In case of disagreement between the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, the question is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission consisting of equal number of members from each chamber. If the conciliation commission does not come to an agreement upon a decision, or if its decision does not satisfy one of the chambers, the question

Relation
between the
two Houses

is considered for a second time in the chambers. In the event of the two chambers not agreeing upon a decision, the Presidium dissolves the Supreme Council and fixes new elections.

The Supreme Council is too unwieldy a body to exercise real power. It meets for very short periods twice a year and also in case of emergency to receive reports by government officials on such subjects as foreign and domestic policy the progress of the Five-year Plan, the position of the Red Army, to ratify the acts of government and similar other purposes. Much of the real work of legislature is carried out by the Presidium.

The feature which distinguishes the Russian legislature from that of democratic countries like England and the U. S. A. is that the former vests great powers in a body, called the Presidium of the Supreme Council. The Presidium consisting of a chairman, 11 Vice-Chairmen, a secretary and 24 members is elected at a joint session of both chambers. It is accountable to the Supreme Council for all its activities. It (a) convenes sessions of the Supreme Council ; (b) interprets existing laws and promulgates decrees ; (c) dissolves the Supreme Council in case of irreconcilable difference between the two chambers and fixes new elections ; (d) conducts a referendum on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union republics ; (e) rescinds decisions of Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of Union republics in the event that they are not in accordance with the law ; (f) between sessions of the Supreme Council relieves of their duties and appoints People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. at the instance of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. to be subsequently submitted for confirmation by the Supreme Council ; (g) awards decorations and bestows honorary titles ; (h) exercises the right of pardon ; (i) appoints and replaces the supreme command of the armed forces of the U. S. S. R. ; (j) between sessions of the Supreme Council declares a state of war in the event of an armed attack, or in the event of the necessity to fulfil international treaty obligations of mutual defence against aggression ; (k) declares general or partial mobilisation ; (l) ratifies international treaties ; (m) appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives to foreign states ; (n) and accepts the credentials and letters of recall of accredited diplomatic representatives of foreign states.

This long list of functions of the Presidium shows that the functions carried out by the ceremonial head of the State in England, the U. S. A. or France are discharged by the collective body, known as the Presidium. The Constitution of 1936 makes no provision for a president of the Soviet Union. The powers of the Presidium are legislative

Extent of
its real
power

The Presi-
dium of the
Supreme
Council

Nature of
the Presi-
dium

, (issuing decrees), judicial (interpreting existing laws), and executive in character.

Amendment of the Constitution is effected only by decision of the Supreme Council, when adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes in each of its chambers.

Amendment
of the Consti-
tution

✓ V. Electoral System

The franchise of the U. S. S. R. is conferred on the largest number of citizens ever known to history. All citizens of the age of 18 or over, with the exception of only those who are mentally deficient or are deprived by the courts of their civil rights, are entitled to vote. The only other countries where persons of 18 are allowed to vote are Turkey, Argentina and Mexico, but none except Russia allows women of 18 to vote. Many disqualifications, such as anti-social occupation, family relationship to the late Tsar, and membership of a religious order, which were enforced in the first two Constitutions, have been removed now. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all citizens. The total number of persons who recorded their vote in the first election under the new Constitution on the 12th December, 1937, was over 9,11,13,153. It is to be noted that in British India, with a population of 271 millions, only 36 millions are enfranchised ; whereas in the U. S. S. R. with a population of 170 millions, 91 millions, are entitled to vote.

Another remarkable feature about the Russian franchise is that it is regarded as social obligation rather than a right ; hence almost all the voters participated in the election. In the earlier constitutions every 25,000 electors in towns were entitled to elect one representative, whereas in villages every 1,25,000 voters had one representative for the Provincial Congress. Such an inequality between towns and villages has been removed by the new Constitution. Now elections of deputies are direct. Elections to all Soviets of toilers' deputies from the village and city Soviets of toilers' deputies up to and including the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. are carried out directly by the citizens by direct vote. Voting at elections is secret. The right to put forward candidates is secured to social organisations and societies of the toilers, Communist Party organisations, trade unions, Co-operative, Youth organisations and Cultural societies. Every deputy is obliged to render account to the electors of his work and he may at any time be recalled upon decision of a majority of the electors.

VI. The Executive Authority

The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the U. S. S. R. is the Council of People's Commissars. It corresponds to the Cabinet in the other democratic countries. But whereas the Prime Minister selects the other ministers in England, in the U.S.S.R. ministers are chosen by the Supreme Council at a joint session of its two chambers. The Council of People's Commissars is responsible to the Supreme Council, and between sessions of the Supreme Council to the Presidium. Its functions are (a) to co-ordinate and direct the work of the All-union and Union-republic People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R. and of other economic and cultural institutions under its jurisdiction; (b) to take measures to realise the national-economic plan and state budget and to strengthen the credit-monetary system; (c) to take measures to ensure public order, to defend the interests of the state and to safeguard the rights of citizens; (d) to exercise general direction in matters regarding relations with foreign states; (e) to determine the annual contingent of citizens subject to be called for active military service, and to direct the general organisation of the armed forces of the country; and (f) to form, in case of necessity, special committees and central administrations on matters of economy, culture and defence.

The Council of People's Commissars is composed of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen, Chairmen of the State Planning Commission, and of the Soviet Control Commission, the People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R., and of the three Chairmen of the Committee for Purchasing Agricultural Products, of the Committee on Arts and of the Committee for higher education respectively. The People's Commissariats direct the branch of state administration entrusted to them on the entire territory of the U. S. S. R. either directly or through organs appointed by them. Union-republic People's Commissariats direct the branch of state administration entrusted to them as a rule through identically named People's Commissariat of the union-republics, and administer directly only a certain limited number of enterprises according to a list approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. The following People's Commissariats comprise the All-Union People's Commissariats: Defence, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, Railways, Communications, Water Transport, Heavy Industry and Defence Industry. The following People's Commissariats comprise the Union republic People's Commissariats: Food Industry, Light Industry, Timber Industry, Agriculture, State Grain and Livestock Farms, Finance, Home Trade, Home Affairs, Justice, and Health.

The Commission of Soviet Control consists of sixty tried and trusted members of the Communist Party, nominated by the Central Committee of the Party. It is charged with seeing to it that every important decree or directive of the Central Executive Committee i.e., the Council of People's Commissars is actually complied with in every part of the U. S. S. R. It has its own Inspectors, Accountants and other Agents to carry out this purpose. These officers are independent of any local authority. This Commission acts in close conjunction with a Commission of Party Control. Thus, the Party makes itself the real sovereign of the state.

Commission
of Soviet
Control

At present the executive authority has been centralized in the hands of M. Stalin who has become the Prime Minister as well as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in April, 1941. This assumption of direct authority by Stalin is likely to contribute to the efficiency and speedy execution of policy. In presenting the budget the People's Commissar for Finance said in January, 1944 : "After 2½ years of war on an unprecedented scale the Soviet Union is industrially and financially sounder than before. This is due mostly to the national peace-time effort in building powerful industry throughout the succession of Five-year Plans."

VII. Judicial Organisation

The Supreme Court, elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. for a term of five years, is the highest judicial organ of the State. Under the earlier Constitutions, Judges were appointed and removable by the Central Executive Committee. In case of a conflict between the laws of a Constituent Republic and the Union, the Supreme Court could only appeal to the Central Executive Committee to set this right. But now it has been vested with the power of "supervision of the judicial activities of all judicial organs of the U. S. S. R. and of the Constituent Republics." It has original jurisdiction over disputes between Constituent Republics, but it has never yet been called upon to exercise it. It exercises criminal jurisdiction in cases involving either persons of high position or charges of exceptional importance.

The
Supreme
Court

In each Constituent Republic the law courts are divided into People's Courts and Special Courts. The People's Court consists of the People's Judges and two Assessors, and their function is to examine as the First Instance, most of the civil and criminal cases, except the more important ones, some of which are tried at the Regional Courts. The Regional Courts have original as well as appellate jurisdiction. The Judges of the People's Courts and Presidents and Members

The
Lower
Courts

of the Regional Courts are elected for four years by the Soviet of the respective areas.

The Special Courts are (1) the Labour section of the People's Courts, (2) Rural Commissions settling dispute in agrarian cases, (3) Arbitration Committees settling disputes between state organs concerning property rights, (4) Military Tribunals, and (5) Disciplinary Courts which deal with offences and neglect of official duties.

The
Special
Courts

VIII. Position of the Communist Party

The position of the Communist Party has been recognised by Article 126 of the new Constitution. The citizens of the State are ensured the right to unite in the Communist Party alone, which is referred as "the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system" representing "the leading nucleus of all organisations of the working people, both social and state."

Constitutional
position of
the Party

Every organ of administration is always headed by a Party member, who receives instructions not only from the political chief but also from the party chief. In every factory and in every collective farm, there is a Communist cell which watches the technical administration of the factory or the farm, and which receives instructions from the higher organs of the Communist Party. "In this way the members of the Party distributed over the whole mechanism of the State system represent the controlling power which drives the State machine in the direction required by the General Secretary of the Communist Party along the so-called 'General Party Line.' The purity of the Party policy and strict discipline are maintained by means of a special Party Code of Regulations and by systematic purges." The dictatorship of the Communist Party, with its two to three million members in a population of 170 millions, is frankly admitted by the leaders of Soviet Russia. "In the Soviet Union," writes Stalin, "in the land where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in force, no important political or organisational problem is ever decided by our Soviets and other mass organisations, without directives from our Party. In this sense, we may say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is substantially the dictatorship of the Party, as the force which effectively guides the proletariat."

Dictatorship
of the
Party

The questions that arises in this connection is whether the dictatorship of the Party does not mean that dictatorship of Stalin. Like Cromwell in England Stalin repudiates the suggestion that he is a dictator. Sidney and Beatrice Webb also hold that Stalin is not a dictator. They think that in the pattern of the Communist Party,

nature of
Stalin's
dictator-
ship

individual dictatorship has no place, because decisions are always arrived at by discussions among colleagues. But in this discussion, Stalin is the "supreme analyst of situations, personalities and tendencies. Through his analysis he is supreme combiner of many wills."

✓ IX. Problem of Nationalities in the U. S. S. R.

The U. S. S. R. is a multi-national state ; but its character is totally different from that of the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Empire and Austro-Hungary which existed before 1914. These multi-national states aimed at producing unity by suppressing the national characteristics of the subject nationalities. Czarist Russia tried to Russify the Finns, Estonians, Latvians etc. But the U. S. S. R. has promoted the national culture of the different nationalities which make up the state. There are nearly twenty nationalities and over seventy national minorities, each with a language and culture of its own within the borders of the Soviet Union. All the important nationalities are given the status of Union Republic or Autonomous Republic. The Union Republic has got the right to secede from the Union ; but Autonomous Republics do not possess this right. This is due to the fact that the Autonomous Republics are surrendered on all sides by U. S. S. R. territory, and so to concede to them the right of secession would be meaningless. Moreover, an Autonomous Republic has usually such a small population that it can never hope to maintain its existence as an independent state.

Each national group has the right to adopt its own language in the schools and colleges, in their councils and courts of justice and in all official business. Each group is encouraged to give preference to their own nationals as teachers and local officials. Their religious service and social customs are not interfered with. The four Moslem Union Republics of Azerbaijan, Turks, Turkomans, Uzebecks and Tadzhiks in the Soviet Union, enjoy perfect freedom in religion, language and culture. They have their own schools and text-books, their own literature and folk-lore and their own theatres and cinemas. The Soviet authorities have taken particular care in fostering every indigenous industry, in establishing new industries and in developing their mineral resources.

The rights of the different Nationalities are safeguarded by the Council of Nationalities, which enjoys equal power and has equal number with that of the first chamber, the Council of the Union. When the draft constitution was being discussed, there was a proposal to do away with the second chamber. But Stalin opposed the amendment vigorously. He said : "A single-chamber system would be better than a dual-chamber system

if the U. S. S. R. were a single-nation state. But the U. S. S. R. is not a single-nation state. The U. S. S. R., as we know, is a multi-national state. We have a supreme body in which are represented the *common* interests of all the working people of the U. S. S. R. irrespective of nationality. This is the Soviet of the Union. But in addition to common interests, the nationalities of the U. S. S. R. have their *particular, specific* interests, connected with their specific national characteristics. Can these specific interests be ignored? No, they cannot. Do we need a special supreme body to reflect precisely these specific interests? Unquestionably, we do. There can be no doubt that without such a body it would be impossible to administer a multi-national state like the U. S. S. R."

The harmonious relation between the different nationalities in the U. S. S. R. has given rise to an unusually strong state. Hitler thought that his invading forces would be able to break up the multi-national state. But the different nationalities have shown wonderful *cohesion* in the face of the common danger. The recent events in Russia have proved the truth of Stalin's claim that the feeling of mutual distrust among the different nationalities "has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus real fraternal co-operation among the peoples has been established within the system of a single federated state."

Decentralization in U. S. S. R. in 1944

Both the Houses of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. in their sitting on the 1st February, 1944, adopted on M. Molotov's motion a radical change in the constitution. The preamble to the first decree which gives the Union Republics of the U. S. S. R. "powers in the sphere of foreign relations" defines its object as "to extend foreign relations and to strengthen collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and other states." It grants the Union Republics the right "to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude treaties with them." The second decree dealing with the transformation of the U. S. S. R. Commissariat for Defence into the Union Republic People's Commissariats grants the Republics of the U. S. S. R. the right to organize battle units of their own.

The U. S. S. R. has been so long the most centralised federation in the world. The powers assigned to the Union included not only the obvious items of war and peace, defence, international relations, supervision of the constitution, admission of new republics, foreign trade, the national economic plan, banking and credit and

Right of the
Constituent
Republics to
have army
and foreign
relations.

Significance
of the
change

currency, transport law, insurance but also the "establishment of fundamental principles" in the use of land, in education, public health and labour legislation. The Constituent Republics were so long concerned merely with health and education within "the fundamental principles" and with the carrying out of economic plans in conformity with the Plan for the U. S. S. R. as a whole. Now in striking contrast to all federations in the world the Constituent Republics are given full powers to enter into relations with foreign states and make treaties with them. The theory behind the change seems to be that during the past twenty years (from 1923, when the centralization was effected to 1943) the Constituent Republics have advanced socially and industrially to the point at which to-day they are regarded as having come of age. In this stage of development the Republics are assumed to have acquired special interests in the foreign sphere which can only be satisfactorily served by special representation abroad. Such representation need not and, at first at least, doubtless would not be universal but limited to countries which have reciprocal interests. Thus the Ukraine might be represented in Poland and Czechoslovakia, Trans-Caucasia in Turkey and Persia etc. The object of the reform seems to be to render re-incorporation of the Baltic States in the Soviet Union more palatable to those states and to world opinion.

The British Government can win the gratitude of all sections of nationalist opinion in India by offering Dominion Status to India with rights to secede and to have foreign relation, as the U. S. S. R. has granted to its Constituent Republics.

**Lesson for
the British
Government**

CHAPTER XXXV

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Development of the Indian Constitution up to 1858

By the Charter of Queen Elizabeth the East India Company began to trade in India. Gradually the Company began to set up factories, build forts and acquire territories in India. Its affairs were conducted in the three establishments of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, each by a Council of 12 to 16 members under a President. These three became known as Presidencies, because of their government by President of the Council. The President had to take the consent of the Council for every step he took. Each Presidency was independent of others, but all were responsible to the Court of Directors in London. The Company may be said to have grown into a territorial sovereign in 1765, when it received the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa from the Mughal Emperor. Clive worked the Dewani or revenue administration through Indian agents, and left all police and executive business in the hands of the Nawab. This system worked so badly that it had to be given up in 1772, when Warren Hastings actually assumed the functions of Government.

The year 1773 is the starting point of the Indian Constitution. In that year Lord North's Ministry reviewed the Company's Charter by an Act of Parliament and changed its constitution, thus affirming the right of Parliament to control the British possessions in India. This Act is known as Lord North's Regulating Act. It established a Governor-General of Bengal with four Councillors. The Government of Bengal became the Central Government of India. It was to exercise supremacy over the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. It authorised His Majesty to establish by a Charter a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and three judges. The Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to make any Regulation for the conduct of Government and the administration of justice with ultimate sanction of the Home Government. The Governor-General was to be bound by the votes of the majority of his councillors.

There were grave defects in the Act. It did not define what the supremacy of Bengal meant; it allowed the Governor-General to be outvoted and overruled whenever three members of his Council chose to combine against him. Moreover, no body could tell what law was to be administered by the Supreme Court. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court also was not defined.

(Indian
Constitu-
tion before
1772

Beginning
of central-
ised
authority

Vagueness
of the
Regulating
Act

Various Parliamentary enquiries were held and Fox's famous India Bill was introduced. This was defeated in the House of Lords. Then Pitt with a Parliamentary majority at his back passed the Act of 1784. It created the Board of Control to supervise the Indian affairs. It consisted of four Privy Councillors, the Chancellor of Exchequer and one of the Secretaries of State. Its task was to superintend and direct all the acts of the East India Company and it had also the power of approval and disapproval of the policy of the Court of Directors.

Pitt's India Act

All secret orders of the Directors had to be referred to the Board of Control. But the Company reserved the right of appointing certain high officials. Thus, from 1784 to 1858 there was the double government of India by the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. Pitt's India Act also curtailed the number of Governor-General's Councillors from four to three. The control of the Governor-General in Council over the minor Presidencies was enlarged, and was declared to extend to all such points as relate to any transaction with the country powers, or to war or peace or to the application of the revenue or forces of such Presidencies in times of war.

Dual Government, from England

The Act of 1786 empowered the Governor-General to override the majority of the Council and to act in his own responsibility. The Charter Act of 1793 empowered the Governors of Bombay and Madras to override their Councils. Two of the junior members of the Board of Control were no longer required to the Privy Councillors.

The Acts of 1786 and 1793

The act of 1797 reduced the number of ordinary judges to two. An Act of 1807 empowered the Governors and Councilors of Bombay and Madras to make Regulations. The Charter Act of 1813 limited the trading function of the Company and made provision for granting aid to education.

First State grant to education

The Charter Act of 1833 was the most important of all the Acts passed by Parliament with regard to India between 1784 and 1858. The Act changed the title of the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal into the Governor-General-in-Council of India. It declared that the territorial possessions of the Company were held in trust for His Majesty for the service of the Government of India. It deprived the Governors and Councils of Bombay and Madras of their independent powers of law-making, and vested this power in the Governor-General-in-Council of India. It added to the Governor-General's Council for the satisfactory work of codification a fourth member who was to be an English Barrister. This was the germ

Complete Centralisation

Legislative Centralisation

out of which the Indian legislature has developed. The Company was compelled to close its commercial business and it became a purely administrative and political body.

The Charter Act of 1853 provided that the Indian territories were to remain under the Company until 'Parliament should otherwise direct.' The power of appointing high officials was taken away from the Court of Directors and the Indian Civil Service was thrown open to general competition. The Act also enlarged the Legislative Council by adding some new members.

Loss of patronage by Directors The Act of 1858 transferred the Government of India from the Company to the Crown acting through the Secretary of State in Council. The Governor-General became the Viceroy. **Assumption of power by Crown** The post of the Secretary of State for India was created. All the powers that were formerly exercised by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were transferred to the Secretary of State-in-Council. The Council of the Secretary of State was to consist of fifteen members of whom eight were to be appointed by the Crown and seven elected by the Directors of the East India Company.

Growth of Legislative Councils in India (1833-1919)

There was no special machinery for law-making in India before the year 1833. The Executive Government used to make Regulations before that date. The germ from which all the special Legislative Councils may be said to trace their descent is to be found in the Charter Act of 1833. By that Act a special Law Member was added to the Governor-General's Council. He was not a member of the Executive Council; but when he sat in the Executive Council, it became a law-making body. That is to say, he sat with other Councillors for legislative business only. Henceforward the Regulations became known as laws, because they were enacted, not by an executive body, but by a special legislative body. The same Act abolished the regulation-making authority of the Bombay and Madras Governments. But these two Governments complained that all the members of the Council belonged to Bengal and as such had no local knowledge of Madras and Bombay.

Beginning of Indian Legislature **Legislative Centralisation, 1833** **Enlargement of the Council, 1853** ✓ To remove this defect the Legislative Council was enlarged in 1853 to twelve members. The Law Member became a full member of the Executive Council. Besides the six members of the Governor-General's Council, including the Governor-General, six "additional" members were to be called in. When the Executive Council was thus to be enlarged, it would be called the Legislative Council. The six

“additional” members were to be the Chief Justice and another judge of the Bengal Supreme Court, and four officials appointed by the provincial Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Agra. But this arrangement too suffered from some serious defects. The British Indian Association of Bengal, the Bombay Association and the Native Association of Madras as well as the Press in India had demanded in 1853 the inclusion of some Indians in the Legislative Council. The Act did not make any provision for meeting their demand. The Mutiny showed the danger of the total exclusion of Indians. Moreover, it was realised that a single Legislative Council could not handle matters with adequate information and experience of so large a territory like British India. Then again the Executive authority was highly displeased with the Legislative Council, because it arrogated to itself the right of inquiry into and redress of grievances. ✓

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 tried to remove these defects. This Act has been called ‘the Primary Charter’ of the present Indian Legislatures, because it admitted for the first time the principle of non-official representation. The } ^{Indian Councils Act of 1861} ✓
 Act provided that the Legislative Council was to consist of the Executive Council with not less than six or more than twelve “added members” nominated by the Governor-General for two years. Of these “added members,” at least half were to be non-official persons. The functions of the new Legislative Council were limited strictly to the consideration and enactment of legislative measures. It had no deliberative or taxative power. It could not enquire into grievances, call for information or examine the conduct of the Executive. Any measure affecting the Public Debt or Public Revenue, foreign relations, discipline of the army and navy or religion could not be introduced without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. The Governor-General could veto any law passed by the Council. He was empowered in cases of emergency to make ordinances for the peace and good government of the British provinces in India. Restrictions on the powers of the Legislature

The power of law-making which had been taken away from the Government of Madras and Bombay by the Act of 1833 was now restored to them, their Councils being similarly enlarged for legislative purposes. The Governor-General in Council was empowered to set up Legislative Councils in other } ^{Provincial Legislatures}
 Provinces. Not less than one-third of the members of any Council, so set up were to be non-officials. Legislative Councils were established accordingly in Bengal in 1862, in the United Provinces in 1886, in the Punjab and Burma in 1898, and in the Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905, in Bihar and Orissa in 1912 and in C. P. in 1913.

The years between 1861 and 1892 saw the birth of Nationalism

in India. The spread of English education, the researches into Indian history and culture, the establishments for facilities for transport and communication, the religious reforms, as well as the trend of events in Europe contributed to the growth of national sentiment in India. Political associations, both in India and in England (like the East Indian Association of Dadabhoy Naoroji) demanded that the elected representatives of the peoples should be included in the Legislative Councils. (The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and the educated public of India began to make agitation for an increased share in the legislation and administration of the country.)

Lord Dufferin realised that something must be done to meet the demands of the educated public. In 1888 he recommended the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and the investing of greater powers to them. The result of the agitation was the India Councils Act of 1892. It made a limited and indirect provision for the use of the method of election in filling up some of the

India
Councils
Act of
1892

non-official seats. The term election was not used in the statute; the process was described as nomination made on the recommendation of certain bodies: In the case of the Indian Legislative Council five more "additional" members were brought in, one being recommended by the non-official members of each of the four Provincial Councils, and one by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce.

✓ The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 created a situation which necessitated further extension of legislative bodies. The development of a new conception of the British Empire, too, was responsible for the next forward step in constitutional advance in India. Lord Irwin points out that "the Morley-Minto reforms was the work of the Parliament that extended responsible self-government to the erstwhile Boer Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State."

Political
unrest

The Morley-Minto Act of 1909 increased the number of "additional members" in the Central Legislative Council from 16 to 60. Not more than 28 of them were to be officials. The Governor-General nominated five non-officials. These 33 nominated members constituted an official bloc and 27 were elected. The elective principle was for the first time legally recognised. The electorates constituted for the Indian Legislative Council were the following:—(a) The non-official members of the provincial Legislative Councils elected 13 members in all; (b) the larger land-holders in six provinces, elected one member each; (c) the Muslims of approved standing in six provinces, one member each; (d) the European Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta and Bombay, one member each.

Morley-
Minto Act
of 1909

The official majority was abandoned in the local Councils and their size was also increased. The functions of the Councils were greatly increased. The Act of 1892 gave members power to discuss budget but not to move resolutions about it. According to the new Act, not only the budget, but on all matters of general public importance general resolutions might henceforth be proposed and divisions taken. The resolutions were to be expressed and to operate as recommendations to the Executive Government. Any resolution might be disallowed by the head of the Government acting as President of the Council without giving any reason. At the same time the right to ask questions to the Government was enlarged by allowing the members who asked the original question to put a supplementary one. The chief defect of the Morley-Minto Constitution was that the existence of the official bloc raised racial prejudices in the hearts of Indian members, whose resolutions were often thrown out by the silent phalanx of the Government. Moreover, the Councils represented so much of sectional interests that there were very few members to represent the general interests of the people.

✓ III. Dyarchy in the Provinces

The next step in the constitutional development of India was taken in 1919, when the Montague-Chelmsford Constitution was framed by the British Parliament. The basic principles of the Constitution were, in the words of the Montague-Chelmsford Report : “(1) There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them from outside control. (2) Provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible government should be taken. Some measures of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit. This involves at once giving the provinces the largest measure of independence, legislative, administrative, and financial, of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities. (3) The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament. The Indian Legislative Council, however, should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased. (4) In proportion as the fore-going changes take effect, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and Provincial Government should be relaxed.”

Principles
of the Con-
stitution of
1919

The Constitution of 1919 divided the functions of Government into Central Subjects and Provincial Subjects. The following

Central and Provincial Subjects were the most important Central Subjects (Military matters, foreign affairs, relations with the Indian States, tariffs, and customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, income-tax, currency, coinage and public debt, commerce and shipping, civil and criminal law, control of cultivation and manufacture of opium and sale of opium for export, geological, botanical, archaeological, zoological, and meteorological surveys, census and statistics, copyright and the Public Service Commission). The most important Provincial Subjects were—Local Self-Government and local administration and public health, education, public works and irrigation, land revenue administration, famine relief, agriculture, forests, Police, prisons and administration of justice.

The executive government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, U P, C P, the Punjab, the N W F Province, Bombay, Madras and Burma consisted of two halves. One part consisted of the Governor and his Executive Council, the other part, of the Governor and his ministers. The members of the Executive Council were nominated by the Crown, while the Ministers were selected by the Governor from amongst the members of the Provincial Legislature. The Governor in his Executive Council administered certain subjects known as "Reserved Subjects", and was responsible for them to the Central Government and ultimately to Parliament. The Governor in his ministry dealt with the "Transferred Subjects".

The members of the Executive Council were not responsible to the Legislature, while the Ministers were responsible to it. This division of Government into two halves was known as Dyarchy. The Reserved Subjects were Administration of Justice, Police, Irrigation and Canals, Drainage and Embankments, Water Storage and Water Power, Land Revenue Administration, including assessment and collection of Land Revenue, Land Improvement and Agricultural Loans, Famine Relief, Control of Newspapers, Books and Printing Presses, Prisons and Reformatories, Borrowing money on credit of the Province, Forests, except in Bombay and Burma, Factory inspection, Settlement of Labour disputes, Industrial Insurance and Housing. The Transferred Subjects were—Local Self-Government e.g., matters relating to the constitution and powers of Municipal Corporation and District Boards, Public Health, Sanitation and Medical Administration, including Hospitals and Asylums and provision for Medical education, Education of Indians, excepting certain universities and similar institutions, Public Works, including Roads, Bridges and Municipal Tramways, but excluding irrigation, Agriculture and Fisheries,

Co-operative Societies ; Excise ; Forests in Bombay and Burma only ; Development of Industries, including Industrial Research and Technical Education.

(The Governor was responsible to the Governor-General for the good government of the Province.) He was assisted in the discharge of his duties by the Executive Council and the Ministers. The Executive Council, over ^{Position of the Governor} which the Governor used to preside, decided on the line of general policy and all matters of importance relating to the Reserved Subjects. Finance was in the hand of an Executive Councillor, and through the control of finance the Executive Council could exercise a general control over the Subjects under the charge of Ministers. The Governor was ordinarily guided by the opinion of majority in the Council, but whenever he thought that the safety, tranquillity or interests of his province or of any part thereof was essentially affected, he could, by order in writing, adopt, suspend or reject the particular measure. Section 52 of the Act provided that in relation to Transferred Subjects, the Governor should be guided by the advice of his Ministers, "unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice." The Governor was not bound to consult the ministers collectively. Some Governors used to hold separate meetings of the Executive Council and the Ministers. But in Bengal, joint meetings were held from 1931 onwards. "The Bengal Ministers," writes Sir B. K. Singh Roy, "never felt that important questions affecting the reserved side of Government were really kept away from them. Cases involving new expenditure were always placed before the joint meeting for decision. In Bengal both sides of the Government tried to share each other's responsibility without any distinction or reservation."

The Ministers served two masters—the Governor and the Legislative Council. The Ministers had to pilot through the legislature new measures of taxation, but the additional revenue was often spent on strengthening the Police ^{Position of Ministers} force and on fighting terrorism. This made ministers somewhat unpopular in some provinces. In Bengal and the Central Provinces the Swaraj Party succeeded in suspending Dyarchy for some time by refusing to vote for the salary of Ministers. The Ministers had often to depend on the nominated bloc in the legislature.

The Act provided that at least 70 per cent of the

members of a Legislative Council should be elected members ; not more than 20 per cent to be nominated officials and the rest to be nominated non-officials. The Legislative Council had the power to discuss the estimated annual expenditure and revenue of the Province, and to vote on the demands for grants. But there were certain limitations on the power ;

Provincial Legislature (1) In the case of a demand relating to a Reserved Subject, the Governor had the power of over-ruling the decision of the Council, if he certified that the expenditure provided for in the demand

Its financial power was essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject. (2) If the Legislative Council rejected a demand for a grant for a Transferred Subject, the money could not lawfully be paid unless it was a case of emergency. In cases of emergency, however, the Governor had the power of authorising such expenditure as might, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province, or for the carrying out of any department. This power had never been exercised by any of the Provincial Governors.

(3) The Council could not vote on or even discuss the following subjects : (a) Provincial contributions to the Central Government ; (b) interest and Sinking Fund Charges on loans ; (c) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State-in-Council ; (d) expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law ; (e) salaries of the judges of the High Court of the Province and of the Advocate General.

The Provincial legislature had power to make laws for the Province. But it had no power to make any law affecting any act of the Central Legislature or of Parliament. It

Its legislative power could not, without the previous sanction of Governor-General, make or take into consideration any law

(a) imposing or authorising the imposition of any new tax unless the tax was a tax scheduled as exempted from this provision by rules made under this Act ; or (b) affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties, or any other tax or duty for the time being in force by the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council for the general purpose of the Government of India ; or (c) affecting maintenance of the discipline of any part of His Majesty's naval, military or air forces ; or (d) affecting the relations of the Government with foreign Princes or States ; or (e) regulating any central subject ; or (f) regarding any provincial subject which had been declared by rules under this Act to be either in whole or in part, subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature, in respect of any matter to which such declaration applied ; or (g) affecting any power expressly reserved to the

Governor-General-in-Council by any law for the time being in force.

The fundamental defect of a dyarchical constitution is that it divides government into water-tight compartments. The government of a country is an organic whole. Various departments of government must work together harmoniously, and one department is sure to influence the other. But in Dyarchy, subjects which are vitally related to one another were divided into Reserved and Transferred Subjects. Sir K. V. Reddy of Madras said that he was Minister of Agriculture, but how could one effect improvement in agriculture without Irrigation, which, being a Reserved Subject, was not amenable to his control. The Minister had no control over operations under the Agricultural Loans Act. He was responsible for industrial development, but he had no control over factories, electricity, boilers, gas or welfare of labour. Such a division of governmental functions is ridiculous. The Ministers were in charge of the nation-building departments. But they had to depend on the favour of the Finance Member for the necessary funds. The Executive Councillor in charge of Finance looked more to the interests of the Reserved Subjects than to those of the Transferred Subjects. The Legislative Council and the electorate formed the habit of looking upon the Ministers as the 'government's men.' The Ministers usually got the support of the nominated members, who formed the official bloc. So they did not depend on the votes of the elected members in the same degree as they should have depended. Above all, as Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha pointed out before the Reforms Enquiry Committee, Dyarchy failed to evoke that faith which is the foundation of government.

The Constitution of 1919 was avowedly transitional in character. Its object was to provide training to Indians in the western system of government. It must be admitted that the Constitution succeeded in imparting sound training in the art of government to many people. During the period of a little over 16 years (1921-1937) as many as 93 Ministers and 121 Executive Councillors held office in different parts of India. Nearly half the Executive Councillors, all the Ministers and a few Governors like Lord Sinha, the Nawab of Chateri, Sir K. V. Reddy, Mr. Tambe, and Mr. Raghavendra Rao were Indians. Many persons were thus brought in touch with the problems of administration and with the difficulties of a responsible form of government. The constitution taught the art of commending ministerial policy to private members. It enlarged the electorate and gave substantial elected majorities in the Provincial Legislatures. The proceedings of Legislative Councils attracted popular interest as those of their predecessors

had never done. The Council not only educated the electorate in democratic habits but also changed the angle of vision of the officials, who pondered over the probable reaction on the mind of the people before taking any new step.

IV. Present position of the Central Government of India

The Act of 1919 did not introduce any degree of responsibility in the Central Government. The same feature continues even to-day. But the relations of the Centre with the autonomous Provinces are determined by the jurisdiction listed in Schedule Seven of the Government of India Act, 1935. The legislative and fiscal relations between the Provinces and the Centre are now clearly demarcated. The Political Department had been under the jurisdiction of the Executive Council of the Governor-General up to the 31st of March, 1937 ; but from the 1st of April 1937, it has been put under the exclusive charge of the Viceroy as representative of the Crown in its relations with the Indian States. Sub-section 4 of section 313 of the Government of India Act, 1935, lays down : "Any requirement in this Act that the Governor-General shall exercise his individual judgment with respect to any matter shall not come into force until the establishment of the Federation, but, notwithstanding that Part II of this Act has not come into operation, the following provisions of this Act, that is to say, (a) the provisions requiring the prior sanction of the Governor-General for certain legislative proposals ; (b) the provisions relating to broadcasting ; (c) the provisions relating to directions to, and principles to be observed by the Federal Railway Authority ; and (d) the provisions relating to Civil Services to be recruited by the Secretary of State, shall have effect in relation to defence, ecclesiastical affairs, external affairs and the tribal areas as they have effect in relation to matters or functions with respect to, or in the exercise of, which the Governor-General is by the provisions of this Act for the time being in force required to act in his discretion and any reference in any of the provisions of this Act for the time being to the Special Responsibilities of the Governor-General shall be construed as a reference to the Special Responsibilities which he will have when Part II of this Act comes into operation." Though the Federation has not been established, yet the Federal Public Service Commission and the Federal Court have been established and the Federal Railway Authority may be set up according to the provisions of Section 318 of the Constitution Act of 1935. The Central Legislature, elected under the constitution of 1919, is still functioning.

V. The Central Executive before 1939

The Central Executive Government in India is vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governor-General as well as the members of his Council are appointed by His Majesty. They are wholly responsible to the Parliament and not to the Indian Legislature. No vote of the Indian Legislature can bring about a change in the composition of the Central Executive. In constitutional theory, therefore, the Government of India is a subordinate official government under His Majesty's Government.

The Governor-General-in-Council

Besides the Governor-General, there were seven members in Governor-General's Executive Council. (1) The Army Member or the Commander-in-Chief. (2) The Home Member, who is in charge of the All-India Civil Services, and of such subjects as police, prisons and judicial matters so far as these subjects are the concern of the Central Government. (3) The Law Member is the head of the Legislative Department, and is responsible for the drafting of Government Bills. (4) Finance Member. (5) The Commerce Member not only controlled commerce but also was in charge of the Railway Department. (6) Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands. (7) Member in charge of Industries and Labour. The Governor-General himself is in charge of the Foreign and Political Departments. The office of the Law Member has been invariably filled by some eminent Indian Lawyer, and that of the Finance Member by a member of the British Treasury. Three of the members of the Executive Council must be persons who have been for at least ten years in service of the Crown in India.

Members of the Executive Council

The Governor-General appoints a member of the Executive Council as Vice-President, and the Council meets at such places as he fixes. He has got the right to make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in his Executive Council. The Governor-General is ordinarily bound by the opinion and decision of the majority of the members present in his Council. But if he thinks that the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India is concerned, he can override his Council.

There are only two slight points of similarity between the Cabinet and the Executive Council of the Governor-General. First, like the Cabinet, the Executive Council consists of the heads of the most important departments who take counsel together and determine the general policy. Secondly, like the members of the English Cabinet, the members of the Executive Council sit in the Legislature and lead and guide it. The position of

Comparison of the Executive Council with the British Cabinet

the Finance Member is somewhat analogous to that of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

But the Governor-General's Executive Council lacks the well-known characteristics of the Cabinet System. It has neither the homogeneity and solidarity nor the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. The members of the British Cabinet are responsible to Parliament. They must resign as soon as they lose the confidence of the House of Commons. But neither the Legislative Assembly, nor the Council of State has any power to remove any member of the Executive Council from his office. Then again, the members of the British Cabinet ordinarily belong to one political party, while the members of the Executive Council belong to different parties or to no party at all. "In the case of the Governor-General's Executive Council," says Sir T. B. Saprú, "the Governor-General may be a Conservative, one member may hold advanced views on internal politics, while another may hold views of just the opposite character. Besides, it may very well happen that the Governor-General has to deal with members in the selection and appointment of whom he has no hand. Theoretically, it is true that the responsibility of the Governor-General's Executive Council is collective and it must act as a united whole in relation to the outside world. But in point of fact it may very frequently happen that the decision of the Governor-General-in-Council represents the views of only a section of it."

A member of the Executive Council may differ with the decision of the majority of his colleagues on an important issue and may resign his office. But unlike the Cabinet member he has no electorate to go to. His resignation cannot alter the composition of the Executive Council. Then again, the English Cabinet is unhampered by any outside control, but the policy of the Executive Council may be dictated by the Secretary of State for India.*

Control of the Secretary of State

Powers and Functions of the Governor-General

The Governor-General of India holds "the most responsible as it is the most picturesque and distinguished office in the overseas service of the British Crown." The Governor-General in the self-governing Dominions performs only some social and benevolent functions, but the Governor-General of India takes a direct share in the government of the country. He is responsible to the Secretary of State for the good government, safety and tranquillity of British India. He is bound to

Position of the Governor-General

obey all such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State. The Governor-General is not subject (1) to the original jurisdiction of any High Court by reason of anything counselled, ordered or done by

him in his public capacity only, (2) to the original criminal jurisdiction of any High Court in respect of any offence not being treason or felony, (3) to the liability of being arrested or imprisoned in any suit or proceeding in any High Court acting in the exercise of its original jurisdiction.

The Governor-General enjoys some powers as the representative of the Crown in India. The most important of these powers is the exercise of the Royal Prerogative to grant pardons to offenders convicted by Courts of Justice. These powers are conferred by the Royal Warrant appointing the Governor-General. According to Section 3 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Governor-General and His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relation with Indian States may be two different persons. At present both of these offices are held by one and the same person.

Most of his other powers are statutory in character. These powers may be classified under three heads—administrative, financial and legislative. His most important administrative powers are : (1) To appoint the Vice-President of his Council, Council Secretaries, and the President of his Council of State. If in any matter he thinks that the safety, tranquillity and interests of British India, or any part thereof, are essentially affected, he may override the decision of his Council. (2) "The rules for the transaction of Council business, the allocation of portfolios among its members, and the limitation of their scope, are entirely subject to his final decision". (3) He has the power to summon meetings of the Legislature, prorogue the sessions and to dissolve either chamber of the Legislature, or to extend its ordinary term and after such dissolution to call for a general election.

Section 67-A (2) of the Act of 1919 prescribes the power of the Governor-General with regard to financial matters. According to it, no proposal for the appropriation of any revenue or moneys for any purpose shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. He can with the assent of the Council restore grants refused by the Assembly and on his sole initiative authorise such expenditure as he thinks to be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

The principal powers of the Governor-General with regard to legislation are the following : (1) His previous sanction is necessary for the introduction, at any meeting of the Indian Legislature, of any measure affecting (a) the public debt or revenues of India or imposing any charge on the revenues of India ; or (b) the religion or

religious rites and usages of any class of British subjects in India ; or (c) the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's Military, Naval or Air Forces ; or (d) the relations of Government with foreign Princes or States ; (2) any measure, regulating any Provincial subject, or any part of a Provincial subject, which has not been declared by rules under this Act to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature, or (3) repealing or amending any Act of a Local Legislature ; or (4) repealing or amending any Act or Ordinance made by the Governor-General.

The Governor-General can insist on the passing of legislation rejected by either or both Chambers by certifying that such passage is "essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof" (Section 67-B). It should be noticed here that the inclusion of the word "interests" makes the power of the Governor-General very wide. The Governor-General certified under this Section the Princes' Protection Bill of 1922 and the Finance Bill raising the salt duty in 1923. If Section 67-B gives him the positive power of law-making, Sections 68 and 81 empowers him to exercise a negative control on the Indian Legislature. He may withhold his assent to any Bill, Central or Provincial or reserve such Bill for His Majesty's pleasure. Under Section 72 he has powers in an emergency, without consulting Legislature, to legislate by Ordinance having effect for not more than six months.

Scope of
certifying
power

Veto power

VII. The Indian Legislature

Technically speaking, the Indian Legislature consists of the Governor-General and two Chambers, namely, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. But ordinarily, the term Indian Legislature signifies the two chambers only. The Legislative Assembly now, after the separation of Burma, consists of 141 members, of whom 102 are elected (including one member to represent Berar, who though technically nominated, is appointed on the result of election held in Berar). Of the 39 nominated members, 20 are official members and 19 are nominated non-officials.* The official members include most of the members of the Governor-General's Council, important members of the Government of India's Secretariat and the nominated representatives of the different Provincial Governments. The nominated non-officials include the re-

Composition
of the
Legislative
Assembly

*Of the non official elected members Bengal sends 17, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces 16 each, the Punjab 12, B. & O. 12, C. P. & Berar 6, Assam 4, Delhi 1, Ajmer-Merwar 1, the N.-W. F. P. 1 = 102.

representatives of the Depressed classes, of the Indian Christians, of the Anglo-Indian community, of labour interests, etc. 48 out of the 102 seats filled by election are "non-Muhammadan" general constituencies, whether rural or urban. 30 seats are reserved for the Muhammadans, 2 for the Sikhs, 9 for the Europeans, 7 for the Land-holders and 4 for Indian Commerce, 1 from Delhi and 1 from Ajmer-Merwar are elected by non-communal constituencies.

The term for which the members are generally elected is three years. But the Governor-General can extend the period or dissolve the Assembly at any time he likes. The President of the Assembly is elected by its own members.

*Term of
life*

The Council of State consists of 58 members of whom 32 are elected and 26 nominated; of the nominated members 12 are officials and 14 non-officials. Franchise is extremely restricted for the Council of State. "Property qualifications have been pitched so high as to secure the representation of wealthy land-owners and merchants; previous experience in a Central or Provincial Legislature, service in the chair of a Municipal Council, membership of a University Senate, and similar tests of personal standing and experience in affairs qualify for a vote." The President for the Council of State is nominated by the Governor-General. Its life extends for five years, but it may be dissolved at any time by the Governor-General.

*The Council
of State*

The Indian Legislature has power to make laws for all persons, courts, places, and things within British India for all subjects of His Majesty and servants of the Crown within other parts of India and for all Indian subjects of His Majesty without and beyond, as well as within British India.

*Jurisdiction
of Indian
Legislature*

This wide power of the Indian Legislature is restricted by certain other provisions of the Act. The Indian Legislature cannot, without being expressly authorised by an Act of Parliament, make any law repealing or affecting any Act of Parliament passed after 1860, or any Act of Parliament enabling the Secretary of State to raise money in the United Kingdom for India; "nor can it make any law affecting the authority of Parliament or any laws affecting the written Constitution of Great Britain whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of the United Kingdom, or affecting the sovereignty or the dominion of the Crown over any part of British India. Nor has the Indian Legislature power, without the previous approval of the Secretary of State-in-Council, to make any law

*Restrictions
on the
powers
of the
Indian
Legislature*

empowering any court other than a High Court to pass a sentence of death on any of his Majesty's subjects born in Europe or abolishing any High Court."

The previous sanction of the Governor-General is required for the introduction of any measure affecting (a) the public debt or revenues of India ; (b) religion or religious rites or usages of any class of British subjects in India , (c) the discipline of maintenance of any part of His Majesty's Military, Naval or Air forces ; (d) the relations of the Government with foreign princes or states ; (e) any Provincial Subject which has been declared by rules to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature ; (f) any Act of a Local Legislature ; (g) any Act or Ordinance made by the Governor-General.

According to the Order in Council of the 18th December, 1936, questions may be asked and resolutions may be moved affecting foreign relations, or relation with States in India, or relating to the affairs of such States, with the consent of the Governor-General in his discretion. Formerly, there was absolute restriction on questions and resolutions of such matters.

The Governor-General has power to certify, when either chamber of the Indian Legislature refuses leave to introduce, or fails to pass in a form recommended by him, any Bill, that the passage of the Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, or any part thereof. It is to be noted here that the Bill so certified would be taken as an Act of the Indian Legislature, though both the chambers were against its passing into law. The Governor-General can veto or withhold his assent from Bills passed by the Indian Legislature. He can promulgate Ordinances for the peace and good government of India for a period of not more than six months.

The Indian Legislature has a limited control over the finances of the Government of India. It has got no control over the non-votable items, which are authorised by the Governor-General-in-Council without being voted in the Assembly or in the Council of State. The non-votable items are :—(1) Interest and sinking fund charges on loans ; (2) Expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law ; (3) Salaries and pensions payable to or to the dependents of (a) persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State-in-Council ; (b) Chief Commissioners and Judicial Commissioners ; (c) persons appointed before the 1st day of April, 1924, by the Governor-General-in-Council or by a local Government to services or posts classified by rules under

the Act as superior services or posts ; and (4) Sums payable to any person who is or has been in the Civil Service of the Crown in India under any order of the Secretary of State in Council, of the Governor-General in Council or of a Governor, made upon an appeal made to him in pursuance of rules made under the Act. (5) Expenditure classified by the order of the Governor-General-in-Council as (a) ecclesiastical ; (b) political ; (c) defence or military expenditure. Though this last mentioned item is non-votable, yet it was usual for the Governor-General to give directions which enabled Army expenditure as a whole to be decreased by the Legislative Assembly, though no vote on it could be taken. By virtue of the Order in Council, dated the 18th December, 1936, and the message of the Governor-General on the 5th February, 1937, the following heads of expenditure have been declared to be open to discussion : (a) Interest and sinking fund charges on loans ; (b) Expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law ; (c) Salaries and pensions payable to persons or to dependents of persons appointed by or with the approval of his Majesty, and Chief Commissioners and Judicial Commissioners ; (d) Any grants for purposes connected with the administration of any areas in the Provinces which are, for the time being, Excluded Areas ; (e) Expenditure classified by order of the Governor-General-in-Council as ecclesiastical, external affairs, defence or relating to tribal areas ; (f) Expenditure of the Governor-General in discharging his functions with regard to matters with respect to which he is required by provisions of the Constitution Act of 1935, to act in his discretion ; (g) Any other expenditure declared by the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, for the time being in force, to be charged on Revenues of the Federation.

As regards votable expenditure, proposals are usually made in the form of demands for grants. These demands are submitted to the Assembly alone, and not to the Council of State. The annual statement of estimated revenues and expenditure is presented to both the Chambers simultaneously, and in both discussion of main principles is permitted. The Finance Bill, which is the annual statutory authority for most of the Central taxation, comes before both the Houses, which have equal power in dealing with it.

The Assembly may assent or refuse assent to any demand, or reduce its amount. If, however, the Assembly declines to vote a demand or reduce its amount, the Governor-General-in-Council may restore it, provided he is satisfied that it is essential to the discharge of his responsibility. The Government of India then acts as though the demand had received the assent of the Legislative Assembly. The Governor-General has frequently exercised this power of "restoration" of a

rejected demand for a grant. The Governor-General has also the power to pass the Finance Bill by certification.

The Central Executive is not responsible to the Indian Legislature. But the Legislature exercises direct and indirect influence on the Executive. Thus the Simon Commission observe—"It (the influence) has been directly exercised in three ways : Firstly, through putting questions to Government and the moving of resolutions. Secondly, through the financial power which the Assembly possesses over votable items in the Budget. Thirdly, through the work of Standing Committees." As regards indirect influence the Commission remark : "It is important to remember that the existence of a popularly elected legislature not only operates to amend Government measures after their introduction, but has much effect in deciding what measures should be introduced. Again, existence of a body of unofficial persons with powers of interpellation sets up in the administration itself a spirit of self-criticism and a desire to avoid occasion for censure."

The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State enjoy equal and co-ordinate powers except in the fact that proposals for demand of grant are made only in the Assembly. The Council of State has been designed to be one of the most powerful second chambers of the world. As it enjoys much power and at the same time is constituted on different basis from that of the Assembly, conflicts between the two chambers may naturally arise. The Government of India Act and the rules made under it provide for three methods of settling differences between the two Houses. These are (1) joint committees, (2) joint conferences and (3) joint sittings. "The first is a means of forestalling differences and expediting the passage of a particular Bill. The adoption of this procedure requires a formal resolution in each chamber, and each nominates an equal number of members. The second means is to be used when a difference of opinion has arisen. At a joint conference each chamber is represented by an equal number of members, but no decision is taken. The results of a conference are to be looked for in the subsequent proceedings of either or both chambers. The case is different where the third means is adopted. Where the originating and the revising chambers have failed to reach agreement within six months of the passing of the Bill by the originating

chamber, it rests with the Governor-General, in his discretion, to convene a joint sitting of both chambers, at which those present deliberate and vote upon the Bill in the shape given to it by the originating House, and on the outstanding amendments. The decision there taken is deemed to be the decision of both chambers"—(Simon Commission Report).

VIII. The Control Exercised by British Parliament before 1935

The Government of India Act, 1919 specifically reserved certain powers to the Crown. These powers could not be affected or modified by any law-making power vested either in the Secretary of State or the Governor-General-in-Council. The most important of these powers were the following:—(1) A Bill passed by the certificate of the Governor-General or a Governor could not come into effect without the signification of the assent of His Majesty in Council. The Governor-General might reserve a Provincial Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure without which it could have no validity. The power of veto was reserved to the Crown both in regard to the Acts of the Central and Local Legislatures. (2) The Crown made the following important appointments:—Auditor of the Accounts of the Secretary of State-in-Council, the High Commissioner for India, the Governor-General, the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Governors, the members of a Governor's Executive Council, permanent Chief Justices, Judges of High Courts and Advocates-General. (3) The Crown could establish new High Courts and disallow any order of the Governor-General-in-Council altering the limits of Jurisdiction of High Courts.

✓ The powers enumerated above were exercised by the Crown-in-Council, that is, by the Cabinet. There are other important matters in which the control was exercised by the Crown-in-Parliament, that is, through the Secretary of State, who is a member of the British Cabinet. The Secretary of State for India is the immediate agent of Parliament for the discharge of its responsibilities in Indian affairs. The Government of India Act prescribed his powers and so defined the region within which he might be held to account by Parliament. He was authorised by the Act to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which related to the Government or the revenues of India; and the Governor-General, and through

Control
vested in
the Crown

Control
exercised by
the Crown
or by the
Secretary of
State-in-
Council

him the provincial Governments, were required to pay due obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State. "These powers", stated the Simon Commission, "are exercised to an extent, very much less than literal interpretation of the Act would warrant... ..The essential process of delegation has gone on intermittently for many years before the reforms, but the policy underlying the Act of 1919 gave it a strong impetus. Delegation, it will be understood, differs from a statutory Devolution of Powers, in that it does not relieve the Secretary of State from his responsibility to Parliament.

The control of the Secretary of State was greatly relaxed over the Provincial Transferred Subjects. It was laid down in Section

Limitation
of powers
of the
Secretary of
State

19A that the Secretary of State would exercise control over the Transferred Subjects only for the following purposes : — (1) To safeguard the administration of Central Subjects ; (2) to decide questions arising between two provinces, in cases where the provinces concerned fail to arrive at any agreement ; (3) to safeguard Imperial interests ; (4) to determine the position of the Government of India in respect of questions arising between India and other parts of the British Empire ; (5) to safeguard the due exercise and performance of any powers and duties possessed by or imposed on the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State-in-Council under or in connection with or for the purpose of the following provisions of the Act, namely, Section 29A, Section 30 (1A), part VIIA of any rules made by or with the sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council.

The previous sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council was necessary (1) for the creation of any new or the abolition of any existing permanent post, or the increase or reduction of pay drawn by the incumbent of any permanent post if the post in either case was one which would ordinarily be held by a member of an all-India service, or to the increase or reduction of the cadre of an all-India service ; (2) for the creation of a permanent post on a maximum rate of pay exceeding Rs. 1200 a month or the increase of the maximum pay of a sanctioned post an amount exceeding Rs. 1200 a month ; (3) for the creation of a temporary post with pay exceeding Rs. 4000 a month or to the extension beyond a period of two years of a temporary post (or deputation) with pay exceeding Rs. 1200 a month ; (4) for the grant to any Government servant or to the family or other deceased Government servant of an allowance, pension or gratuity which was not admissible under rules made or for the time being in force under Section 96B of the Act except in the following cases : (a) Compassionate gratuities to the families of Government servant left in indigent circumstances, subject to such annual

Cases in
which the
previous
sanction
of the
Secretary of
State was
necessary

limit as the Secretary of State-in-Council may prescribe ; (b) pensions or gratuities to Government servants wounded or otherwise injured while employed in Government service or to the families of Government servants dying as the results of wounds and injuries sustained while employed in such service, granted in accordance with such rules as have been or may be laid down by the Secretary of State-in-Council in this behalf ; (5) to any expenditure on the purchase of imported stores or stationary otherwise than in accordance with such rules as may be made in this behalf by the Secretary of State-in-Council. The control of the Provincial Legislature over the Transferred Subjects was complete subject to the restrictions noted above.

Over the Reserved and Central subjects no statutory relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State was made. The Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended the establishment of a Convention that, in matters of purely Indian interest where Government and the Legislature of India would be in agreement, the Secretary of State should not as a rule intervene, except under exceptional circumstances. By the Fiscal Convention the Government of India has been given liberty to devise the tariff policy best suited to the interests of India. The Secretary of State's intervention is limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangement within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party. The Secretary of State has also relinquished his control of policy in the matter of the purchase of Government stores for India, other than military stores. As regards legislative control, Bills to be introduced in the Central Legislature need not be referred for the approval of the Secretary of State-in-Council, unless they relate to subjects like imperial or military affairs, foreign relations, rights of European British subjects, the law of naturalisation, the public debt, customs, currency and shipping. There is one serious limitation to the power of the Indian Legislature : "The Indian Legislature has not power, without the previous approval of the Secretary of State-in-Council, to make any law empowering any court other than a High Court to sentence to the punishment of death any of His Majesty's subjects born in Europe or the children of such subjects, or abolishing any High Courts."

Control exercised by the Secretary of State for India after 1935

The Constitution of 1919 vested the Secretary of State-in-Council with powers of superintendence, direction and control over all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the

Government or revenues of India, and all grants of salaries, gratuities and allowances, and all other payments and charges out of or from the revenues of India. **Section 314 of the Constitution Act of 1935** As the exercise of these powers by the Secretary of State is inconsistent with the transfer of responsibility to the Provinces and the Centre, the Constitution Act of 1935 omits all references to these powers. But the transitional Provisions of this Act which are now in force lay down in Section 314 : "(1) The Governor-General-in-Council and the Governor-General, both as respects matters with respect to which he is required by or under this Act to act in his discretion and as respects other matters, shall be under the General Control of, and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given by the Secretary of State. (2) The Secretary of State shall not give any direction to the Governor-General-in-Council with respect to any grant or appropriation of any part of the revenues of the Governor-General-in-Council except with the concurrence of his advisers,

The Council of the Secretary of State, known as the India Council consisted of not less than eight and not more than twelve members, of whom at least one half was required to have served or resided in India for at least ten years. **Abolition of the India Council** They held office for five years but could be removed from office on an address presented to the Crown by both the Houses of Parliament. The Secretary of State could over-rule the Council except in certain matters for the decision of which a majority of the Council present and voting was required. These matters were : (1) grants or appropriations of any part of the revenues of India ; (2) the sale or disposal of real or personal estate and the raising of money thereon by mortgage or otherwise ; (3) the making of contracts, including instruments of contract of Civil offices in India ; (4) the application to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments of authority to perform on behalf and in the name of the Secretary of State-in-Council any of the obligations of the last two heads ; (5) the passing of any order affecting the salaries of the Governor-General's Council ; and (6) the making of rules regulating various matters connected with the Indian Police Services. The Council has been abolished on the 1st of April, 1937, as its powers were found "manifestly incompatible alike with Provincial Self-Government and with responsible Federal Government."

In place of the Council a body of Advisers to the Secretary of State has been established. Their number will not be less than three and not more than six, and they will be appointed by him. **Advisers of the Secretary of State** At least one half of the Advisers must have served for ten years in India and they must be appointed within two years of ceasing to work in India. Their salary is

at the rate of £1350 with £600 a year extra for those of Indian domicile. The Secretary of State is at liberty to consult them individually or collectively or to ignore them. He must, however, secure the consent of his Advisers in giving any direction to the Governor-General-in-Council with respect to any grant or appropriation of any part of the revenues of the Governor-General-in-Council. The Secretary of State is bound to secure their concurrence in all orders passed about the Services. The interests of the Services are thus adequately safeguarded.

The salary of the Secretary of State and of his Advisers, as well as the expenses of his department including the salaries and remuneration of the staff thereof shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament. But the Indian Federation shall be charged such periodical and other sums as may represent the Secretary of State's expenses for performing duties on behalf of the Federation. Thus what is given up by one hand, is taken away by another. The change, however, alters the position of India Government from the recipient of a grant-in-aid (of £150,000 for India office) to an authority privileged to make a grant to the British Exchequer.

In constitutional theory India would attain considerable freedom from the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State, when the Federation will come into existence; but in practice the power and influence of the Secretary of State would remain unaltered. Whenever the Governor or the Governor-General is authorised to act in his discretion, or individual judgment he will be under the direct control of the Secretary of State. Important subjects like Defence, External Affairs, the Political Department, the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Federal Railway Authority and the Reserve Bank will be amenable to his control and direction exercised through the Governor-General.

Financial arrangement under the Act of 1935

Extent of control exercised by the Home Government under the Act of 1935

X. The High Commissioner for India

The post of the High Commissioner for India was created under Section 29 (A) of the Act of 1919 by an Order in Council in 1920. The High Commissioner performs various agency functions on behalf of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments which were formerly discharged by the India Office. He procures stores for Indian Governments, furnishes trade information, promotes the welfare of Indian trade, and deals with the education of Indian students who go out to England for study. The Act of 1935 provides that he shall be appointed and his salary and conditions of service prescribed by the Governor-

General exercising his individual judgment. He holds office for five years and his salary which is paid out of Indian revenues, has been fixed at £3000 per year. He may be authorised to act not only for the Federation, when it is established, but also for a Province, or a Federated State, or Burma. The High Commissioners of the Dominions are appointed by the Ministers of the respective Dominion and are as such free from any control of the British Government. But the High Commissioner for India is, in some respects, under the control of the Secretary of State because he is appointed by the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment.

RXI. Changes in Central Government during the war

The Federation envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935 did not satisfy the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha nor the Princes. The Governor-General declared on October 17, 1939 that the Federation would not be inaugurated during the war and that at the end of the war, "His Majesty's Government will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modification as may seem desirable." It was felt that the complicated process of framing a constitution in substitution of the Act of 1935 could not be completed during the war. But the urgency of the need of associating leading Indian statesmen with the task of government during the critical period of the war was realised by all. It was with this object that Lord Linlithgow was authorized to enlarge the Governor-General's Executive Council and set up a War Advisory Council. The Viceroy tried to enlist the co-operation of the Congress and the Muslim League but failed in his efforts. He had, therefore, to appoint such non-party politicians, as were willing to co-operate with him.

The Executive Council of the Governor-General was expanded on the 21st July, 1941. A communique issued from Delhi on that date stated : "As a result of the increased pressure of work in connection with the war, it has been decided to enlarge the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India in order to permit the separation of the portfolios of Law and Supply and Commerce and Labour ; the division of the present portfolio of Education, Health and Lands into separate portfolios of Education, Health and Lands, and Indian Overseas ; and the creation of the portfolios of Informa-

Reasons for
expanding
the
Governor-
General's
Executive
Council

Expansion
of the G.
G.'s Council

tion and of Civil Defence." In July, 1942, the portfolio of the Commander-in-Chief was designated the War Portfolio; and the Council was further expanded. The Executive Council now consists of 14 members, besides the Governor-General each in charge of one of the following portfolios: (1) War under the Commander-in-Chief, (2) Finance, (3) Home, (4) Military transport, (5) Information and Broadcasting, (6) Civil defence, (7) Defence, (8) Postal and Air Service, (9) Commerce, (10) Education, Health and Land, (11) Labour, (12) Indians Overseas, (13) Law, (14) Supply. It must be noted that the members of the expanded Council are not responsible to the legislature. Moreover the important portfolios of Finance, Home and War have not been given to any Indian. The resignation of one or more Executive Councillor does not affect the composition and character of the Council as was seen when Mr. Nalini Banjan Sarkar and Sir H. P. Mody resigned in February, 1943. "The present Governor-General's Executive Council," writes Sir B. P. Singh Roy, "giving the majority of seats to non-official Indians for the first time stands irremovable by the legislature, non-responsible to public opinion, unrepresentative of the major political parties and denuded of any effective power except by the goodwill of the Governor-General."

With a view to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war, the National Defence Council was formed on the 21st July, 1941. It consists of about 30 persons, including some representatives of the Indian States. It meets from time to time under the chairmanship of the Viceroy. It receives on each occasion a full and confidential statement of the war position and of the position in regard to supply. The National Defence Council is an advisory body. It can only make suggestions of the needs of localities or interests which the members represent. Its main purpose is to bring the war effort in the provinces and the States as well as in the ranks of commerce and industry and labour into more direct and effective touch with the Central Government. It is significant that for the first time in Indian history representatives of the Indian States and British India met together to consider problems affecting the whole of India.

One of the features of government during the war has been the issuing of a large number of Ordinances giving the executive the widest and most far-reaching authority. Rule by Ordinance
Between January, 1940 and January, 1944, the Central Legislature enacted 125 bills, while the Governor-General issued 132 Ordinances under his emergency power. This amounts to two legislative authorities functioning in the same field at the same time. "The rules under the Defence of India Act," observes Mr. M. C. Setalvad, "conferred upon the executive the most

sweeping powers in matters concerning almost every sphere of a citizen's activity ; and it would be realised how essential it was that these rules should be subject to scrutiny by representatives of the people. The English Act provided for that scrutiny and control in a full measure ; the Indian Act did not."

Before the outbreak of the War (1939) India had a High Commissioner in London, Trade Commissioners in some of the important states of Europe and a High Commissioner for India in South Africa. During the present war Agents-General of India have been appointed in the U. S. A. and China. The present organisation of India's diplomatic representation, however, is haphazard. Three separate departments of Government deal with this matter. Agents-General in the U. S. A. and China come under External Affairs which is the Viceroy's portfolio ; the High Commissioner for India in South Africa, the Special Representative in Ceylon and Agents in Burma and certain colonies under the Indian Overseas Department ; and the High Commissioner in London and the numerous Trade Commissioners under the Commerce Department. Any coherent policy on problems in Empire countries is made increasingly difficult because of the jealousy with which each department guards its sphere. So long as India's constitutional status is that of a dependency, her external affairs will remain largely the concern of the British Government, but it should be possible to evolve a common policy regarding diplomatic relationship with the Empire countries. Since the most vital issues affecting inter-Empire relationships concern emigration and immigration, all diplomatic representation can appropriately be centred in one department, preferably the Indian Overseas Department, which was created specially for safeguarding the status of Indians within the Empire. Trade relationship should, however, continue under the Commerce Department.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

. History of the making of the Constitution of 1935

The Constitution of 1935 has no parallel in the world. Apart from many of its unique features, it has established a record in the length of time which was devoted to its framing and drafting. The Indian Constitution of 1935 may be called the most deliberate piece of written constitution. The ^{The Simon Commission} Constitution of 1919 envisaged the appointment of a Statutory Commission at the end of ten years after its enactment. But the pressure of political agitation, especially the demand of the Indian National Congress for independence in 1927 accelerated the despatch to India of the Statutory Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon in 1927. The Simon Commission was boycotted by the nationalists on the ground that not a single Indian was included in it. Amidst great difficulties the Commission issued its Report in 1930; but Indian public opinion condemned its recommendations as of a reactionary character.

With a view to explore the question of ultimate federation of the British Indian Provinces with the Indian States and to conciliate Indian opinion, a Round Table Conference was summoned in London in November, 1930. In March, 1930, the Civil Disobedience Movement had been started by the Indian National Congress, which naturally refused to take any part in the first Round Table Conference. The Government selected safe men, belonging to other parties, communities and interests to represent India as delegates in the Conference. At the end of the first Round Table Conference, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the then Prime Minister of England, made the following important statement. "The view of his Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and ^{Statement of Ramsay MacDonald} to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights. In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new Constitution to

full responsibility for her own government. Pledge after pledge had been given to India that British Raj was there not for perpetual domination. Why did we put facilities for education at your disposal? Why did we put in your hands text-books from which we draw political inspiration? If we meant that the people of India should for ever be silent and negative, subordinated to our rule, why have our Queens and our Kings given you pledges? Why has our Parliament given you pledges? Finally, I hope, and I trust, and I pray, that by our labours together India will come to possess the only thing which she now lacks, to give her the status of a Dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations—what she now lacks for that—the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens, and the difficulties, but the pride and the honour of Responsible Self-Government.”)

The Round Table Conference held three sessions during the years 1930 and 1932. Mahatma Gandhi attended the second Round Table Conference, but no definite conclusion could be arrived at in it. The third Round Table Conference considered the reports of the various sub-Committees which had been appointed before and formulated its own recommendations to the National Government. The British Government presented its proposals in the form of a White Paper in 1933. These proposals were examined fully by a Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, who were also aided by assessors from India. Their report was issued in 1934 and on its basis the Government of India Bill was drafted and enacted in 1935.

(The second
and third
Round Table
Conferences)

II. Lines of Advance on the Constitution of 1919

The Government of India Act, 1935, envisages a Federation within which both the Autonomous Provinces and the participating States will be brought within the ambit of a single Central Government. “Indian opinion is moving with ever-increasing momentum towards the early fulfilment of this majestic conception,” observes Lord Linlithgow, “and there is evident a widespread understanding of the urgent need for the establishment of a nation-wide system of government to which, while preserving their distinctive characteristics, the Provinces of British India and Indian States may adhere. Indeed, there exists throughout the sub-continent an ever-growing appreciation of the truth that under no other form of constitutional structure can India with her mosaic of numberless diversities attain to that development, political, economic, to which her circumstances and her history entitle her to aspire.” The Federation will bring by agreement a territorial

(Federation)

extension of jurisdiction now developed upon the centre. But the Central Government has suffered also from a curtailment of territorial jurisdiction in as much as Burma and Aden has gone out of its ambit.

✓ According to the Federal plan the Central Government is relieved of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States. These functions, which correspond to the present activities of the political side of the existing Foreign and Political Department, have devolved from the Crown upon a new authority known as "His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States." The office is in practice held by the Governor-General, but it is a distinct office outside the Government of India.

Dyarchy in the Centre

So long the Central Executive was not amenable to the effective control of Indian Legislature. The Act of 1935 makes a beginning of responsible government at the Federal centre. Normally the Governor-General in his discharge of functions will act on the advice of his Council of Ministers, not exceeding ten, whom he appoints to hold office at pleasure. The Ministers will be members of the Federal Legislature and responsible to it. But in matters of defence, of ecclesiastical affairs, of external relations, other than relations with other parts of the King's Dominions, and in respect of tribal areas the Governor-General is to act in his discretion, having the power to appoint Counsellors (not Councillors, because there will be no Council here) to aid him. These Counsellors will be not more than three in number and they will not be responsible to the legislature. The Governor-General may also appoint a Financial Adviser whose function will be to advise him in the discharge of his 'special responsibilities' for safeguarding the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government, and an Advocate-General to advise the Federal Government in legal matters.

Responsible Government in the Centre

The Counsellors

✓ Under the Mont-Ford Reforms both the Central and Provincial Legislatures possessed plenary legislative jurisdictions. The Central Legislature could legislate for all persons, places and things in British India, though the subject might be classified as a Provincial subject. The Provincial legislatures, again, could similarly legislate for its own territory on any subject even though it was classified as a Central subject. Legislation by any legislature, Central or Provincial, when completed by the grant of assent, was valid even though it affected a Provincial subject or a Central subject. Under the new Constitution each legislature,

Limitation of jurisdiction of the Central Legislature

whether Central or Provincial, will possess jurisdiction only over enumerated subjects.

The distinction between the "Reserved" and "Transferred" Subjects in the Provinces has been abolished by the new Constitution.

All subjects, including law and order, are transferred to the control of Ministers, who are responsible to the popularly elected legislature. The unicameral

(Abolition of
Dyarchy in
the Centre

Legislatures are replaced by greatly enlarged Legislatures, bicameral in Bengal, Bihar, Assam, U. P., Bombay and Madras and unicameral in five other provinces. The nominated bloc disappears entirely from the lower chambers. With certain exceptions administration is conducted with

Position
of the
Governor

supply granted by the Legislature, and it therefore accords with advice tendered to the Governor by Ministers. The Governor himself administers a few areas known as Excluded Areas, mainly inhabited by aboriginal populations unsuited to the regime of representative or responsible government. For certain specific purposes the Governor is able to disregard the advice of Ministers: Apart from special areas and special purposes the government of the Provinces under normal circumstances is technically known as responsible government.

The historic India Council or the Council of the Secretary of State has been abolished. The Secretary of State is now advised by a body of Advisers who are paid by the British Parliament. The Secretary

(Abolition of
the India
Council

of State's powers of superintendence, direction and control are not mentioned in the Government of India Act. But,

Secretary of
State

in practice, the Secretary of State will continue to exercise great influence on Indian affairs. The scope of his interference will be great in as much as the Governor-General shall have to be under the general control and particular direction of the Secretary of State, whenever he will be required to act "in his direction or to exercise his individual judgment." Under the new Constitution a Federal Court has been established and a Federal Railway Authority will be constituted.

Q III. Characteristics of the Indian Constitution

The Indian Constitution of 1935 exhibits some of the normal characteristics of a federal constitution. The Constitution is a

(Federal
Constitu-
tion

written one and it is rigid so far as the federal Legislature is concerned. Neither does the Federation possess general constituent power, nor can the Provinces mould their own constitution in detail, within the federal framework. The general provisions of the Act can be

amended or repealed only by the British Parliament. The Crown in Council may make some minor amendments after taking recourse to an elaborate procedure.

Like many other Federal Constitutions, an elaborate distinction has been made here between federal and local powers. But the Indian Federation differs from all other Federations in the fact that the Governor-General has power (Section 104) of assigning to Federation or units at his discretion heads of legislation or finance not allocated by the Act. The residuary power, thus, is given neither to the Federation nor to the units. As the Governor-General is a Federal officer the likelihood is that the Federation will have much of residuary power. The residuary power

Like other Federations India has now a Federal Court, whose duty is to secure due observance of the limits placed on the centre and the local governments and legislatures. But whereas in other Federations the decisions of the Federal or Supreme Court is for all practical purposes final, in India the final interpretation of the Constitution will rest always with the Privy Council. No Act of Indian Legislature can shut out appeals from High Courts and the Federal Court to the Privy Council. Federal Court

The Indian Legislature still remains a non-sovereign body, Section 110 of the Act reasserts the supremacy of Parliament over British India as well as its power to legislate for British India or any part of it. The Constitution expressly states that no legislature, provincial or federal, may make any law affecting the sovereign body, or the royal family, or the succession to the Crown or the sovereignty, dominion, or suzerainty of the Crown in any part of India, or the law of British nationality, or the Army Act, the Air Force Act, or the Naval Discipline Act. All these matters are issues connected with sovereignty. The very fact that Indian Legislature cannot change any of them shows that it is a subordinate legislature. Indian Legislature

The Indian Government is neither Parliamentary nor of the Presidential type. The Executive is not fully responsible to the Legislature as is the case in England and France; nor is the head of the Executive elected by the people and wholly independent of the legislature as is the practice in the U. S. A. The Governor-General is appointed by the King's Ministers in the United Kingdom, and not, as in the Dominions, on the advice of the local Ministers. Important departments like Defence, External Affairs and Ecclesiastical Affairs are outside the general control of the Federal Legislature. Even in the Provinces where Provincial Peculiar position of the Central Executive

Autonomy is said to have been established the Governor will exercise powers which are not compatible with any degree of responsible or Parliamentary Government. The Indian Constitution forms a class by itself by virtue of the elaborate provisions made in it for representation of diverse interests and communities in the legislature. In Canada there is a French

(Position of minorities

minority, and in South Africa a Dutch minority ; but separate communal electorates have not been thought of in these Dominions. Post-war states like Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugo-Slavia, Albania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Poland, Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia have each their minority problems ; but separate electorates for the different communities are nowhere established. It is curious to note that only in the Mandated countries or in the countries under foreign domination such as Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Kenya and Fiji separate communal electorates have been attempted. Communal electorates operate as a disruptive factor in a state. "With the safeguarding of minorities," observes Keith, "the essence of responsible government is seriously, if not fully, compromised."

✓ IV. Provincial Autonomy

The Government of India Act has carried a step forward that process of giving autonomy or self-government to the Provinces which was suggested by Lord Hardinge's Coronation Durbar Despatch to the Secretary of State in 1911, and implemented to a limited extent in the Mont-Ford Constitution. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion regarding the exact meaning of the term Provincial Autonomy.

(Meaning of Provincial Autonomy

The Indian public understands by it a system of government wherein the Provincial Government has freedom to perform the functions given to it by the Act without any dictation or interference from above. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald explained its connotation in his concluding speech at the second session of the Round Table Conference on December, 1931, in the following words : "We are all agreed that the Governors' provinces of the future are to be responsibly governed units, enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere." The Joint Select Committee, however, lays stress on freedom from outside control, rather than on the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature. According to the Committee, Provincial Autonomy is a scheme "whereby each of the Governor's provinces will possess an Executive and a Legislature having precisely defined sphere broadly free from control by the Central Government and Legislature. This we conceive to be the essence of

Provincial Autonomy, though no doubt there is room for wide differences of opinion with regard to the manner in which that exclusive authority is to be exercised." The committee further states that "the Central Government and Legislature would, generally speaking, cease to possess in the Governors' Provinces any legal power or authority with respect to any matter falling within the exclusive Provincial sphere, though, as we shall explain later, the Governor-General in virtue of the power of supervising the Governors will have authority to secure compliance in certain respects with directions which he may find it necessary to give."

The Government of India Act of 1935 specifies the powers which are allocated exclusively to the Federal Government and to the Provincial Governments. It also enumerates thirty-six subjects over which both the Federal and Provincial Governments may legislate. In the United States and Australia the powers given to the Federal Government are enumerated and the States or Provinces exercise the residuary powers, while in Canada the residuary powers are left to the Central Government. In India the residuary power is vested in the Governor-General, who in his discretion, may by notification empower either the Federal or the Provincial Legislature to enact law on any subject not enumerated in the three lists mentioned above. The Federal List, consisting of 59 subjects, comprises matters of common national concern, applicable more or less to all parts of India. Matters which are primarily of provincial concern are allocated to Provinces.

Scheme of
division of
powers

The Provinces have exclusive authority over the following subjects : the jurisdiction and powers of courts ; prisons ; reformatories ; their public debt and public services ; public works ; libraries ; elections ; local government ; public health and sanitation ; pilgrimages within India ; burials ; education ; water and water rights ; agriculture ; land ; forests ; mines ; fisheries—protection of wild birds and animals ; gas and gas works ; trade and commerce within the province,—including money-lending ; inns and inn-keepers ; production, supply, and distribution of commodities, and development of industries ; adulteration of foodstuffs ; intoxicating liquors ; unemployment and poor relief ; incorporation of companies not under federal power ; theatres ; betting and gambling ; charities and charitable institutions ; offences against laws dealing with any of these matters, and statistics in relation thereto.

Provincial
subjects

Besides these subjects there are twenty-five subjects, which are primarily of a federal character and eleven subjects primarily of provincial character over both of which the Federal as well as the Provincial governments have authority. These subjects are essentially of Provincial interests,

Concurrent
legislative
list

but they require uniform treatment and co-ordination throughout India. These include Criminal law, Criminal Procedure, removal of prisoners and accused persons from one unit to another unit, Civil Procedure, Evidence and oaths, marriage and divorce, wills and succession, transfer of property other than agricultural land, trusts and trustees, contracts, arbitration, newspapers, books and printing presses, poisons and dangerous drugs, factories, welfare of labour, Trade Unions, industrial and labour disputes, electricity, sanctioning of cinematograph films for exhibition, prevention of the extension from one unit to another of infectious or contagious diseases or pests affecting men, animals or plants. It is admitted by all that the position of the Provinces has improved on account of the distribution of legislative power between the units and the Federation ; but the introduction of concurrent subjects has mutilated Provincial Autonomy to a great extent.

The Provinces have also power to deal with land revenue ; excise duties, excluded from the federal list ; taxes on income ; from agricultural land, on lands and buildings, hearths and windows ; duties in respect of succession to agricultural land ; taxes on mineral rights ; capitation taxes ; taxes on professions, trades, callings ; on animals and boats ; on the sale of commodities, on turnover, and on advertisements ; cesses on the entry of goods into a local areas ; taxes on luxuries, including entertainments, betting and gambling ; and stamp duties outside the federal sphere.

Though the list of Provincial subjects appears to be a formidable one, yet the Provinces are not able to exercise unfettered power over these. The Governor has special responsibilities for the preservation of law and order, the rights of minorities, and the legitimate interests of the public services. The Governor-General has power to take action (including legislation) if he thinks that the Governor is not properly discharging his duties in these subjects. The Governor is vested with special power by Sections 56-58 in respect of police rules and regulations, crimes of violence and disclosure of the sources of information about them. The recruitment to the I. C. S. and I. P. S. is vested in the Secretary of State.

It has been contended by many Indian publicists that Provincial Autonomy "is an autonomy more for the Governors of the Provinces than for the provincial legislatures or ministers." Though in view of large powers vested in the Governor, there is some truth in the contention, yet it must be pointed out that the Governor himself is answerable for the discharge of all his special responsibilities, special powers, and discretionary power to the Governor-General and through him to the Secretary of State. Marquess of Zetland, the then Secretary

of State for India, stated in the House of Lords on June 8, 1937; "The Parliament of this country reserved itself a potential measure of control in a certain limited and clearly defined sphere—the special responsibilities of the Governors. Since the Governors when acting in respect of special responsibilities, were responsible both for acts of commission and omission to the Parliament of this country, he would naturally be prepared to answer any question bearing upon the discharge by the Governors of their duties within that sphere." The statement unmistakably points out the limitations of Provincial Autonomy conceded by the Act of 1935.

Further Restrictions of Provincial Autonomy during the War

Section 102 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provides that in case the Governor-General declares by Proclamation that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened, whether by war or internal disturbance, the Federal Legislature shall have power to make laws for a Province or any part thereof with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the Provincial Legislative List. This section, however, leaves unchanged the executive relations between the Central and Provincial Governments. An amendment to the Government of India Act was, therefore, thought necessary by the British authorities to secure for the Centre essential powers of direction and control during an emergency. Col. Muirhead explained before the House of Commons that in war-time the Centre could legislate on Provincial subjects, but it could not acquire executive authority necessary for dealing with certain essential matters, for example, it could not issue directions to Provincial Governments as regards war policy in relation to subjects on the Provincial List, nor legislate to give itself the necessary power.

✓ The Government of India Amendment Bill, passed on the 2nd September, 1939, makes the Central Government legally competent to issue instructions to Provinces regarding the exercise of their own authority. It also enables the Central Government dealing with Provincial subjects to confer powers on officials of the Central Government to take action. The Amendment, which is counted as Section 126A to the Government of India Act reads as follows :

Government of India Amendment Act, September, 1939

"Where a proclamation of emergency is in operation whereby the Governor-General has decided that the security of India is threatened by war—(a) the executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the giving of directions to a Province as to the matter in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised,

and any directions so given shall, for the purposes of the last preceding section, be deemed to be directions given thereunder ; (b) any power of the Federal Legislature to make laws for a Province with respect to any matter shall include power to 'make laws as respects a Province conferring powers and imposing duties or authorising the conferring of powers and the imposition of duties upon the Federation or officers and authorities of the Federation as respects that matter, notwithstanding that it is one with respect to which the provincial legislature also has power to make laws.'**

✓ On the 3rd of September, 1939, a proclamation, issued by the Governor-General under section 102, declared India a belligerent on behalf of Great Britain. The Indian Legislature was not consulted in the matter. The Defence of India Act was passed on the 29th September, 1939. By this Act the Central Legislature practically divested itself of a large part of its legislative authority, because it empowered the Central Government to make such rules as appear to it to be necessary or expedient for securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of war. The Defence of India Act armed the Central Government with a new legislative power to invade provincial autonomy. ✓ Various Rules have been framed under the Defence of India Act. Rule 26 states that a person may be kept under detention if the Central or Provincial Government is satisfied that "his detention is necessary with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order, His Majesty's relations with foreign powers or Indian States, the maintenance of peaceful conditions in tribal areas or the efficient prosecution of the war." The Rule 26 does not say whether the suspicion is reasonable or not that the person concerned has acted, is acting or is about to act in a prejudicial manner. The Federal Court, therefore, held that "Rule 26 in its present form goes beyond the rule-making powers which the Legislature has thought fit to confer upon the Central Government and is for that reason invalid." But the Governor-General promulgated the Defence of India (Amendment) Ordinance 1943 to make Rule 26 valid. The Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court held that the new ordinance promulgated by the Governor-General validating Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules was *ultra vires* the ordinance

* The Amendment Act also provides that with the exception of the Aligarh and Benares Universities, legislation with regard to all other Government-established Universities in British India shall be under the jurisdiction of the Governments of the Provinces where they are situated. Thus, the Calcutta University comes under the jurisdiction of the Bengal Government and the Patna University under the jurisdiction of the Bihar Government.

making powers of the Governor-General, as in their opinion the Governor-General under Section 72 of the Government of India Act could not directly amend an Act of the Central legislature. The Federal Court, too, has declared certain Ordinances invalid. Thus on the 4th June, 1943, it dismissed by a majority of two Judges the Bengal Government's appeal against the Calcutta High Court's judgment declaring certain provisions of the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance, 1942 *ultra vires*.

Provincial autonomy has been very much curtailed by the India and Burma (Emergency Provisions) Act 1940. It has made the Governor-General the supreme authority during the period of emergency. The Governor-General has been empowered to exercise the following functions in his discretion during the period of emergency :

The India and Burma (Emergency Provisions) Act. 1940

(1) any power of appointment to or removal from, any office in India being a power which would be exercisable by His Majesty shall be exercisable also by the Governor-General ; (2) any provision which under the Act of 1935 could be made by an Order in Council or by rules made by, or with the sanction of, the Secretary of State may be made also by the Governor-General by notification in the Gazette of India ; and (3) the words "for the space of not more than six months from its promulgation" as regards ordinance under Section 72 of the Government of India Act 1919 were omitted.

As an example of the Central Government's interference with the details of Provincial administration we may cite the issuing of a directive on the 22nd December, 1943, to the Bengal Government. The Central Government under Section 126A called upon the Bengal Government to bring food rationing into force in Calcutta by January 31, 1944, and to arrange for distribution of food through 1000 retail shops. 55% of such shops should be private retail dealers and 45% Government-controlled stores. This directive was necessitated by the insistence of the Bengal Ministry on Government chain stores in preference to private retail traders.

Central Government's interference with details of Provincial administration

✓ VI. The provincial Executive

The Executive authority of a Province is vested by the Act in a Governor. There are three distinct kinds of executive actions of a Governor. Firstly, the Governor acting on the advice of his Ministers ; secondly, the Governor acting on his individual judgment, in which he may have consulted the Ministers but if he does not agree with their views, he can act, on his own opinion, in opposition to the opinion of his Ministers ; and thirdly, the Governor acting in his discretion,

Three domains of Governor's actions

in which the Ministers have no right of entry or of consultation. The line of division between these three domains is not a rigid one. "Let it not be supposed," stated the Marquess of Zetland, "that the field of Government is to be divided into two parts, in which the Governor and the Ministry operate separately at the risk of clashes between them. The essence of the new Constitution is that the initiative and the responsibility for the *whole* of the government of a Province, though in form vesting in the Governor, passes to the Ministry as soon as it takes office." The implication of this statement by the Secretary of State for India is that the initiative for any Governmental action lies not with the Governor but with the Ministry and that the Ministers are responsible for the entire range of Governmental activity.

The statement quoted above was made by the Secretary of State with a view to put an end to the first constitutional crisis which took place immediately after the inauguration of the new Constitution in April, 1937. The Congress captured majority of seats in the general election in six out of eleven Provinces. But when the Governor called upon the leaders of the Congress Parliamentary Party in each of these seven Provinces, they demanded an assurance of non-interference from the Governor as a condition of acceptance of office. The Governors concerned under instructions from above refused to give such an assurance: consequently, the Congress refused to form the Ministry and the Governors had to take recourse to the formation of *interim* Ministers, which had no chance of securing any majority in the Legislatures. This constitutional *impasse* was solved by the declaration of the Marquess of Zetland. The declaration advanced the cause of responsible government in India by emphasising the transition of power from the Governor to his Ministers.*

The Governors of Bihar and the United Provinces, however, refused to release the political prisoners, though their Ministers advised them to do so. So the Ministers in these two Provinces tendered their resignation on the 15th February, 1938. Mr. Srikrishna Singh, the Prime Minister of Bihar issued the following statement: "Since my assumption of office, the question of release of the political

*The declaration of break-down of the Constitution in the Congress Provinces on November, 1939, however, shows that the democratic principles of government obtaining in England do not prevail in India. Well-established Convention of the English Constitution demands that when one political party resigns office, the head of the State asks the other parties to carry on the government and if they too refuse to shoulder the responsibility, then a general election is held. In Bihar, Mr. (now Sir) Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Sinha, the leader of the Opposition, being called by His Excellency asked him to dissolve the Legislature. But in no Province has an attempt been made to see whether the electorate supports the Congress policy of resignation.

prisoners has been engaging my earnest and constant attention. I have discussed this matter several times with the Governor but finding that interminable discussions were leading nowhere, I at last decided to order their release and passed orders accordingly. The Governor under the instructions of the Governor-General under Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act has expressed his inability to agree to issue the orders passed by me directing the release of political prisoners. In the circumstances, I have no choice but to resign." Happily within one week of the resignation a compromise was arrived at. The Governors of the two Provinces discussed each case of political prisoner on its merit with their respective Ministers. In both the crises the 'safeguards' in the Constitution gave way to self-rule.

The Governor is appointed by His Majesty by a Commission under the Royal Sign Manual. In the three Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal the practice has been to appoint Governors from the rank of public men in England, though there have been some deviations from the practice. In the other Provinces senior and brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service are appointed as Governors. But the Ministers object to the appointment to Governorship of any Civilian who has served under them. On this issue the Orissa Ministry threatened to resign in May, 1938. Since then the practice has been to appoint Civilians serving under the Government of India or in any Province other than the one where there is vacancy in Governorship, as the head of the Provincial Government.*

The Governor's appointment

The Governor is provided with a Council of Ministers to 'aid and advise' him in the exercise of the powers conferred on him by the Constitution, except in relation to subjects left to the Governor's discretion. The Ministers shall have no right even to tender advice on matters pertaining to the Governor's discretion. But in other matters the Governor is to be generally guided by the advice of the Ministers. The Governor selects Ministers, but a Minister must be or become within six months a member of the Legislature. The Minister need not necessarily be elected; the Governor may nominate a Minister, who is not a member of the Legislature, to the Legislative Council, provided there is a vacancy in that

Discretionary powers of the Governor

*The Governor draw the annual salary in rupees mentioned against the name of the Province and the allowances for renewal of furniture, sumptuary allowance, touring expenses, allowance for Military Secretary and his Establishment, etc., etc. mentioned within bracket: Madras 1,20,000 (5,75,500), Bombay 1,20,000 (5,98,400) Bengal 1,20,000 (6,07,300), U. P. 1,20,000 (2,97,000), Punjab 1,00,000 (1,41,200), Bihar 1,00,000 (1,98,000), C. P. 72,000 (1,07,300), Assam 66,000 (1,42,100), N.-W. F. P. 66,000 (1,12,850), Sind 66,000 (1,29,600), Orissa 66,000 (1,09,000).

body. Such a procedure was taken recourse to in Bihar in April, 1937. In selecting ministers the Governor is

(Appoint-
ment of
Ministers

required by the Instrument of Instructions to use his 'best endeavours' to select in the following manner:

"In consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature to appoint those persons including, so far as practicable, members of important minority communities who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature." But according to Section 53, the Instrument of Instructions has no legal binding upon the Governor. Hence, if he appoints persons who have no chance of commanding a majority in the legislature, his action cannot be called illegal or unconstitutional. The appointment of 'Interim Ministries' in six Provinces

in April, 1937, might have been inexpedient, but not illegal. The Governor may also appoint at his discretion an official as a temporary member of the Legislature to act as his mouthpiece in that body.

The Governor is empowered to make rules of business after consultation with Ministers. His instructions require him to secure due consultation of the Finance Minister on all financial matters. He is required to encourage joint responsibility and to avoid any action which permits Ministers to evade their own responsibilities by placing the onus on him.

The Ministers may resign or may be dismissed by the Governor. The Congress demanded that, if there was a serious difference

of opinion between the Ministers and the Governors where the Governor's responsibility was concerned; the Governors should dismiss, or call for the resignation of the Ministers. Lord Zetland said that "he did not think it would really be wise, or in accordance with the intention of Parliament, to lay down in those circumstances that the Governor must necessarily call for the resignation of the Ministers." "After all, the relations of a Governor with his Ministers," observed Sir Maurice Hallet, are not those of a master and his servants; rather they are partners in a common enterprise—the good government of the Province." The Governor has become a part of the legislature for the first time by the Act of 1935. The king's address in England is thrown open to debate in Parliament, but the Governor's address is not open to debate, nor does it contain the legislative programme of Ministers.

(Governor's
relation
with
Ministers

II. Powers and Functions of the Governor.

(The Governor is the pivot round which the whole of provincial administration rotates.) In normal and ordinary circumstances,

the Governor accepts the advice of Ministers. But the Governor may not accept the advice tendered to him by his Ministers and exercise his 'individual judgment.' ^{'Individual judgment' of Governor} This term is used with reference to matters within the purview of the Ministers, that is with regard to the power of the Governor to disregard the advice of the Ministers, where they are entitled to give advice. The Governor may exercise his 'individual judgment' (a) whenever any of the 'special responsibilities' is, in his opinion, involved and (b) whenever any of the powers conferred upon him by the Act specifically require him in their exercise to use his individual judgment. ^{His discretion} The term 'discretion' of the Governor is used in connection with those matters in which the Ministers are not entitled to give any advice at all. These include the administration of Excluded Areas and matters left by law to the Governor's own discretion.

The Governor has Special Responsibility in respect of (a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province, or any part thereof ; (b) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities ; (c) the securing to the members of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by the Constitution and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests ; (d) the prevention of commercial discrimination ; (e) the protection of the rights of any Indian State ; (f) the administration of areas declared to be Partially Excluded Areas ; and (g) securing the execution of orders lawfully issued by the Governor-General. The Governors of the North-West Frontier Province and of Sind are respectively declared to have in addition a special responsibility in respect of (h) any matter affecting the Governor's responsibilities as Agent of the Governor-General in the Tribal and the Trans-Border Areas ; and (i) the administration of Sukkar Barrage and Canals Scheme. (j) The Governor of Central Provinces and Berar is required to see that a proportion of revenue is spent on Berar. The term 'legitimate interests of Minorities' is extremely vague. There is no clear-cut definition of minorities ; any section of the people may form an organisation to promote their particular interests by invoking the Governor's protection. The Sanatanists may claim protection when a desirable piece of social reform is proposed by Ministers, the landholders may claim protection if by any law their economic rights are threatened. But the Joint Select Committee made it plain that "this special responsibility is not intended to enable the Governor to stand in the way of social or economic reform merely because it is resisted by a group of persons who might claim to be regarded as a minority." ^{Special Responsibilities to be exercised by the Governor in his individual judgment} It must be stated,

however, that though at the time of inauguration of the Constitution the nationalists and especially, the Hindus of Bengal were vehemently opposed to the Special Responsibilities of the Governor, yet on more than one occasion the Bengali Hindus have invoked the protection of the Governor.

Besides his special Responsibilities, the Governor can exercise his individual judgment in the appointment and dismissal of the Advocate-General, as also in regard to the determination of his remuneration. During the twenty-eight months of Congress Ministry the Governor has played generally the part of the constitutional head of the State. In Bihar the Governor, on the advice of the Ministry, appointed Mr. Baladeva Sahay, a staunch Congressman, as Advocate-General. The Governor has also the right of exercising his individual judgment in the appointments and postings to the reserved posts. In this case too the head of the Province has been normally guided by the advice of his Ministers.

It is wrongly assumed by many that the Ministers' advice in matters relating to the 'Special Responsibility' of the Governor will be invariably disregarded. But the Joint Select Committee has stated and the Governor of Bihar reiterated that "in no sense does it define a sphere from which the action of Ministers is excluded." In our view, it does no more than indicate a sphere of action in which it will be constitutionally proper for the Governor, after receiving ministerial advice, to signify his dissent from it and even to act in opposition to it, if in his own unfettered judgment he is of opinion that the circumstances of the case so require."

(The Governor has "Special Powers" over and above his "Special Responsibility" in matters of law and order.) If he thinks that the peace or tranquillity of the Province is menaced by persons meditating crimes of violence for the overthrow of the Government, he may declare that any of his functions shall be exercised at his discretion. In exercising powers at his discretion he need not consult his Ministers. He may authorize some official to speak in the Legislature on these issues. He may also in his discretion make rules providing that information in relation to the sources from which information has been obtained regarding such criminal intentions shall not be divulged to any other person (including Ministers) except on his direction. The Governor in his discretion may preside at meeting of the Council of Ministers. The Governor in his discretion can summon or

prorogue the Legislature or dissolve the Legislative Assembly. The King of England dissolves the House of Commons on the advice of the Prime Minister, but the Provincial Governor may disregard the advice of his Ministers in the matter of dissolving the Lower Chamber. (The Governor, again, decides in his discretion any dispute whether any proposed expenditure falls within a class of expenditure charged on the revenues of the Provinces, which is not subject to the vote of the Provincial Legislature.) Discussion of or asking questions on any matter connected with the relations between His Majesty or the Governor-General and any foreign State or Prince is prohibited unless the Governor in his discretion consents to such discussion.

Besides these the Governor is to act in his discretion in the following matters :

(a) To choose, summon and dismiss Ministers ;	} Other discretionary powers of the Governor
(b) To determine the salaries of Ministers pending their determination by the provincial legislature ;	
(c) To prevent crimes of violence intended to overthrow the government established by law ;	

(d) To summon a joint session of the legislature before the normal lapse of time when a Bill affects finance or special responsibilities ;

(e) To assent to the Bills passed in the legislature, or to withhold assent therefrom or reserve them for the consideration of the Governor-General or to return the Bills to the legislature with a message to reconsider ;

(f) To certify that the discussion of a Bill, clause or amendment is dangerous to peace and tranquillity and thereby stay proceedings ;

(g) To promulgate ordinances for satisfactory discharge of his 'discretionary' and 'individual judgment' functions ;

(h) to enact Acts for the discharge of his functions with the concurrence of the Governor-General in his discretion ;

(i) To take over the Government of the province by a proclamation in the event of a break-down of the constitutional machinery and to revoke such proclamations with the concurrence of the Governor-General in his discretion ;

(j) To give previous sanction to legislation which affects the Governor's Act or Ordinance or any Act relating to police force ;

(k) To give previous sanction to Bills amending the order-in-council or rules under it by which the duties and powers of the provincial Audit-General are defined ;

(l) To give previous sanction to Bills endowing the High Court with original revenue jurisdiction ;

(m) To decide when the Public Service Commission should be consulted as to appointment to the High Court Staff ; to appoint the Public Service Commission and to frame regulations for the purpose ; to give previous sanction to Bills providing for additional functions of the Public Service Commission ;

(n) To give previous sanction to Bills abolishing or restricting protection of public servants ;

(o) To give previous sanction to Bills relating to

land acquisition ; (p) To appoint the Governor's Secretarial Staff and to determine their remuneration ; (q) To make nominations to the Legislative Council ; (r) To discharge functions as agent to the Governor-General in relation to tribal areas, defence, external affairs or ecclesiastical affairs. If any difference of opinion arises as to whether any matter is or is not such as to which the Governor is, by or under the Act, required to exercise his discretion or individual judgment, the decision of the Governor in his discretion is final.

(Subordination to the Governor-General) In all matters in which the Governor is to act in his discretion he is under the superintendence of the Governor-General in his discretion. This subordination restricts the so-called autonomy of provinces.

The Governor has been endowed with considerable legislative power. (a) Section 75 gives an absolute veto power to the Governor to be exercised in his discretion. (b) The Governor may reserve a Bill passed by the Legislature for the consideration of the Governor-General. The Instructions require that any Bill shall be reserved if it is repugnant to an Imperial Act, seriously derogates from the position of the High Court, affects the Permanent Settlement or appears to provide for discrimination. (c) He has the power to prevent discussion of any Bill or clause or amendment which is likely to affect his responsibility for peace and tranquillity. All amendment or repeal of the Police Acts require his previous assent. (d) The Governor is empowered at his discretion to present, or cause to be presented, a Bill to the Legislature with a Message that it is essential having regard to any of his Special Responsibilities, that the Bill should become law before a date specified in the Message, and to declare by Message in respect of any Bill already introduced that it should for similar reasons become law before a stated date in a form specified in the Message. If before the date specified the Bill is not passed, or is not passed in the specified form, as the case may be, (Governor's Act) the Governor will be empowered at his discretion to enact it as a Governor's Act, either with or without any amendments made by the Legislature after receipt of his Message.) It may be noted that no act of the Provincial Legislature is complete without the Governor's assent ; but no Governor's Act requires the consent of the legislature to be binding.

The Governor can issue two kinds of Ordinances, one at the instance of Ministers, and the other at his discretion. (e) The first, under Section 88, can be issued by the Governor in consultation with his Ministers, when the Legislature is not in session ; but it would cease to be opera-

(Two kinds of Ordinances)

tive within a fortnight of its presentation to the Legislature. The Governor is obliged to call a meeting of the Legislature once in twelve months only. Thus, the Ministers and the Governor combined would be able to pass temporary legislation on all subjects which would remain in force as long as the Governor did not call a meeting of the legislature. (f) The Governor may also, in matters involving his discretion or individual judgment, issue Ordinance with six months' maximum duration, but capable of being extended for a further period of six months. Unless his previous sanction is given, no Bill or amendment can be introduced or moved in the Provincial Legislature which repeals, amends or is repugnant to any Governor's Act or Ordinance promulgated in his discretion by the Governor; or any Act relating to any Police Force. The Governor in his discretion is empowered to make regulations—general or particular—making it unnecessary to consult with the Public Service Commission in making certain appointments. ("Taken collectively", observes Prof. K. T. Shah, "the effect of all these powers and functions, to be exercised by the Governor in his discretion, is that substantially the most important part of the executive work is removed from the sphere of the Governor's constitutional advisers.")

✓(g) Over and above these powers, the Governor is empowered to issue Proclamation. By Proclamation he may suspend the Provincial Constitution and to appropriate all or any of the powers of any provincial body. "Such a Proclamation by a Governor may be revoked or varied by a subsequent Proclamation. A Proclamation under this section shall be communicated forthwith to the Secretary of State and shall be laid by him before both Houses of Parliament. Unless it is a Proclamation revoking a previous Proclamation, such a Proclamation by a Governor shall cease to operate at the expiration of six months. But such a Proclamation unless revoked shall continue in force for a further period of 12 months if and so often as a resolution approving the continuance of the Proclamation is passed by both Houses of Parliament. No such Proclamation, however, shall remain in force in any case, for more than three years." Proclamations of such a kind have been issued by the Governors of Madras, Bombay, U. P., C. P., Bihar, Orissa and N.-W. F. P. in November, 1939. The effect of such Proclamation has been to restore the purely bureaucratic system of government as it prevailed before the establishment of Provincial Legislatures. Laws made under the Proclamation have a duration of two years and after its expiry is subject to repeal or re-enactment by the appropriate legislature. But no such Proclamation shall in any case remain in force for more than three years.

Section 93 of the Act: Governor's power on the break-down of the Constitution

Financial burdens on the Province may conceivably be imposed by Governor's Act or an Ordinance. The Governor authenticates a schedule of grants made, to which he may add grants refused or reduced where his responsibilities are concerned.

Governor's
power over
finance.

The Governor possesses the power of summoning, proroguing and dissolving the legislature and appointing its place of meeting at his discretion. He is given a special position as regards Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas. In Excluded Areas the Governor himself directs and controls the administration; in the case of the latter he is declared to have a Special Responsibility. In neither case does any Act of the Provincial Legislature apply to the Area, unless by direction of the Governor given at his discretion.

Governor's
power over
Legislature
and Exclud-
ed Areas

XVIII. The Position and Powers of Ministers

The legal status of the Provincial Ministers is defined by Section 51 of the Act, which lays down: (1) The Governor's Ministers shall be chosen and summoned by him, shall be sworn as members of the Council, and shall hold office during his pleasure. (2) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the Provincial Legislature shall at the expiration of that period cease to be a Minister. (3) The salaries of Ministers shall be such as the Provincial Legislature may from time to time by Act determine, and until the Provincial Legislature so determine, shall be determined by the Governor provided that the salary of a Minister shall not be varied during his term of office. (4) The question whether any, and if so, what advice was tendered by Ministers to the Governor, shall not be enquired into by any court. (5) The functions of the Governor under this Section with respect to the choosing and summoning and the dismissal of Ministers and with respect to the determination of their salaries, shall be exercised by him in his discretion."

Legal status
of
Ministers

The Act does not limit the number of Ministers in the Provinces. There is no uniformity regarding the number of Ministers in the different Provinces. Between 1937 and 1939 there were at one time 12 Ministers in Bengal, 10 in Madras, 8 in Assam, 7 in Bombay, 6 in the Punjab, Sind and the United Provinces, 5 in the Central Provinces and Berar, 4 in Bihar and the North-Western Frontier Provinces and 3 in Orissa. But after the election of 1946 the number of Ministers in many of the Provinces has been changed. Thus in Bengal there are at present (end of June, 1946) 8 Ministers, of whom 7 are Mussalmans; in Bihar 9 Ministers, of whom 2 are Mussalmans

and 1 belonging to the Harijan Community, in Orissa 5 Ministers, all belonging to the Caste Hindu community ; in C. P. and Berar there are 5 Ministers. (In the Pre-war days there was uniformity among the Congress Provinces regarding the amount of salary drawn by Ministers, each getting rupees five hundred only. Now that the cost of living has increased enormously the Ministers have secured for themselves a higher scale of salary. Thus in the United Provinces and Bihar the salary has been raised to Rs. 1500/- per month ; in Orissa it is Rs. 1000 per month. Though the cost of living is highest in Bombay, yet the Ministers there are satisfied with a salary of Rs. 750 per month.) Besides the salary, the Ministers enjoy certain other allowances. Thus, the Bihar Budget for 1946-47, makes provision for the following expenses of Ministers :—(a) Purchase of Motor Cars for the use of the Hon'ble Ministers—Rs. 90,000 ; (b) and Allowances for Ministers Rs. 45,000 ; the expenditure on tours of Ministers has increased considerably under the new constitution. Thus, under the Montford constitution the Ministers and Executive Councillors in Bengal used to get rupees fifteen per day as daily allowance while on tour in addition to actual first class fares for themselves and third class tickets for their servants, the number not exceeding four in case of the former. But under the present administration, the Ministers get, while on tour, rupees twenty-five per day as daily allowance in addition to four first class and ten third class servants' tickets. ✓

When the Government of India Act was passed and the Instruments of Instructions were issued, Indian publicists and politicians thought that the mode of appointment of Ministers, the Special Powers, the Special Responsibilities, and the Discretionary Powers of the Governor will reduce the Ministers to mere figureheads. But the experience of the working of the Provincial Constitution during the last twenty-eight months has shown the baselessness of such apprehensions. The Instruments of Instructions mention the desirability of having regard to communal claims in the appointment of Ministers. It was apprehended that the representation of different communities in the Ministry would destroy its homogeneity, and stand in the way of realisation of collective responsibility. (But it was forgotten that the Governor cannot force the Premier to accept his nominee in the Council of Ministers.) The Governors have exercised as much influence as Queen Victoria is known to have exercised in the selection of Ministers, leaving the ultimate decision to the Premiers. Actually the leaders of the Majority Party or Coalition Party generally took care to appoint some Ministers from the Minority Communities belonging to their own party. In one Province

Position of
Ministers in
theory and
in practice }

the Governor was memorialized to include a representative of a minority community in the Ministry, but he refused to exercise his discretion.

There are, however, two remarkable deviations from the practice of responsible government as it obtains in England. In England, the House of Commons can propose a reduction to the salary of Ministers at the time of budget discussion. Such a proposal offers opportunity for criticism of the Department in charge of a particular Minister. But in the Indian Provinces the Ministers' salaries have to be settled by an Act of the Provincial Legislature, and once settled they cannot be amended during the tenure of office of these Ministers. The Provincial Legislature, however, can pass a vote of no-confidence against a particular Ministers or against the whole Ministry. In theory, the Ministers hold office so long as the Governor pleases to allow them to retain office, but in practice the Ministers remain in office so long as they enjoy the confidence and command the support of the Legislature. Another deviation from the Convention of the English Constitution is that the King never attends Cabinet meetings; whereas the Governor is entitled to preside at Cabinet meetings and to obtain all the information relating to every subject in any department of his Government from his Ministers or from his Secretaries. It is difficult to say to what extent the Governors exercise their power and influence in the Cabinet meetings.

The Ministers in Congress Provinces enjoyed immense popularity and esteem. No Governor, not even a Governor-General has ever received such ovation from the people as the Congress Ministers got in Bihar. I have got no personal knowledge of the power and influence exercised by Ministers in other Provinces. But generally speaking, it may be said that the Ministers in every Congress Province were acclaimed everywhere as their own men by the people. The Ministers have not got the power to introduce the "Spoils System," they cannot reward their supporters with high posts in the I. P. S., I. C. S., etc., the Congress Ministers refused to recommend any man for honorary titles; yet they exercised great influence. 'All the opportunity that the Indian politician in power,' says Prof. K. T. Shah, 'will have to reward his followers, and to maintain their continued support in the Legislature as well as in the country, is to be found in such patronage for employment, which, under the Law and the Rules made for the purpose, is in the power of the Ministers, singly or in Council and in those trends of policy which might provide the biggest figures in the economic world with larger and more numerous opportunities for exploiting the country.' For obvious reasons

examples of the exercise of such patronage cannot be discussed at present.

Relation between Governor and Ministers Or

Nature of Ministerial responsibility

The function of the Council of Ministers, as laid down in Section 50 of the Act of 1935, is to 'aid and advise' the Governor. The King of England does not preside over the Cabinet meetings, but the Governor of an Indian province does preside over the deliberations of the Ministers. This undermines the sense of joint responsibility of the Ministers. Governor may influence them to adopt a particular course of action, for which the Ministers are held responsible.

Governor
presides
over min-
isterial deli-
berations

The responsibility of Ministers is seriously affected by Section 52 which enumerates the Governor's Special Responsibilities. In the discharge of his Special Responsibilities the Governor may not be guided by the advice of his Ministers. In the large field of his discretionary powers the Governor need not consult his Ministers at all. Law and order have been transferred to the Ministers, but the Governor retains large powers over these Departments. Section 56 empowers the Governor to exercise his individual judgment with regard to the Police Rules. Section 57 states that when the Governor is convinced that peace or tranquillity of the Provinces is being endangered by the operation of any person committing, or conspiring, preparing; or attempting to commit crimes of violence which in the opinion of the Governor are intended to overthrow the Government, the Governor to that extent shall be able to exercise powers in his discretion for quelling such disturbances, and he may authorise an official to speak and take part in the proceedings of the Legislature. This provides practically for partial assumption of power by the Governor when he is convinced of the necessity of doing so. (This power is different from the power conferred on him by Section 93 where under the whole machinery of provincial Government may be brought under the control of the Governor.) Section 58 provides that the sources of information in respect of crimes of violence tending to the overthrow of the Government should not be disclosed without the direction of the Governor. The powers of the Governor to promulgate Ordinances and enact Governor's Acts also restrict the field of ministerial responsibility.

Special
powers and
Responsi-
bilities
of the
Governor

The Minister is responsible for every act of members of the

Civil Service employed in the Departments in his charge. But he has little power in the matter of appointment, dismissal or punishment of the Imperial Services. The permanent Secretary of a Department is an I. C. S. and he has access to the Governor to keep the latter informed of the work of his department. He has direct responsibility for ascertaining what matters are to be referred to the Governor or the Public Services Commission. (Such powers and responsibilities of the members of permanent Service are detrimental to the responsibility of Ministers to the provincial legislature.)

According to the Act of 1935 it is not obligatory on the Council of Ministers to act collectively so that the sense of collective responsibility may develop. In the Congress Ministry of C. P.

{ Collective
responsi-
bility

Mr. Insoof Shareef, Minister of Justice, was charged by the Congress Working Committee with miscarriage of justice and was called upon to resign. He had to resign, but his resignation did not affect the position of his colleagues in the Ministry. The C. P. Ministers did not care to abide by the decision of the Chief Minister, Dr. N. B. Khare. When Dr. Khare resigned, his colleagues Mr. R. S. Sukla, Pandit D. P. Misra and Mr. K. D. Mehta did not care to resign. They said that they could not resign without the instructions of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Such a plea is a negation of the doctrine of collective responsibility. (The three Ministers practically said that they were subordinate to the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, and not to the Chief Minister. (The Governor dismissed them from office and asked Dr. Khare to form a new Cabinet.) Dr. Khare formed a new Cabinet excluding the three ministers from it. But the Congress Working Committee charged Dr. Khare with indiscipline and forced him to resign. X Another instance of disregard of the Chief Minister's wishes took place in Bengal, when Mr. Nausher Ali refused to resign at the express suggestion of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the then Chief Minister of Bengal. The whole Cabinet had to resign on the 22nd of June, 1938 with a view to eliminate Mr. Nausher Ali from the Ministry, which was reconstituted immediately afterwards. The lack of collective responsibility is also illustrated by the resignation of Mr. Naliniranjan Sarkar from the Coalition Ministry of Bengal in December, 1939. He did not agree to the demand of his colleagues that after the war the new Constitution should be based upon the consent and approval of minorities. Mr. Sarkar remained neutral at the time of voting this resolution. The Coalition Party passed a vote of no-confidence at its own Party meeting against Mr. Sarkar. He resigned from the ministerial but stated that under Section 64 of the Act an individual Minister was entitled to express his own views,

and that in a Coalition Cabinet a Minister was entitled to exercise his freedom of vote and speech in an individual way. The same claim was put forward in the Conference of Ministers held at Karachi during the Christmas Week of 1943. The Conference resolved that "Joint responsibility might be relaxed in highly controversial and political matters where different parties forming Coalition Ministries did not agree." But it may be pointed out that joint responsibility does not mean day to day functioning of Government but assumes that Ministers who have formed a Coalition have reached a political understanding on general policy. If the Karachi formula be adopted as a guiding principle for forming a Coalition Ministry, the ministerial body would be reduced into a group of politicians sharing the spoils of office.

✓ The Governor of C. P. dismissed three ministers of the Khare ministry indeed, but this was done on the advice of Khare himself. ✓ The dismissal of the late Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, the Chief Minister of Sind on October 10, 1942 is the only real instance of the Governor's exercise of the power of dismissing Ministers. Mr. Allah Bux had renounced his titles as a protest against the repressive policy of Government of India during the August disturbances. The Governor, probably at the direction of the Governor-General, informed him that he (Mr. Allah Bux) did not possess the Governor's confidence and that he could not in consequence continue to hold office. Lord Linlithgow in his statement which led to the assumption of office by the Congress Party in 1937 gave the undertaking that Governors would not interfere in day-to-day administration. But conditions of war have altered the circumstances in that a Governor cannot allow a situation to develop through the action or inaction of his Ministers, which might threaten the peace and tranquillity of the province or impede the efficient prosecution of the war. Such a situation may arise, for instance, in the field of food or public health or labour. But whereas in peace time a Governor could afford to sit back and allow his Ministry to learn by trial and error, he has now to keep constant watch to determine whether his special responsibility is necessitated by any action or inaction of his Ministers. The Governor of Sind has issued under his Special Responsibility an anti-hoarding order for wheat, making it an offence for anybody to keep more than a certain amount of wheat after January 15, 1944. The Ministers informed the Governor that they would not be a party to any policy of rationing, procurement and requisitioning as their power had been taken away by the direction of the Government of India under Section 126A. They said that they could not shoulder any responsibility without

Dismissal
of Minis-
ters by
Governor

Increase of
degree of
interfe-
rence of
Governor
in adminis-
tration dur-
ing the war

power. Under such circumstances they should have resigned instead of satisfying themselves and their constituencies by issuing a statement merely.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq in his statement in the Legislative Assembly on the 5th July, 1943, (*i.e.*, after his resignation) brought a series of charges against the Governor for interfering in day-to-day administration. He said that

{ Mr. Fazlul
Huq's
charges of
Governor's
interference

(1) the Governor used to "monopolise all the discussions and practically forced decisions on his Ministers, (2) that the Joint Secretary, Commerce and Labour Department, was ordered by the Governor to remove rice from the Minister-in-charge, (3) that boats were removed without the knowledge of the Cabinet or Home members, (4) that heavy collective fines were imposed inspite of the protest of the Chief Minister, (5) that politically suspected persons were arrested without consulting the Ministers, etc. etc." He further stated that "the Government of India Act was bad enough," and "is no better than a clever subterfuge by which the permanent officials have got all the powers but no responsibility, whereas the Ministers have got all the responsibility, and no power." But the camouflage with which the Act abounds is so transparent that it is not difficult to detect that beneath the pretentious device of Ministers functioning in a system of provincial autonomy, the real power is still vested in the permanent officials; the Ministers have been given a mockery of authority and the steel frame of the Imperial Services still remains intact, dominating the entire administration, and casting sombre shadows over the activities of Ministers." The former Chief Minister of Bengal has expressed his ideas here with his usual hyperbolic figure of speech. His complaints sound like those of the fox saying that the grapes are sour. If the Governor's interference had been so vexatious and if the Imperial Services dominated the Ministers so much, why did he cling to office for six long years? He should at least have resigned along with Dr. Symaprasad Mookerjee. The experience of the Congress Ministers has not been like that of Mr. Huq. Many of them stated that they got whole-hearted co-operation from the members of the Services.

X. Position of the Services

{ Members of the All-India Services, consisting of the Civil Service proper, the Indian Police Service, the Service of Engineers, the Medical Service, the Educational Service, the Agricultural Service and the Veterinary Service, as well as those of Provincial Services, carry out the routine business of administra-

tion under the Ministers.) The tradition of government in India encouraged the Government servants to look upon themselves as the governing class. In fact, members of the Civil Service had so long occupied the key positions in the Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary, and had actually framed the policy of the Government. They were deprived of the power of laying down policy to some extent by the Act of 1919, but as Executive Councillors and Secretaries they wielded considerable influence in the determination of policy. The Act of 1935, however, divested them of all responsibility as regards general policy of administration, which is to be laid down by the Ministers.

Much of the success of the government depends, however, on the loyalty, happiness and contentment of the Services. The Constitution, therefore, guarantees the tenure of office, emoluments and other privileges of the members of the Services. The Joint Select Committee summarise the rights of the officers appointed by the Secretary of State which are protected by law :

- (a) a right of complaint to the Governor or Governor-General against any order from an official superior affecting his conditions of service ;
- (b) a right to the concurrence of the Governor or Governor-General to any order of posting or to any order affecting emoluments or pensions, and any order of formal censure ;
- (c) a right of appeal to the Secretary of State against orders passed by an authority in India of censure or punishment or affecting disadvantageously his conditions of service and terminating his employment before the age of superannuation ;
- (d) regulation of his conditions of service (including the posts to be held) by the Secretary of State, who will be assisted in his task by a body of advisers of whom at least one-half will have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India ;
- (e) the exemption of all sums payable to him or to his dependents from the vote of either Chamber of the Legislature.

It will thus be seen that if the Governor or the Governor-General wishes to exercise his power of protecting the Services, the Ministers are restricted as regards postings, allocation of work, reorganisation of services and functions and other matters which relate to the enforcement of policy and the efficiency of administration.

But no Governor has in the least encouraged the Services to defy the Ministers. The Civil Services have been asked to carry out the policy laid down by Ministers irrespective of their own likes or dislikes. "It is only by rigid avoidance," said Sir John Anderson in August, 1937, "of party connexion that a Civil Servant can give the unquestioning and unquestionable loyalty which every lawful Government is entitled to expect from him in the formulation, and the carrying out of his administrative policy." The Governor has, indeed, upheld the claims of the members of the Services whenever any gross injustice was threa-

tened, such as in the case of proposed reduction in the salary ; but cases of such injustice have been rare. On the whole the Ministers of most of the Provinces had excellent relation with the members of the Services. One Chief Secretary in a Congress Province was bold enough to issue a circular to all Departments to ignore the Orders of Ministers which did not purport to emanate from a Secretary. The Chief Secretary came to realise his mistake very soon. Such cases of defying the authority of Ministers have been extremely rare. It must be said to the credit of the Services that they have adopted themselves to their new role within a very short period and have carried out the policy of the Ministers with singular loyalty, devotion, and even enthusiasm. As an example of devoted enthusiasm of the Public Services we may mention the work of all grades of Educational Service, from the Director of Public Instructions and the Secretary of the Mass Literacy Committee (Prof. Bhupati Bhusan Mukherjee) to the Sub-divisional Inspectors of Schools in connection with the Mass Literacy Campaign in Bihar, inaugurated by Dr. Syed Mahmud, the Education Minister. The experience of actual working of the Constitution has belied all the dark prophecies made by the publicists in India. A critic like Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, whose views are usually sober and moderate, wrote three years ago, that "there can be no genuine Provincial Autonomy without control over the Services, and the anomalous and illogical position which has been a fruitful source of misunderstanding in the past will be perpetuated. It will provide recurring causes of irritation and suspicion between Ministers and Executive heads of their Departments and will clog the wheels of the administrative machinery." But Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit have unhesitatingly testified to the loyal co-operation they received from the members of the Services. During the last two years the members of the Services have been quietly pushed to the background by the personality of Ministers in almost all the Provinces.

XI. The Public Services Commission

The Provincial Public Services are recruited by the advice of the Provincial Public Services Commission. The Governor in his discretion, appoints the Chairman and other members of the Commission. At least one-half of the members of the Commission must have served the Crown in India for at least ten years on the date of their appointment. Recently in an eastern Province inter-provincial jealousy led to an agitation against the appointment of a member to a

{Members
of the
Commission

Provincial Public Services Commission ; but the Governor stood firm in his decision. Some Provinces have their own separate Commission, while other Provinces, like Bihar, Orissa and the C. P. and Berar, maintain a Commission jointly.

The duties of the Federal and Provincial Public Services Commissions are laid down in Section 266 of the Act as follows :

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| <p>✓(1) To conduct examinations for appointments to the service of the Federation and the Provinces respectively. ✓(2) If required by any two or more Provinces so to do, to assist those Provinces in framing and operating schemes of joint recruitment for their forest services, and any other services for which candidates possessing special qualifications are required. ✓(3) The Secretary of State as respects services and posts to which appointments are made by him, the Governor-General in his discretion as respects other services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Federation, and the Governor in his discretion as respects other services and posts in connection with the affairs of a Province, may make regulations specifying the matters, on which either generally or in any particular class of case, or any particular circumstances, it shall not be necessary for a Public Services Commission to be consulted. But, subject to regulations so made, and to the provisions of the next succeeding sub-section, the Federal Commission or, as the case may be, the Provincial Commission <i>shall be consulted</i> : (a) on all matters relating to methods of recruitment of Civil Services and for Civil posts ; (b) on the principles to be followed in making appointments to Civil Services and posts, in making promotions and transfers from one service to another, and on the suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions or transfers ; (c) on all disciplinary matters, including memorials or petitions relating to such matters ; (d) on any claim by or in respect of a person who is serving or has served His Majesty in a civil capacity in India, that any costs incurred by him in defending legal proceedings instituted against him in respect of acts done in the execution of his duty should be paid out of the revenues of the Federation or, as the case may be, the Province ; (e) on any claim for the award of compensation in respect of injuries sustained by a person while serving His Majesty in a civil capacity in India, and any question as to the amount of any such award, and it shall be the duty of a Public Services Commission to advise on any matter so referred to them, and on any other matter which the Governor-General in his discretion or, as the case may be, the Governor in his discretion, may refer to them.</p> | <p>Duties of the Com-
missions } }</p> |
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Public Services Commissions have no authority to determine the quota of appointments which should go to any particular community. Such an allocation of quota is regarded as a matter of general policy and as such lies in the hands of

Ministers. The Ministers, however, in several Provinces, have stretched the meaning of the term 'community' to the furthest extent. Not only are the Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Mussalmans, Christians, etc., but also the different castes and the Bengalees in Assam and Bihar are treated as separate communities. The Public Services Commission can hold competitive examinations, but where numerous communities are entitled to representation in the Services, it is by no means certain that the most meritorious candidates will be appointed. (The recommendations of the Public Services Commissions are not legally binding on the Ministers.) Ministers in many Provinces are known to have set aside the recommendations of the Public Services Commissions. In one Province, the Public Services Commission recommended three names in order of merit for appointment to a Lectureship in a Government College. The Education Minister himself came to the College with all the three candidates and asked each of them to teach a particular portion of a text-book. The candidate who was able to make the most favourable impression on the mind of the Minister, the Principal of the College and the head of the Department of the College concerned was appointed. This sets the model to the mode of recruitment to the public services. But few Ministers have the energy, time and the requisite qualification of the particular Minister referred to here. The Public Services Commission is not entitled to be consulted in the matter of appointment, promotion, transfer and discipline of public servants of subordinate ranks.

XII. Provincial Legislatures

✓ The Provincial Legislatures do not represent the people in general. They are composed of representatives of separate communities, interests and sexes. The result of such a scheme of representation is that some members are representatives of a vast number of people, while others represent only a few. (Though the number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians is very small in every Province, yet they are given disproportionately large number of seats. The landlords may offer themselves as representatives in general constituencies, and in their specially reserved constituencies; over and above these they can protect their vested interests through their special representatives in the Upper Chamber.) The framers of the Constitution seem to have been extremely solicitous for protecting the vested interests of the merchants, manufacturers and landlords. Their aim has been fulfilled in those Provinces where there is no large majority of homogeneous population and where the operation of the Communal Award has

made it impossible for the true representatives of the people from being elected. The Communal Award (August 4, 1932), which was made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister, at the request of Mahatma Gandhi himself, has in every Province assigned a definite number of seats for Mussalmans, Sikhs, and Indian Christians. The Award was modified by the Poona Pact which has secured the representation of the Harijans, officially known as the Scheduled Castes.

The Legislature in Bengal, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay are bi-cameral while in the other five provinces it is unicameral. The objects of creating second Chambers in Provinces were to prevent hasty and ill-considered legislation and to protect the vested interests of the richer classes. } Second Chamber in six Provinces Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru voiced the opinion of the general masses of the people when he submitted before the Joint Committee that the Provincial Second Chambers will be useless and harmful. He added: "It is perfectly true that whenever there are important zemindars, there is a demand for the establishment of a Second Chamber, but this demand is not endorsed by general public opinion. I personally have grave doubts as to whether Second Chambers by themselves can effectively protect the interests of the zemindars or otherwise conservative classes. I am also more than doubtful as to whether constituted as the zemindar class at present is, it can supply a sufficient number of men who can effectively discharge the functions of the members of an Upper Chamber as in other countries. Nor do I feel so confident as Sir Malcolm Hailey seemed to be that it would be possible to secure the right type of men from among commercial magnates or retired members of the Judiciary. If the Second Chamber's legitimate function is going to be that of a revising body, then I do not expect any such results to follow from them in the Provinces of India. On the other hand, if they are to function merely as brakes upon hasty and ill-considered legislation passed by the Lower Chambers, one ought not to overlook the danger—by no means imaginary—that the Second Chambers may, and probably will effectively block all social legislation of a progressive character and thus come into conflict with the popular Lower House and general public opinions. There is also the question of a greater strain being placed on the provincial purse by the establishment of a Second Chamber and we ought not to overlook it." The experience of the last twenty-eight months of working of the Constitution has proved the validity of the doubts entertained by Sir Tej. } Joint Sitting But the Upper Chambers have failed to block progressive measures on account of the provision regarding joint session of the two Houses in cases of conflict between the two. The Congress has

captured majority of seats in all the Provinces, having bi-cameral legislature, excepting Bengal.

The Upper Chambers known as Legislative Councils have a perpetual existence, members holding their seats for nine years with periodic triennial retirement. The franchise is based on high property qualification, or qualification based on service in certain distinguished public offices. The principle of composition of Second Chambers is not the same in all the six Provinces. In Bengal and Bihar, 27 out of the maximum of 65 and 12 out of the maximum of 30 members are elected by the Assemblies by the method of single transferable vote. In the other four Provinces all the members of the Council are directly elected. The Governor has power to nominate a few members to the Councils. The chart given herewith illustrates the composition of the Provincial Second Chambers.

The Lower Chamber, known as the Legislative Assembly has a term of five years as a maximum. Even the Governor cannot extend its life beyond five years. After the general election of 1937 the strength of parties in the different Provincial Assemblies was as follows.

In Bengal—Congress 52, Independent 113, Muslim League 39, Hindu Nationalist 3, Hindu Mahasabha 2, People's Party 36, Trippera Krishak Samity 5. In Madras—Congress 159, Independent 15, Muslim League 9, Muslim Progress 1, No Party 9, Justice 21, People's Party 1. In Bombay—Congress 85, Independent 39, Muslim League 18, Democratic Swaraj 3, Ambedkar Party 13, Non-Brahmin 10, Varnashrama 1, Koti Sabha 1, Labour 4. In the Punjab—Congress 19, Independent 19, Muslim League 1, Unionist 95, Hindu Election Board 11, Ahrars 2, Ittihad-i-Millat 2, Khalsa National Board 14, Akali 10, Socialist 1, Labour 1. In the U. P.—Congress 136, Independent 43, Muslim League 26, Liberal 1, National Agriculturist 22. In the N.-W. F. Province—Congress 19, Independent 3, Hindu Sikh Nationalist 7, No Party 21. In Sind—Congress 7, Hindu 12, Independent 3, No Party 1, Sir Ghulam Hussain's Party 16, United 17, Azad Party 1, European 3. In Bihar—Congress 92, Independent 16, United 6, No Party 32, Depressed 3, Ahrar 3. In the C. P. Assembly—Congress 70, Independent 19, Ambedkar's Party 1, Independent Labour Party 2, Nationalist Raja Party 1, Nationalist 2, Non-Brahmin 3, Hindu Sabha 1, Muslim League 5, Muslim Parliamentary Board 8. In the Assam Assembly—Congress 33, Non-Congress 14, Muslim League 10, Muslim Party 24, Independent 27. In Orissa—Congress 36, Independent 6, Nationalist 4, No Party 4, United 6.

It is a noticeable feature of the new Constitution that in

Bengal, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier and Sind, a small Muhammadan majority over any other single group is assured. In several matters the two Chambers have equal legislative rights. But the Legislative Councils have no voice in the matter of grants and they have no initiative in Financial Bills. If a Bill which has been passed by the Legislative Assembly and transmitted to the Legislative Council, is not presented by the latter to the Governor for the assent within twelve months, the Governor may summon the Chambers to meet in a joint sitting for the purposes of deliberating and voting on the Bill. If the Bill relates to finance or a matter of Special Responsibility, the Governor may summon the Chambers to meet in a joint sitting for the purpose aforesaid, notwithstanding that the said period of twelve months has not elapsed, in his discretion. At a joint sitting of the Chambers the President of the Legislative Council presides.

Relation
between the
two Houses

Joint
sittings

The Speaker is the President of the Legislative Assembly. Efficient working of the Assembly depends largely upon his personality and ability to win confidence of all sections of the House. He is elected by the House from amongst its own members and gets a high salary for his work. "The persons who have been elected Speakers," observes Prof. Gurumukh Nihal Singh, "in Provinces under Congress rule, are not of the type chosen in England for the Speakership. They have taken far too active a part in the Congress movement, several of them having suffered imprisonment in the cause, to become suddenly indifferent to the fate of the Congress or of the movement for national freedom. I doubt if it is possible for persons of this type to develop at this stage in the life of the nation a purely constitutional mentality and to circumscribe their activities within the four walls of the Legislative Chamber." His doubts are justifiable; the Speakers in Congress Provinces have refused to give up their party affiliation, but at the same time it must be said that their conduct has given satisfaction to all the parties in the House. In the non-Congress Provinces the Speakers had at times great difficulty in maintaining the dignity of the House and they have sometimes been accused of partnership.

The
Speaker

Ordinary Bills must be passed by both the Chambers, where there is a Second Chamber. These may originate in either House. A Bill pending in the Legislative Council which has not been passed by the Legislative Assembly shall not lapse on a dissolution of the Assembly. But a Bill pending in the Legislative Assembly or passed by it but pending in the Council shall lapse on a dissolution of the Assembly. When a Bill has been passed by both the Chambers

Procedure
in ordinary
bills

(or by the Legislative Assembly alone where there is no Second Chamber), it is to be presented to the Governor. The Governor may give his assent to it, veto it, or reserve it for the consideration of the Governor-General.

No proposal for the imposition of taxation or for the appropriation of public revenues, nor any proposal affecting or imposing any charge upon those revenues, can be made without the recommendation of the Governor, that is to say, it can only be made on the responsibility of the Executive. The proposals for the annual appropriation of revenue are grouped in three categories : (1) those which are submitted to the vote of the Legislature ; (2) those which are not submitted to the vote of the Legislature though (with one exception) they are open to discussion ; (3) proposals, if any, which the Governor may regard as necessary for the fulfilment of any of his Special Responsibilities.

The following are charged on the revenues, and therefore not votable :—(a) The salary and allowance of the Governor and other expenditure relating to his office for which provision is required to be made by Order in Council : (b) Debt charges for which the Province is liable including interest, sinking fund charges and redemption charges, and other expenditure relating to the raising of loans and the service and redemption of debt ; (c) The salaries and allowances of Ministers and the Advocate-General ; (d) Expenditure in respect of the salaries and allowances of Judges of any High Court ; (e) Expenditure for Excluded areas ; sums to meet judgments or awards of court and any other sums charged by the Act or any Provincial Act. The Governor's salary is exempted from discussion ; but other items may be discussed.

It must be noted that even the rejected items in the demands for grants open to voting can be restored by the Governor, if he thinks that these involve any of his Special Responsibilities. The Provincial Legislature is not the sole authority in legislation. The Governor has power to legislate in many important affairs. The Provincial Legislature has neither constituent powers, nor can it settle questions of franchise, fix constituencies and decide upon the methods of election—all these are settled finally by the British Parliament. Moreover, its powers are not final even in the subjects declared to be exclusively provincial. In some cases bills are reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General and that of His Majesty. The Provincial Legislature cannot be said to have been empowered to exercise full and absolute control over the Ministers. If the Legislature

Composition of the Provincial Upper Chamber

	Bengal	Bihar	Bombay	Madras	U. P.	Assam
Directly elected by General Const.	10	9	20	35	34	10
Muhammedan	17	4	5	7	17	6
European	3	1	1	1	1	2
Indian Christian	x	x	x	3	x	x
Elected by Assemblies	27	12	x	x	x	x
Nominated by Governor	6	4	3 to 4	9	8	4
Total	63	30	29 to 30	55	60	22
	Two seats which are to be filled by the Governor remained vacant					One seat is to be filled up by nomination by the Governor

Composition of Provincial Legislative Assemblies

Province.	Total Seats.	General Seats.	Sikh Seats.	Muhammedan Seats.	Anglo-Indian Seats.	European Seats.	Indian Christian Seats.	Seats for representatives of commerce, industry, mining and planting.	Landholders' seats.	University Seats.	Seats of representatives of labour.	General Sikh Seats.	Muhammadan Seats.	Anglo-Indian.	Indian Christian.
Madras	215	146	30	1	—	28	2	2	3	3	8	3	6	6	1
Bombay	175	114	15	1	—	29	2	2	3	3	7	2	7	7	1
Bengal	250	78	30	—	—	117	3	11	2	2	19	3	5	5	1
United Provinces	228	140	20	—	—	64	1	2	2	2	3	6	5	2	1
Punjab	175	43	8	—	—	84	1	1	2	1	4	4	5	1	1
Bihar	152	86	15	7	—	39	1	1	2	1	4	4	4	1	1
C. P. and Berar	112	84	20	1	—	14	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	1
Assam	108	47	7	9	—	34	—	—	—	—	4	4	1	—	—
N.-W. Frontier Province	50	9	—	—	—	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Orissa	60	44	6	5	—	4	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	—
Sind	60	18	—	—	—	33	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	—
Total	1565	808	151	24	34	482	11	26	20	56	37	8	38	28	1

proves refractory, the Governor can declare a partial breakdown of the Constitution and continue to rule with the help of Ministers, provided the Ministers are reasonable enough from the point of view of the Governor.

XIII. Party system in Provincial Assemblies *

There have been two general Elections since the introduction of the Constitution of 1935—one in 1937 and another in 1946. The party system has been consolidated during the last nine years and the number of members belonging to no organised political party has decreased. The two major political parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, have gained a larger number of seats in 1946 than what they had in 1937. Out of the total of 1585 seats in the Provincial Assemblies, the Congress captured 707 seats in 1937, but they have succeeded in gaining as many as 930 seats in 1946. The success of the Muslim League in the recent election is even more phenomenal. In 1937 it had only 133 seats, but in 1946 it has got 427 seats out of 482 seats reserved for Mussalmans. In the election of 1946 the Hindu Mahasabha Party, the Liberal Party, the Non-Brahmin Party and the Ambedkar Party have lost seats heavily and the Congress has captured majority of these seats. Similarly the League has gained seats at the cost of the Muslim Party, Ahrats, Muslim Parliamentary Board, Ittihad-i-Millat, Krishak Proja Party etc. The Communists, as a party, contested the recent election but they could gain only seat in Orissa, 2 seats in Bombay, 2 in Madras and 3 seats in Bengal.

The comparative position of Parties in 1937 and in 1946 will be seen from the chart given below :—

BENGAL, 260 SEATS

1937
Congress 52, Muslim League 39,
Proja 36, Tippera Krishak Samity 5,
Hindu Sabha 3, Europeans 25, others
86.

1946
Congress 86, Muslim League 114,
Europeans 23, Independent Muslims
3, Independent Hindu 1, Independent
Scheduled Caste 6, Communist 3,
Hindu Mahasabha 1, Krishak Proja
4, others 9.

ASSAM, 108 SEATS

Congress 33, Muslim League 10,
Muslim Party 24, Non-Congress 14,
others 27.

Congress 59, Muslim League 31,
Europeans 9, Independents 6, Zamiat-
ul-Ulema 3.

ORISSA, 60 SEATS, BUT THE ACCOUNT OF 56 SEATS IS AVAILABLE

Congress 36, United Party 6, Inde-
pendents 6, National Party 4, others
4.

Congress 47, Muslim League 4,
Independents 4, Communist 1.

BIHAR, 152 SEATS

1937

Congress 92, United (Muslim) Party 6, Ahrars 3, No-party Muslims 27, Depressed Classes League 3, others 21.

1946

Congress 98, Muslim League 34, Momins 5, Adibasis 3, others 12.

CENTRAL PROVINCES, 112 SEATS

Congress 70, Muslim League 5, Muslim Parliamentary Board 8, Non-Brahmins 3, others 26.

Congress 92, Muslim League 13, Muslim Independent 1, Labour Independent 1, Independents 2, Scheduled Caste Federation 1, Hindu Mahasabha 1, Landholder 1.

UNITED PROVINCES, 228 SEATS

Congress 134, Muslim League 26, National Agriculture Party 22, Liberal 1, others 45.

Congress 153, Muslim League 54, Nationalist Muslims 7, Ahrar 1, Independent Muslims 1, Independents 12.

PUNJAB, 175 SEATS

Congress 19, Muslim League 1, Unionist 96, Akalis 10, Khalsa National Board 14, Hindu Election Board 11, Ittihad-i-Millat 2, Ahrars 2, others 20.

Congress 51, Muslim League 75, Unionist 20, Panthic Akalis 22, Independents 7.

SIND, 60 SEATS

Congress 7, Sir Ghulam Hussain's Party 16, United Party 17, Hindu Party 12, Independent Congress Communist 1, Azad Party 1, others 6.

Congress 21, Muslim League 27, Nationalist Muslims 4, Syed Party 4, Europeans 3, Labour 1.

N.-W. F. PROVINCE, 50 SEATS

Congress 19, No Party 21, Hindu-Sikh Nationalist 27, others 3.

Congress 30, Muslim League 17, Akali 1, Nationalist Muslims 2.

BOMBAY, 175 SEATS

Congress 86, Muslim League 18, Ambedkar Party 13, Non-Brahmins 10, Labour 4, Democratic Swaraj Party 2, Varnashram 1, Khoti Sabha 2, others 39.

Congress 128, Muslim League 30, Europeans 6, Independents 5, Hindu Mahasabha 1, Communists 2, Radical Democrat 1, others 2.

MADRAS, 215 SEATS

Congress 159, Muslim League 10, Justice Party 21, People's Party 1, others 24.

Congress 165, Muslim League 28, Europeans 7, Independents 9, Communists 2, others 4.

XIV. The Electorate

The electoral system of India is based on the principle of separate representation of "communities, classes and interests." The electorate is divided into general, with reservation for the Scheduled castes, Muhammadan, Sikh, Anglo-Indian, European, Indian Christian; Commerce, Industry, Mining and Planting; Land-holders, Universities, Labour, Women, and Backward areas and tribes according to the special needs of individual provinces. The qualifications required for the right of franchise are usually payment of taxes, educational qualification and holding of property. But there is no uniformity in the standard of these requisite qualifications between the different communities, nor among the different provinces. The franchise has been extended to all women (a) who possess a property qualification in their own right, (b) who are the widows or wives of men with property qualification; but only one wife of qualified voter can vote. In case a person has more than one wife either the first or the one nominated by the husband can exercise franchise, (c) women who are the wives of men with a military service qualification are eligible for the vote; (d) who are pensioned widows and mothers of Indian officers, non-commissioned officers or soldiers, or members of the Regular Forces or of any British India Police Force and (e) who have the educational qualification have been given the right to vote.

The franchise has been extended from 3 per cent of the population under the Mont-Ford Constitution to 14 per cent of the total population. The total gross electorate in British India is estimated to be 35 million, of whom 29 million are male voters and 6 million women voters. The percentage of voters to the total adult population is 27. In the case of males alone the percentage to the total adult male population is 43 per cent. Of the women voters only 3 lakhs are qualified by education, 20 lakhs by property and 40 lakhs by wifehood.

It is superfluous to mention that many of the Indian voters are illiterate. They have very little power of judging the merits of the programme of different parties. Caste, section and religion are often the uppermost consideration in the mind of the electors. Zemindars, money lenders and employers exercise undue influence on the voters at the time of election. Women very often vote in the same way as their husbands. The prevalence of the Purdah system makes it easy for women voters to make false personation. A small percentage of voters care to come to the polls. In the last general election (1937) the percentage of voters who polled to the number of voters in contested Constituencies for Provincial Assemblies was as follows: North-West Frontier Province 72·8%, Assam 71·35%, Punjab 63·7%, Bihar 59·22%,

Orissa 58·87%, U. P. 58·3%, C. P. & Berar 54·8%, Sind 54·2%, Bombay 51·7%, Madras 51·6%, Bengal 40·5%. It is curious that in the advanced provinces like Bengal, Madras and Bombay the callousness of voters was most pronounced. It is also noticeable that larger the total number of voters in a Province, the lower the number of voters coming to the polls. Thus, Bengal (6,695,483) and Madras (6,436,760) having the largest number of voters recorded the lowest percentage of votes ; while the percentage of votes recorded was highest in the North-West Frontier Province and Assam because in these two Provinces the total number of voters was 246,609 and 815,341. The reluctance to go to the polls is more marked among women than among men. In Bengal, where there were nearly nine lakhs of women voters, and where there are so many leaders of women movement, only 46,758 women voters, that is 5·2 per cent of the total strength cared to exercise their franchise. The experience of the first general election with the enlarged electorate shows little hope of success of universal adult franchise in India. Difficulties of communication and conveyance which stand in the way of approaching the electors by the candidates, apathy and ignorance of the illiterate voters and indifference of some of the educated persons to the value of the Reform, have contributed to the comparative failure of the electors to come to the polls.

The separate electorate system has given special weightage to the Europeans, the Sikhs and Mussalmans. In the Provincial Assemblies, the Europeans have got 26 seats and may capture 22 to 24 seats out of the 56 seats reserved for representatives of commerce and industry, mining and planting, where they preponderate. This means representation of about 3 per cent, but their population strength is less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of one per cent. In the Federal Assembly they may secure $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of seats. The Sikhs constitute 13% of the population of the Punjab, but they have been given 18% of seats in the Provincial Assembly. In the North-West Frontier Province they have 2% population, but have been allotted 6% seats in the Provincial legislature. The Mussalmans in Madras have got more than 13 per cent of the seats as against 7·1 per cent of the population ; in the U. P. more than 27 per cent of the seats against 14·8 per cent of the population. In Bihar and Orissa taken together their allotted ratio of representation is more than double their population ratio. Thus weightage has been given to some minority communities in many provinces. But in the case of the Hindus in the Punjab and Bengal, where they are in minority, not only has no weightage been given but also lower number of seats has been allotted to them than what is warranted by their population strength in these Provinces. For instance, in Bengal the Hindus constitute 44·8 per cent of the total population and

48·3 of the adult population. Leaving the 51 seats reserved for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and special interests there are 199 seats to be divided between Hindus and Moslems. If these seats were divided in proportion to the total population, Mussalmans get 109 and Hindus 90 seats. But according to the Communal Award, the Hindus have got 80 and Mussalmans 119 seats.

Provincial Finance

One of the chief causes of the failure of the Mont-Ford Constitution of 1919 was the inadequacy of financial resources of the Provinces. The Provinces were entrusted with the task of building up of the nation by improving its education, sanitation and economic potentialities. But they were expected to discharge these duties with the meagre income from land revenue, excise, and registration mainly. It is no wonder that they failed to work out the unworkable.

At the time of implementing the Constitution of 1935, the Government of India appointed a Committee, with Sir Otto Niemeyer as its sole member, to devise ways and means for augmenting the resources of the Provinces. The Niemeyer Award
The Niemeyer Award subsequently accepted by the Government, gave relief to the Provinces in the following ways :—

(1) In the cases of Bengal, Bihar, Assam, the N.-W. F. P., and Orissa, the whole and in the case of the Central Provinces, a part of the debts contracted to the Centre prior to the 1st of April, 1936, was wiped off. This has meant the saving of some lakhs of rupees in each of these Provinces. (2) The share of the Jute Export duty distributable to Provinces has been increased from 50 to 62½ per cent. (3) Cash subvention from the Centre has been given to Assam at the rate of Rs. 30 lakhs, to Orissa 40 lakhs, to Sind 105 lakhs per year and to the United Provinces at the rate of 25 lakhs during the first five years. The North-Western Frontier Provinces received a heavy annual grant from the Centre. For the first five years it was to be at the rate of 100 lakhs, and the amount was to be reconsidered after 5 years. The subvention to Sind was granted for 10 years, after which it would gradually diminish till it disappears with the liquidation of the Sukkar Barrage debt in about 45 years. (4) With the improvement of the Railway finance, fifty per cent of the net proceeds of the Income Tax would be distributed to the Provinces at the following rate : Bombay and Bengal 26% each, Madras and U. P. 15% each, Bihar 10%, the Punjab 8%, C. P. 5%, Assam, Sind and Orissa 2% each and the N.-W. F. P. 1%. The Niemeyer Award regarding financial allocations had to be revised by the Government of India Distribution of Revenues Order in February

1940, April 1942 and again in April 1944, as some of the Provinces required larger cash subventions in order to meet the deficits created by the unforeseeable exigencies of the war.

The Government of India Act of 1935 empowered the Provinces to supplement the grants from the Centre by revenues from taxes raised by them on (a) land as land revenue ; (b) taxes on land and buildings, hearths and windows ; (c) taxes on agricultural income and duties in respect of succession to agricultural land ; (d) duties of excise on goods manufactured or produced in the Province and counter-veiling duties on certain kinds of goods produced or manufactured elsewhere in India ; (e) taxes on mineral rights subject to any Federal restrictions imposed in respect of mineral development ; (f) taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments ; (g) taxes on boats ; (h) taxes on the sale of goods, advertisements, and on luxuries ; (i) taxes on entertainments, amusements, betting and gambling ; (j) cesses on the entry of goods into a local area ; (k) dues on passengers and goods carried on inland waterways, tolls ; (l) stamp duties in respect of documents not included in the Federal list.

No province has as yet levied any tax on hearths and windows, on succession to agricultural land, on boats, nor cesses and counter-veiling duties on the entry of goods from other Provinces. The chief sources of revenue are Land Revenue, Provincial Excise, Stamps Registration, Forest, Share of Income Tax, Agricultural Income Tax in Bengal, Bihar and Assam, Sales Tax, Tax on sale of motor spirit, and Entertainment Tax.

Both the revenues and expenses of the Provinces have increased much during the war. In 1939-40 the total expenditure of all the Provinces was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 85 crores. But in the revised budget of 1944-45 it rose to 208 crores, though in the budget of 1945-46 it fell a little to Rs. 191 crores. Sind was allowed annual subvention of Rs. 105 lakhs in 1938-39 as she was a deficit Province, but during the war she has wiped out her debt and showed a surplus of Rs. 400 lakhs in 1943-44. She can now easily carry on without any subvention from the Centre. The position of Bengal, however, has deteriorated much on account of the famine of 1943 and the exigencies of war. She has received a grant of Rs. 7 crores from the Central Government in the Budget of 1946-47 and will still face a heavy deficit. Bihar faced a deficit of Rs. 55 lakhs in 1943-44, but she converted it into a surplus of Rs. 187 lakhs in the next year. The growth of financial resources of the Provinces during the war will be apparent from the fact that the revenues in Madras increased from Rs. 16 crores in 1931-32 to 45.63 crores in 1945-46 and

41.25 crores in 1946-47. The total income of Bombay and Sind in 1931-32 was 14.8 crores, but it rose to more than Rs. 30 crores for Bombay alone in 1946-47. In Bihar, the total revenue was Rs. 5.38 lakhs in 1939-40, but it has risen to Rs. 13.60 lakhs in 1946-47. This increase is due to the fact that on account of inflation the expenditure of the people on drinks, amusements and purchases has increased and consequently the tax revenues from these have also improved. In Bihar, the revenue from Excise in 1939-40, was Rs. 103 lakhs while in 1946-47 it is estimated to yield Rs. 400 lakhs. In the Punjab, the agricultural prosperity during the war years has been reflected in the progressive augmentation of the yield from land revenue, excise and forests. But the greater part of the increase in the revenue of the Provinces had to be spent on Dearness Allowance and increased cost of administration. No substantial improvement has as yet been made in agriculture, industries, irrigation, afforestation, education and sanitation. It is necessary now to husband the resources of the provinces very carefully as the war-time buoyancy is now at an end.

RXVI. Work of popular Ministers in the Provinces

The inauguration of Provincial Autonomy on the 1st April, 1937 and especially the acceptance of Ministry by the Congress in the majority of the Provinces, ushered in a new era of feverish activity in the sphere of nation-building departments. People have come to realise that the Government is not something outside them, seeking to control individual liberty, but an agent of social welfare. No other system of government in British India had ever been able to evoke that degree of popular support and enthusiasm as was done by the recent Government, especially in the Congress Provinces. The Ministers, who had been considered parts of the bureaucratic machine under Dyarchy, came to be regarded as the true representatives of the people.

Popularity
of
Ministers

The first problem that faced the Ministers was that of finance. With the extremely limited resources at their disposal and with the pledge to sacrifice the Excise Revenue, they found themselves handicapped in all their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people. They had to find out new sources of revenue. The most important source of additional revenue is the Agricultural Income Tax, which has been imposed in Bihar and Assam only. The Madras Legislature passed the Sales Turnover Tax Bill, by which $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all turnover exceeding Rs. 10,000 per annum is imposed. Dealers whose turnover is less than Rs. 10,000 will pay Rs. 5 per month. Stocks and shares, securities, bullion, cotton and handwoven cloth

Increased
taxation

sold by persons dealing in them exclusively are exempted from liability to pay the tax. The incidence of such a tax may be repressive in character. The Madras Government has also levied a special tax on the sale of tobacco. The U. P. Government has increased slightly the duty on stamps and proposed to levy an Employment Tax. The Bombay Legislature has passed the Bombay Sales Tax Act, 1939, by which Government can levy a tax at a rate not exceeding $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the value of the sale of motor spirit and manufactured cloth. The Punjab, Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Madras have also imposed taxes on retail sales of motor spirit. Amusement and betting taxes have been imposed in most of the Provinces. The Bengal Government has levied an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 on all persons paying Income taxes.

The Ministers in all the Provinces have tried to improve the condition of tenants by passing a series of landlaws. The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1938, has made provision for abolition of landlord's transfer fees and the right to pre-emption, giving under-raiyats the right to surrender their holdings, imposing fine for the exaction of Abwabs, giving occupancy under-raiyats the same right of transfer as occupancy raiyats, and reducing the rate of interest on arrears of rent from $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Bihar Government has taken elaborate steps to reduce the enhancement of rent made since 1911 ; to restore to former tenants certain lands sold for arrears of rent during a period of an unprecedented fall in prices ; to abolish the system of summary procedure for recovery of rent by landlords, to define the rights of tenants in trees and to give them the right of transferring their holding or a portion of their holding freely without restriction. The Bombay Government has provided for the relief to tenants in bad years and for freeing them from the burden of unregulated cesses and demands of all descriptions. The United Provinces Rent and Revenue (Relief) Act, 1938, gives relief to the tenants in rent and revenue in cases of agricultural calamities. Some Provinces, like Bihar, Orissa, Madras and the United Provinces have made provisions for regulating and controlling the business of money-lending. The Bihar Money Lender's Act provides for the registration of money-lenders. The registration is compulsory in as much as it provides that no suit for the recovery of a loan will be maintainable except by a registered money-lender. It is made obligatory on every registered money-lender to keep proper accounts, to give the debtor a copy of the recorded account within seven days of advancing the loan, to give a receipt for every sum paid by the debtor, and also to furnish a statement of account to the debtor at least once every year. The rate of interest has been limited to 9 per cent in case of secured and 12 per cent in case of unsecured debt.

Relief to
tenants

The various Provincial Governments have passed laws to make the constitution of local bodies more democratic. In Bihar, provision has been made for the reservation of seats for the Muslim community through joint electorate in Municipalities, and for the co-option of members up to a maximum limit of one-eighth of the total number of seats. The Bombay Government has abolished nominations, and introduced adult franchise in the Bombay Corporation, and other Municipal Boards. The C. P. Municipalities (Amendment) Bill of 1939 provides for the election of the President of a Municipal Committee by the general body of voters, for the removal of the President on a no-confidence motion carried by a bare majority and for the increase of terms of office of members from three to five years. The Punjab Government has introduced a bill to consolidate and extend the law relating to Panchayats in the Punjab. The Bombay Village Panchayats Act provides for the compulsory establishment of Panchayats for every local area having a population of 2000 or more, for abolition of the system of nominations and *ex-officio* members ; for establishment of village benches for every Panchayat and for appeals to District Court and District Magistrates in cases decided by village benches. The Bengal Legislature has passed the Calcutta Corporation Act by which separate electorates have been established for Muhammedans, and seats far greater in number than what is warranted by the strength of the Muhammedan population in Calcutta have been provided for them.

The Ministers in most of the Provinces have tried their best to help industries. Many Provinces have taken steps to improve the marketing of agricultural commodities. The All-India Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on the 25th July, 1938, on the development of industries in the Provinces 'authorizing the Congress President to convene a conference of Ministers of Industry at an early date and call for a report of the existing industries operating in different Provinces and the need and possibilities of new ones as preliminary to the appointment of the Expert Committee to explore possibilities of an All-India industrial plan.' The Expert Committee with many sub-committees have been appointed and have begun their work. Bihar has taken the lead in spreading literacy among the adult illiterates by mobilising the services of primary school teachers, college students and the country gentry. Her example has been followed in the United Provinces, Bombay, Assam and some other Provinces. It is a remarkable thing that the Provincial Governments have not been put to any considerable expenses for carrying on this highly laudable work. The middle class people have set before themselves the task of educating our

Other
ion-
iding
sciences

masters, the electorate. The Congress devised the Wardha Scheme of basic education of children.*

The nationalist opinion in India had been demanding for a long time reforms like the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary, reduction of expenditure on police, giving up of the use of Criminal Law Amendment, Act. But when the politicians shouldered responsibility, they realised that under present circumstances it is not possible to carry out such reforms.

* Zakir Hussain Wardha Education Committee Report proposes to impart education to children between 7 and 14 years of age who are expected to pay for their education by their own labour. The time table of the Basic Education Schools will be as follows :

The basic craft	3 hrs. and 20 minutes
Music, drawing and arithmetic	40 minutes
The mother-tongue	40 minutes
Social studies and general science	30 minutes
Physical training and recess	20 minutes

Total ... 5½ hours

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PROPOSED FEDERATION AND THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

. Position of the Indian States at Present

The Indian States are 562 in number, but 327 of them are mere estates, jagirs and other holdings, having in all eight lakhs of population only. The remaining 235 States are divided into two categories, in the first of which there are 109 States, the rulers of which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right, and in the second are 126 States, the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber of Princes by twelve members of their order elected by themselves. The various States differ widely among themselves in size, population, income and form of government. Hyderabad (82,698 Square miles), the biggest Indian State, is larger in area than the Province of Bengal (76,843 Square miles) though its population, is only fourteen million, as against Bengal's fifty million. The income of the Nizam is nearly nine crore of rupees per year, though Bihar with more than double the population of Hyderabad has nearly half of her income. Other Indian States having more than one crore of annual income are Mysore (3.4 crore), Baroda (2.6), Travancore (2.44), Gwalior (2.41), Kashmir (2.2), Bhavanagar (1.5), Patiala (1.4), Jodhpur (1.4), Jaipur, Bikanir and Indore (each having 1.4 crore of rupees as annual income). States like Mysore, Baroda and Travancore can claim to have systems of administration in no way inferior to that of British India; but there are other States where the government is mediaeval in structure and feudal in spirit.

Number and
character of
the Indian
States }

✓ The Indian States surrendered to the East India Company the right of conducting foreign policy, declaring war or making peace when they accepted the Subsidiary alliance. The States entered into direct relation with the Crown in 1858, and in 1861 Canning issued Sanads of adoption to all the Indian States. The Viceroy, however, stated in 1860 that the Sanads did not "debar the Government of India from stepping in to set right such serious abuses in a Native Government as may threaten any part of the country with anarchy or disturbance, nor from assuming temporary charge of a Native State when there shall be sufficient reason to do so. This has long been the practice." "The Crown of England stood forward as the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in

Relation
with the
Crown }

all India," declared Canning in a Darbar in 1862, "and was for the first time brought face to face with its feudatories." As feudal overlord the British Indian Government assumed the right to recognize succession, to approve of the appointment of Ministers of important States, as well as the right to remove or depose the Princes. In 1875, the Gaikwar of Baroda was tried on the charge of attempting to poison the British Resident, and finally deposed on the charge of maladministration. The Government have also intervened in recent years in the affairs of Alwar, Jhabua, Tonk, Kalat, Nabha, Indore and Mewad. (By usage or convention, the Government of India have exercised the right of installing Princes on gaddis administering the State during the minority of the ruler, interfering in case of gross misrule and settling disputes between rulers and their jagirdars.)

(Each state has the right to manage its own internal affairs, subject to the undefined right of the Crown's Representative to intervene.) It can raise taxes, including import and export duties. Eight States have their own mints for coining rupees and some others can only strike copper coins. Fifteen States have their own postal departments. The British Resident or other Agent usually exercises a good deal of influence in the administration of the State. The State usually delegates or cedes to British Cantonments, British Civil Stations, Railways running through the States, and the Residency, jurisdiction over servants and dependents and over European subjects and other Europeans. In other cases the jurisdiction of the State is limited and the residuary jurisdiction is exercised by the Agent of the Crown. (In a few States representative institutions have been set up but the characteristic feature of all of them is the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and judicial administration.)

The States have a common organisation of their own, known as the Chamber of Princes, created by Royal Proclamation on the 18th February, 1921. The Chamber consists of 109 Princes who are members in their own rights besides twelve other representing 127 rulers of other States. The Viceroy is the President of the Chamber. The Chamber elects its own Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and a Standing Committee of seven members. The function of the Chamber is deliberative and advisory. The Standing Committee advises the Viceroy on matters referred to it by him, and proposes for his consideration "other questions affecting Indian States generally or which are of concern either to the States as a whole or to British India and the States in common." The resolutions passed by the Chamber of Princes are not binding on the Princes. In February, 1928, the Chamber passed resolutions urging on the Princes the need of establishing a definite code of law guaran-

teeing liberty of persons and safety of property administered by a judiciary independent of the executive, and the settlement, upon a reasonable basis, of the purely personal expenditure of a ruler as distinguished from the public charges of administration. Only in some of the progressive States these much-needed reforms have been carried out.

VII. Genesis of the Federal Scheme

In February, 1924, Sir Malcolm Hailey foreshadowed a Federation of some sort in a speech before the Legislative Assembly, where he asked, "Is Dominion Self-government to be confined to British India only, or is it to be extended to the Indian States?" The Indian Princes were alarmed at the prospect of being drawn into a Federation with the Provinces in British India, whereby the Federal Government might impair the so-called internal sovereignty of the States and exercise some kind of control directly on their subjects. When the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission was announced in November, 1927, the Princes demanded that any further change in the Constitution of British India should not be made without due regard being paid to their wrongs and without suggesting the means to secure joint consultation between the Indian States and British India in matters of common concern. The Secretary of State for India appointed the Indian States Committee with Sir Harcourt Butler as Chairman to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States and to enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States. The Princes engaged Sir Leslie Scott as their counsel and the latter formulated the proposition that the relation between the Princes and the Crown is in the nature of contracts between sovereigns—the Prince and the Crown—not the Company or the Government of British India. In British India, the Congress took the lead in convening an All Parties' Conference, to which the Nehru Committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru reported in August, 1928, on the principles of which the future Constitution of India was to be based. The Committee stated that: ("If the Indian States would be willing to join such a Federation, after realizing the full implications of the federal idea, we shall heartily welcome their decision and do all that lies in our power to secure to them the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges.") But the Nehru Committee vigorously combated the idea that the relation of the Princes is of a personal nature with the Crown, and not with the British India Government.

The Nehru
Committee's
Report

The protests of the Nehru Committee did not produce any

effect. The Butler Committee presented to Parliament their report in April, 1929, in which they laid down "that the Viceroy, not the Governor-General-in-Council should in future be the Agent of the Crown in its relations with the Princes; that important matters of dispute between the States themselves, between the States and the Paramount Power, and between the States and British India should be referred to an independent committee for advice; and that the treaties, engagements and Sanads have been made with the Crown and that the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes should not be transferred, without agreement of the latter, to a new government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature."

(The Butler Committee and the doctrine of Paramountcy

(Sir William Holdsworth, the distinguished jurist and a member of the Butler Committee wrote in the *Law Quarterly Review* (October, 1930), that Paramountcy is only a part of the prerogative of the Crown, and that Paramountcy of the Crown is not assignable to anybody as it is of a personal nature.) The Paramount Power has been defined by the Butler Committee "as the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General-in-Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain.") Thus the ultimate responsibility is to the King and the House of Lords and the House of Commons acting together, and not to the King in his personal capacity. "The British Parliament," observes Mr. K. K. Bhattacharyya, Reader in Law at the University of Allahabad, "would be perfectly justified in handing over the whole content of Paramountcy to the Federal Ministry of India, unreservedly, without involving itself in any constitutional impropriety or illegality, making the Federal Ministry the final authority for its exercise." Such a legal opinion, however, has very little practical value in the present circumstances, because neither the Princes would agree to accept such a position nor has the Indian National Congress made any such demand.)

(The Simon Commission looked forward to the ultimate establishment of the Federation, but they did not make any

(Need of an All-India Federation

definite recommendation for the Federation of the British Indian Provinces with the Indian States.

The Government of India in their Despatch, dated September 20, 1930, issued on the eve of the first Round Table Conference, stated: "A Federation of all-India is still a distant ideal and the form which it will take cannot now be decided." At the first Round Table Conference, the nine ruling Princes, who attended it, declared themselves in favour of an Indian Federation. Henceforth, it became rather an easy task to formulate a scheme of Federation, which took definite shape in the White Paper issued in 1933. It is recognized by all shades

of opinion that an all-India Federation must be established : because it is not possible to ignore the obvious economic, and sociological affinities which exist between the people of British India and the subjects of the Indian States ; and that no artificial barrier can be effectively maintained between the two parts of India.) The Joint Committee describe the economic ties between the States and British India in the following words : "Any imposition of internal indirect taxation in British India involves, with few exceptions, the conclusion of agreements with a number of States for concurrent taxation within their frontiers, or in default of such agreement, the establishment of some system of internal Customs duties—an impossible alternative, even if it were not precluded by the terms of the Crown's treaties with some States. Worse than this, India may be said even to lack a general Customs system uniformly applied throughout the sub-continent.....Moreover, a common company law for India, a common banking law, a common body of legislation on copyright and trade-marks, a common system of communications, are alike impossible." The only solution of such problems is the establishment of the Federation. But the Federal scheme, as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1935, has met with vigorous opposition from all sections of Indian population.

✓III. Position and Function of the Governor-General

The Governor-General is the keystone of the proposed fabric of the Indian Federation. The Constitution places a very heavy burden of responsibility on him. The influence of his personality on policy and administration of the country is very great. The Government of India Act makes detailed provision to give him both the general and financial power and the direct assistance necessary for the fulfilment of his obligations.

Personality
of the
Governor-
General }

The Governor-General is himself appointed by His Majesty on the advice of the Ministers in the United Kingdom, and not, as in the Dominions, on the advice of the local Ministers. The offices of the Governor-General and the Viceroy, which have hitherto been combined in one, is theoretically separated by Section 3 of the Act. It is not the Governor-General but His Majesty's Representative who will exercise "powers connected with the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States." The Crown's Representative will be in a sense extraneous to the Federal Constitution. Though the two offices are thus separated in theory, they will be held at present by one and the same person. Many of the most characteristic Prerogative powers, such as the

Governor-
General and
Viceroy }

prerogative of mercy, or of the conferment of titles and decorations, or the grant of commissions in the Indian army, are attached to the office of the Governor-General as the head of the Federal Government.

The Governor-General is the head of the Federal Executive, whose authority extends to all matters for which the Federal Legislature is entitled to legislate, except as regards **Army and tribal areas** Railway matters, for which a separate authority is created by Section 181. Certain important features of the Federal Executive authority, to be exercised by the Governor-General are specially emphasized in sub-Section (1) of Section 8, namely, the raising of naval, military and air forces in British India ; the governance of all armed forces borne on the Indian Establishment ; and powers in relation to tribal areas.

The executive authority of the Governor-General, however, is not limited exclusively by the list of subjects on which the Federal Legislature can legislate. He may have certain functions or powers assigned to him specifically at the time of his appointment, or in regard to the Reserved or Excluded Departments of Government, or in respect of certain Special Responsibilities.

(His sphere of activity is wide)

As head of the Federal Executive the Governor-General will in a great many cases be bound by the advice of his Ministers, who will be responsible to the Federal Legislature. But in other cases he will not be so bound. These cases are divided into two categories. He will act in some "in his discretion" and need and consult his Ministers thereon ; in others he will act "in the exercise of his individual judgment." Here he must consult his Ministers, but decide for himself. Broadly the distinction between the two categories is that "discretion" applies to matters which do not fall within the sphere of action of the Federal Ministers, while "individual judgment" applies to things which lie within this sphere. When the Governor-General is acting either in his "discretion" or in "individual judgment," he is responsible to the Secretary of State for India. Discretion relates largely to matters within the departments of Defence, External Affairs, Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Tribal Areas—which are reserved to the Governor-General. But "the functions of the Governor-General with respect to the choosing and summoning and the dismissal of Ministers and with respect of the determination of their salaries shall be exercised by him in his discretion."

(Dependence on the Secretary of State)

His "individual judgment" covers, besides certain specific powers so exercisable, the ground of his "Special Responsibilities." He has the following special responsibilities—(a) the prevention

of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof ; (b) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government (excepting this all other special responsibilities are similar to those of the Governor) ; (c) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities ; (d) the securing to, and to the dependents of persons who are or have been members of the public services of any rights provided or preserved for them by or under this Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interest ; (e) the prevention of commercial discrimination ; (f) the prevention of action which would subject goods of United Kingdom or Burmese origin imported into India to discriminatory or penal treatment ; (g) the protection of the rights of any Indian State and the rights and dignity of the Ruler thereof ; and (h) the securing that the due discharge of his functions with respect to matters with respect to which he is by or under the Act required to act in his discretion, or to exercise his individual judgment, is not prejudiced or impeded by any course of action taken with respect to any other matter.

Special
Responsibilities
of the
Governor-
General

In normal circumstances there will be joint consultation between the Governor-General, his statutory counsellors (who are his advisors in the Reserved Departments) and his Ministers. But in the exercise of any responsibility the Governor-General is given the widest possible powers. He can override ministerial advice, he can obtain all the money he needs, and he can secure legislation which the Legislature declines to pass. Thus, if his special responsibilities are too narrowly interpreted, they might destroy the possibility of responsible government.

Joint
consultation

The legislative powers of the Governor-General are similar to those of the Governor. When the Legislature is not in session his Ministers may advise him to promulgate such Ordinances as may be necessary for immediate urgency. But he may not promulgate without the King's instructions any Ordinance which will be inconsistent with the Act of Parliament, derogating from the powers of High Courts in a substantial degree or likely to violate the rules against commercial discrimination. Such Ordinances must forthwith be laid before the Legislature when it meets and last only for six weeks unless sooner disapproved by resolutions of both Chambers.

Governor-
General's
legislative
powers

Where the exercise of discretion or individual judgment is involved, the Governor-General may issue an Ordinance, whose duration may not exceed six months, but which may be extended by a later Ordinance for another six months.

Duration of
Ordinances

If at any time he feels he needs legislative provision to enable

him to discharge his responsibilities he may enact a Bill as a Governor-General's Act or he may attach a draft Bill in a message to the Legislature and enact it after a month's delay and after taking into consideration any resolution passed.

Lastly, the Governor-General may issue a Proclamation in the event of a break-down of the Constitution. If he is satisfied that the Constitution cannot be carried on, he may take to himself all or any of the powers vested in any Federal authority except the Federal Court ; or he may declare that all or some of his functions are to be exercised at his discretion. A proclamation of such emergency must be communicated to the Secretary of State and operate only for six months, but Parliament can extend it by annual periods up to a total of three years.

No Bill to impose a tax, authorise borrowing or guarantee, or impose a charge on federal revenue may be introduced without the assent of the Governor-General. The Governor-General has power to restore any grant refused or reduced by the Legislature.

IV. The Federal Legislature

The Federal Legislature consists of two Houses, namely, the Council of State and the House of Assembly. The Council of State consists of 260 members, of whom 156 are representatives of British India. Of the British Indian members 6 will be nominated by the Governor-General at his discretion. There are 75 general seats and the Muhammadans have 49, Sikhs 4, women 6 and the Scheduled Castes 6 seats. These members will be directly elected by voters of high property qualifications or who have filled some distinguished public offices. 1 Anglo-Indian, 7 European, and 2 Indian Christian representatives are chosen by members of each type in the Councils and Assemblies of the Provinces. Thus the 156 British Indian representatives will be chosen by three methods—nomination, direct election and indirect election.

The House of Assembly consists of 250 representatives of British India and 125 members for the States. The distribution of the British Indian seats in the Assembly is on a communal basis. The 86 Hindu seats, 19 of the Scheduled Caste, 6 Sikhs seats, and 82 Muhammadan seats are to be filled up by the representatives of these communities in the Provincial Assemblies voting separately. Seats allotted to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and women are to be filled by the representatives of these groups in

the Provincial Assemblies. Persons to fill the seats allocated to representatives of commerce and industry, land-holders and representatives of labour are to be chosen by Chambers of Commerce, by land-holders voting in territorial constituencies, and by labour organisations respectively.

In both the Houses the States are free to arrange representation as they please. In the Lower House seats have been allocated to States roughly on the basis of population ; but in the Upper House account has been taken of the dynastic salute and other factors. The effect is to give the smaller States the majority of seats in the Council of State. This is due to the fact that the smaller States are more conservative than the larger ones.

Representa-
tion of
Indian
States

The Council is a permanent body, it being arranged that members shall sit for nine years, with periodic retirements at each three years, while the maximum duration of the Assembly is five years.

Duration of
life of the
Council

The Governor-General may summon, prorogue, or dissolve at his discretion the Assembly, but annual sessions are required ; he may require the attendance of members in order to address them or to send messages.

Annual
session
of the
Assembly

The powers of the two Houses are equal. The Council of State has power to refuse its assent to any Bill, clause or grant which has been accepted by the Lower House. All demands will be first considered by the Assembly and subsequently by the Upper House, but the powers of each House in relation to any demand is identical. In case of difference of opinion between the two Houses or in case six months passes without acceptance of the measure by the House to which it has come, the Governor-General may on notification convene in the next session, not earlier than six months after his notification, a joint session at which the Bill may be passed by a majority of the members voting. If, however, the Bill affects finance or any matter which concerns the discharge of functions in his discretion or subject to his individual judgment, the Governor-General may hold the joint session forthwith. It is to be noted that in case of joint session the Princes would command 36 per cent of voting strength of the combined Chambers.

Relation
between the
two
Chambers

Joint
session

V. Limitations on the Powers of the Federal Legislature

The Federal Legislature will be able to exercise very little

control over the expenditure of the Central Government. The following heads of expenditure are to be known as expenditure charged on the revenues of the Federation and are not to be submitted to the Federal Legislature : (a) the salary and allowance of the Governor-General and other expenditure relating to his office for which provision is required to be made by Order in Council ; (b) the sums payable to His Majesty under this Act out of the revenues of the Federation in respect of the expenses incurred in discharging the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States.

These two items cannot even be discussed by the Legislature. The following items may be discussed but not voted upon,—Debt, Sinking Fund, Redemption and Loans charges or service of the Debt ; salaries and allowances of Ministers, Counsellors, Financial Adviser, Advocate-General, Chief Commissioners and staff of the financial Adviser ; salaries, allowances and pensions of Federal Court Judges and pensions of other High Court Judges ; expenditure in connection with defence, foreign affairs, ecclesiastical affairs, tribal areas, and other Special Responsibilities of the Governor-General ; grants or payments to the States ; grants for the purpose of the administration of excluded areas ; judgment decrees or other awards of courts ; any other expenditure required by this or any act of the Federal Legislature to be so charged.

All these, put together, will amount to nearly 80 per cent of the total recurring revenues of the Federation ; and the Legislature would have no right to vote on any and all of these items.

Even on the remaining 20 per cent of the revenue the control of the Legislature is not absolute. If the Chambers have not assented to any demand for a grant or have assented subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein, the Governor-General may, if in his opinion the refusal or reduction would affect the due discharge of any of his special responsibilities, include in the schedule such additional amount, if any, as the case may be, as appears to him necessary in order to enable him to discharge that responsibility. The schedule so authenticated will be laid before both the Houses, but will not be open to discussion or vote therein. Thus, besides the non-votable items, the Governor-General will have power to override the wishes of the Federal Legislature even in respect of a votable item of expenditure, if he considers this necessary for the due discharge of any of his special responsibilities. It may be pointed out that the Legislature's control over finance is the real test of popular government in a country. Judged by this test, the new Constitution falls far short of being democratic.

**Non-votable
items**

**Non-votable
items which
can be
discussed**

**The Federal
Legislature
has got no
power over
80 p. c.
revenue**

Sections 111 to 118 together with section 12(1)(e) and 52(1) (d) are intended to prevent administrative and legislative discrimination in India, chiefly against British trade, commerce, industry and shipping. One of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General will be "the prevention of action which would subject goods of the United Kingdom origin imported into India to discriminatory or penal treatment." "It is difficult," observes Prof. D. N. Banerjee, "to avoid the conclusion that the particular special responsibility conferred upon the Governor-General for the prevention of discrimination against British imports into India constitute a menace to what is commonly known as the Fiscal Autonomy Convention."

It has no power to make discriminatory laws

The Indian Legislature is forbidden to make any discrimination against British subjects domiciled in the U. K. or Burma and against companies incorporated under the laws of the U. K. or Burma. British companies are to be entitled to equality of treatment, on the basis of reciprocity, in respect of any grants or subsidies provided by the Federation or Provinces. "The grossest piece of injustice in the matter of commercial discrimination," observes Sir Phiroze C. Sethna, "is perpetrated in the fact that they have not agreed to restrict our coastal shipping trade to the nationals for which we have been fighting for the last so many years."

Equality of treatment to British companies

VI. The Division of Legislative Power

The constitution Act has drawn a distinction of legislative power according to subjects. It has made (1) a list of subjects exclusively Federal, (2) a list of Provincial subjects, and (3) a list of concurrent powers. We have already described the Provincial subjects in the chapter on Provincial Autonomy. Now we shall describe the first and the third.

Three Lists

The Federal list includes : Armed forces ; Naval, Military, and Air force works ; External affairs, including the implementing of treaties and extradition ; Ecclesiastical affairs ; Currency, Coinage and Legal Tender ; Public Debt of the Federation ; Posts and Telegraphs, Telephone, Wireless, Broadcasting ; Federal public services ; Federal pensions ; Federal property ; Imperial Library ; Indian Museum, Imperial War Museum, Victoria Memorial, Benares Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University ; Surveys ; Census ; Ancient and historical remains ; admission to and movements in India ; quarantine ; import and export ; Federal railways ; control of vessels ; maritime shipping and navigation ; Admiralty jurisdic-

The Federal subjects

tion ; major ports ; fishing and fisheries beyond territorial waters ; aircraft and air navigation ; light-houses ; carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air ; copyrights, inventions, designs, marchandise marks and trade-marks ; cheques, bills of exchange, promissory notes ; arms, firearms, ammunition ; explosives ; opium ; petroleum ; regulation of labour and safety in mines and oil fields ; trading corporations ; development of industry when declared federal by Act ; insurance ; banking ; elections to the Federal Legislature ; statistics ; offences against laws under powers given in the list ; and duties of customs, including export duties ; excise duties except on alcohol, narcotic and non-narcotic drugs ; and preparations containing these substances ; corporation tax ; and salt. The States acceding to the Federation are expected to accept all these subjects as applicable to themselves.

The States, at their option, may accept the following subjects :
 taxation on income other than income from agricultural land ;
 taxation on the capital of individuals or companies ;
 duties in respect of succession to property other than
 agricultural land ; rates of stamp duties in respect of bills
 of exchange and other similar instruments ; terminal
 duties on goods or passengers carried by railways or by air ;
 taxes on railway rates and freights ; state lotteries ; naturalisation ;
 migration with India ; establishment of weight standards ;
 jurisdiction of courts in respect of any federal powers ; and fees.
 other than court fees.

Both the Federal Government and the Provinces may make laws on the following subjects : Criminal law and procedure :
 civil procedure, evidence and oaths ; marriage and
 divorce ; infant and minors ; adoption ; wills, intestacy
 and succession save as regards agricultural lands ;
 transfer of property other than agricultural land ; registration of
 deeds and documents ; trusts and trustees ; contracts ; arbitration ;
 bankruptcy ; actionable wrongs ; professions ; newspapers and
 printing ; lunacy and mental deficiency ; poisons and dangerous
 drugs ; mechanically propelled boilers and vehicles ; prevention of
 cruelty to animals ; European vagrancy and criminal tribes ; and
 jurisdiction of courts in respect of matters in the list.

Law on the following subjects may be made by the Federal
 Legislature with prior consent of the Governor-General
 and these acts may confer the power to give directions
 to a Province ; factories ; welfare of labour ; health,
 insurance and invalidity and old age pensions ; trade
 unions ; industrial and labour disputes ; prevention
 of the extension into units of infectious or contagious diseases
 of men, plants or animals ; electricity ; the sanctioning of

Subjects
which the
States may
accept as
Federal

Concurrent
Jurisdiction

Laws requir-
ing previous
sanction of
the
Governor-
General

exhibition of cinematograph films ; inquiries and statistics for the purpose of any of the matters in this part of this List and fees regarding these, excluding fees taken in any court.

The residuary power in Canada belongs to the Federation ; and in the U. S. A. and Australia to the federating units. But in the Indian Federation the residuary power belongs to the Governor-General. He may proclaim an emergency in which the security of India is threatened, whether by war or internal disturbance, and in that case the Federal Legislature with his assent, at his discretion, may legislate on any Provincial subject with overriding effect. In normal times any subject not included in the list or topic of taxation may, at his discretion, be assigned either to the Federation or the Provinces.

The residuary power belongs to the Governor-General

Important economic functions have been assigned to the Federal, Provincial and State Governments, but no means has been provided for co-ordinating the economic activity of one centre of power with another. It is difficult to undertake any concerted measure of economic planning under such a division of subjects. Suppose the Provinces initiate measures for the improvement of agricultural classes ; these may be offset by a protectionist policy followed by the Federation. Moreover, important restrictions are imposed on the economic activity of each centre of power by the provisions relating to the Reserve Bank, the Statutory Railway Authority and Commercial discrimination.

Lack of co-ordination in economic matters

VII. Federal Finance

The sources of revenue of the Federation may be divided into three heads, namely, Ordinary taxation, Extraordinary taxation, and revenue not derived from taxation.

Three sources of revenue

The Ordinary taxes may be divided into two heads again : those to which the States will be expected to contribute in normal times and those to which they will not be expected to do so. To the former category belongs Customs Duties of the Federal subjects ; Export Duties of the Federal subjects ; Excise Duties on commodities other than alcohol, opium, Indian hemp, narcotic and non-narcotic drugs, whether intended for human consumption or for use in medicinal and toilette preparations ; Salt and Corporation Tax.* The States will not be expected to contribute in normal times

Ordinary taxes in relation to States and Provinces

*Corporation tax is a tax on such part of the income of companies which is not subject to the application of legislation authorising deduction of the tax from payments of interest or dividends or representing a distribution of profits. It may not be levied in a State until ten years from Federation.

to the following : Taxes on income other than agricultural ; Property Taxes, that is, taxes on capital value of individual's assets, or of companies, other than agricultural land ; and taxes on the capital of companies.

The whole or part of the proceeds of Salt duties, Federal Excise duties and Export duties may be distributed to the Provinces and States under Federal Act. According to the Niemeyer Report, 62½ per cent of Jute export duty are distributed to Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. As regards the Income-tax, the Niemeyer Report provides that the percentage of the proceeds to be distributed to Provinces should be fixed at 50 per cent. The amount of it to be retained under Section 138 (2) from this share should be "for a first period of 5 years, in each year, the whole of such amount as, together with any general budget receipts from the railways, will bring the Central Government's share in the divisible total up to Rs. 13 crores, whichever is less, and for a second period of 5 years, in the first year five-sixth of the sum, if any, retained in the last year of the first period, decreasing by a further sixth of that sum in each of the succeeding years." This arrangement has been modified in 1940, as has already been described in connection with Provincial Finance.

Extraordinary revenue

Extraordinary revenue

imposing such a surcharge the Governor-General is bound to satisfy himself that it is imperative having regard to possible economics and other sources of revenue. The extraordinary sources of revenue for which States will not be expected to contribute even in times of financial stringency are : Surcharges on Succession Duties ; Surcharges on Terminal Taxes on goods or passengers carried by rail or air ; and on taxes, on railway freights and fares ; and Surcharges on Stamp Duties in respect of Bills of Exchange, Cheques, Promissory Notes, Bills of lading, Letters of credit, Policies of Insurance, proxies and receipts. It is to be noted that the net proceeds of the normal tax (not surcharge) on account of succession duty, stamp duty and terminal taxes are distributable among the Provinces and federated States in such manner as Federal Act prescribes.

The following federal sources of revenue are not derived from taxation : Fees in respect of matters included in the Federal list ; Profits (if any) on the operation of Federal Railways, Postal Services (including Postal Savings Banks), Mint and Currency, and profits (if any) from any other federal enterprise. Contributions to Paramount Power from federated or non-federated States.

Revenues
not derived
from
taxation

In addition to the sources of revenue stated above, the Governor-General in his discretion may by public notification empower either the Federal or a Provincial Legislature to impose a tax not mentioned in any list (Section 104).

Governor-General's power to impose fresh taxes

When the Provinces begin to receive payments out of federal income-tax receipts, the Crown may remit to States accepting Federation over a period not exceeding twenty years' cash contributions, the amount of which would be determined in accordance with any privilege or immunity enjoyed by the State.

Contributions to States

Nearly 80 per cent of Federal revenue will be spent on the following heads: Military services; Pensions and Superannuation Allowances; Ecclesiastical Dept.; Political Department; Frontier watch and ward; Payment of Interest on various Debts.

Expenses of the Federal Government

The revised Budget of 1945-46 and the Budget estimate of income of 1946-47 of the Government of India will reveal the resources of the Central Government at present in crores of rupees.

Actual income and expenditure of the Central Government at present

Heads & Income	1945-46 Revised	1946-47 Budget
Customs	65'00	65'55
Central Excise	46 65	46'70
Corporation Tax	89'55	68'91
Income Tax	99'45	80'31
Salt	9'25	9 30
Opium	1'05	1'18
Currency and Mint	16 80	16 67
Posts and Telegraphs	10'67	10'30
Railways	32 00	7 36
Total Revenue	360'66	311 65

In 1946-47 the central Government plans to spend Rs. 111'94 crores on civil administration. On defence account the total expenditure would be Rs. 243'77 crores out of revenues and Rs. 1'57 crores out of capital. Besides this, the total of capital outlay and disbursements including discharge of permanent debt are scheduled to be Rs. 173'18 crores.

VIII. Grounds of objection to the Federal Scheme

The Government of India Act, 1935, provides that the Federation will be brought into existence by a Proclamation by His Majesty. But no such Proclamation will be made unless (i) an Address in that behalf has been presented to him by each House of Parliament; and (ii) Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the States and entitled to not less than half the

Conditions for inaugurating Federation

seats allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber have signified their desire to enter the Federation. The Viceroy announced on the 18th October, 1939, that the work of the Federal Scheme had been suspended and that the British Government would at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act of 1935 as open to modification in the light of Indian views.

The British Indian Provinces are not given any choice in the matter of entering the Federation, whereas the Indian States may or may not enter it according to their sweet will. The basis of the Federation will be in one case compulsion and the another free will. The method of allotment of seats in the Federal Legislature is unfair to the Provinces. Of a maximum number of 260 seats allocated to the Council of States, 104 seats have been given to the States. In the Federal Assembly the States are to have 125 seats out of a total number of 375 seats. The population of the Indian States is not more than one-fourth of the total population of India, but they are given two-fifths and one-third shares in the Upper and Lower Houses respectively of the Federal Legislature. The Federal Legislature will be a hybrid production. In the case of the British Indian Provinces the seats will be filled up by election on a democratic basis, but in the case of the States the representatives will be nominees of the Rulers. The principle of nomination by the Princes will in practice create a powerful Government *bloc* in both the Houses of the Federal Legislature. The Montague-Chelmsford Report condemned in strong terms the existence of such a nominated Government *bloc* in the Morley-Minto Constitution. It is apprehended by the Nationalists that such a *bloc* would be in a position to prevent all progressive measures. In the matter of Federal finance too, some injustice is going to be perpetrated on the Provinces. The States will be exempted from the payment of Income-tax, and also possibly the Corporation Tax, Succession Duty, Salt Tax, Taxes on the capital value of the assets, and Terminal Taxes. It is difficult to resist the temptation of quoting *in extenso* the brilliant summing up of the defects of the Federation from Prof. A. B. Keith's 'Constitutional History of India.' Prof. Keith observes : "For the federal scheme it is difficult to feel any satisfaction. The units of which it is composed are too disparate to be joined suitably together, and it is too obvious that on the British side the scheme is favoured in order to provide an element of pure conservatism in order to combat any dangerous elements of democracy contributed by British India. On the side of the rulers it is patent that their essential preoccupation is with the effort to secure immunity from pressure in regard to the improvement of the internal administration of their states It is difficult to deny the justice of the

Favoured
treatment
of the
States

contention in India that federation was largely evoked by the desire to evade the issue of extending responsible Government to the Central Government of British India. Moreover, the withholding of defence and external affairs from federal control, inevitable as the course is, renders the alleged concession of responsibility all but meaningless. Further, it is impossible to ignore the fact that, if the state representatives intervene in discussions of issues in which the Provinces are alone concerned, their action will be justly represented by the representatives of British India, while, if they do not, there may arise the spectacle of a Government which when the States intervene has a majority, only to fall into a minority when they abstain. Whether a Federation built on incoherent lines can operate successfully is wholly conjectural; if it does, it will probably be due to the virtual disappearance of responsibility and the assertion of the controlling power of the Governor-General backed by the conservative elements of the States and of British India.

The Chamber of Princes consulted Mr. J. H. Morgan, K.C., on the implications of the Federation and the latter pointed out the following dangers to the Princes in the case they enter the Federation; (a) The States, once they federate, have no right to walk out of the Federal Union. Secession can only be sanctioned by the British Parliament, which will not readily agree to take such a step. (b) The coercive power of the Federal Government in securing federal legislation to compel Indian States to carry out any executive obligations imposed on them is unlimited. The allegiance of the subjects of a Prince will be divided between the Ruler and the Federation. So the sovereignty of the State will be considerably impaired. (c) The Princes further apprehend that the sovereignty of States may be further impaired even in spheres which are not parted with, as the Viceroy may be influenced by the opinion of the federal legislature and federal executive where British India predominates. (d) The nominees of the Indian Rulers to the Federal legislature will hold their seats for a fixed term and, therefore, the Princes will not be able to recall them if they prove unmindful of the interests of the State. Moreover, the federating states shall have to assume obligations on such items of federating as Debt, Defence, or Pensions. The Princes feel that their interests in customs, defence, economic and other rights may not be adequately secured. The States are invited to surrender Customs Duties, Duty on salt, Excise, Corporation Tax (after ten years of the establishment of the Federation), and Surcharge on Taxes on Income. Subventions have been given to deficit Provinces, but no financial help has been accorded to any state, though many of them have to maintain troops. The ruler of a State, is not liable to federal taxation in respect of lands

Grounds of
objection of
Princes

or buildings in British India or income arising in British India, though this immunity does not extend to profits earned by a State in carrying on trade or business in British India, nor to the Ruler's personal income.

The Congress objects to the federation of provinces with the autocratically governed Indian States. It demands that the establishment of representative and responsible government should be the condition precedent for the setting up of a federal union. Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces with Congress majority passed the following resolution : "The Government of India Act 1935 in no way represents the will of the nation and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjection of the people of India and that this be repealed and replaced by a constitution for a free India framed by the constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise which may allow the Indian people full scope for development according to their needs and desires." The Congress objected to Section 6, Sub-Section 5 of the Act which provides that the structure of the constitution in respect of Federation can not be altered without the consent of the Rulers. This provision makes the constitutional progress of India dependent on the good will of the Rulers. The Governor-General is instructed to secure representation of the federated states in his Council of Ministers. Thus the nominees of the Princes will have equal power with the representatives of the people of British India. The Governor-General in his discretion is charged with proper enforcement of the federal Government in the federated States. The Federal Ministers, therefore, will be unable to make their voice effective in such matters.

The Liberal Party in their Conference in January 1939 demanded that (a) the subjects of the States should have the right of selecting their representatives; (b) that the Members of the Federal Assembly should be directly elected by the people of the Provinces; (c) that the constitution should be made elastic so as to make it possible for India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period.

Many Muslim leaders in British India have condemned the Federal scheme on the ground that in the proposed Federal Legislature the Muslim members will be in a hopeless minority. The most important Muslim States are Hyderabad, Bhopal, Bhawalpur, Khairpur, Junagadh and Rampur and these will have in all 12 seats in the Council of States, and 21 seats in the Legislative Assembly. In the British Indian part of the Federal Legislature, Hindus who form more than 70 per cent of population are given only 42 per cent of the seats in the Assembly; the Muslim leaders fear

that the advantage they have secured in British Indian part of the Legislature, will be nullified to a great extent in the Federal Legislature as a whole, because the Hindus are in a majority in the Indian States also. The Moslem League in its Madras Session, April 1941, set itself definitely against the All-India Federation. "We do not want," said Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address, "under any circumstances a constitution of an All-India character with one Government at the Centre. We will never agree to that." This shows that the Moslem League has no interest in a United India or an Indian nation made up of many elements. Mr. Jinnah would not agree to any talk of settlement with the Congress, until and unless the latter agrees to the Pakistan Scheme. He cites the example of Ireland in this connection. "The constitution of North and South Ireland was finally agreed upon after the principles and the basis of division was settled." This attitude makes it very difficult to promote the cause of Indian Nationalism and to bring about the contemplated federation.

Success of a Federation depends on the faith, good-will and willingness to co-operation of the federated units. In the case of the proposed Federation in India we find much ill-will, jealousy and animosity between the Provinces on the one hand and the States on the other. In spite of these defects the Hindu Mahasabha resolved in 1937 Conference that "the Hindus should utilise whatever powers are provided under the Act in the interests of evolution of Hindusthan as a united nation and urge the Government to expedite the introduction of Federation."

Attitude
of the
Hindu
Mahasabha

IX. Federal Railway Authority

India's Railway system extends over more than 40,000 miles. The Railways have contributed to general revenues a huge sum amounting to 42 crores of rupees between 1924-25 and 1931-32. Owing to the depression, extravagant management and competition of motor buses, the railways failed to contribute their share for some years. Hence it was necessary to take steps for efficient control and management of railways. Direct governmental control has its dangers, in as much as it may give rise to extravagance, redtapism and corruption. The Government of India Act, therefore, provides for a statutory Railway Authority.

Federal
Railway
authority

With the advent of the Federal Government the executive authority of the Federation in respect of the regulation, construction, management, and operation of railways will be exercised by a Federal Railway Authority, consisting of seven persons. No less than three-sevenths of the members of this Authority will be appointed by the

Principle of
constructing the
Authority

Governor-General at his discretion, the remaining members will be appointed by the Governor-General with the advice of his Ministers.

The Government of India Act enjoins that the Authority shall act on business principles, due regard being paid by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce, and the general public. They shall be guided in the discharge of their duties by such instructions on questions of policy as may be given to them by the Federal Government. If, however, any dispute should arise between the Federal Government and the Federal Railway Authority as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy, the decision of the Governor-General in his discretion shall be final.

No person shall be qualified to be appointed a member of the Federal Railway Authority (a) unless he has had experience in commerce, industry, agriculture, finance, or administration, or (b) if he is or within the 12 months last preceding has been (i) a member of the Federal or any Provincial Legislature; (ii) in the service of the Crown in India; or (iii) a railway officer in India. As the head of the executive staff of the authority there shall be a Chief Commissioner of Railways, being a person with experience in railway administration, who shall be appointed by the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment after consultation with the authority. The Chief Railway Commissioner shall be assisted in the performance of his duties by a Financial Commissioner and by such additional Commissioners as the Authority, on the recommendation of the Chief Railway Commissioner, may appoint. Though not members of the Authority the Chief Railway Commissioner and Financial Commissioner will have the right to attend all the meetings of the Authority.

A Railway Tribunal, presided over by a Judge of the Federal Court, and consisting of two other persons appointed by the Governor-General, will prohibit unfair and uneconomic competition and try cases regarding rates, discrimination, etc. Provision is made for a railway fund to which receipts are to be paid, and from which expenses are to be met; any surplus which accrues will be shared with the government on the existing basis (the Railway convention), or according to a scheme to be prepared.

X. The Federal Court

A Federal Court, being an essential element in a Federal Constitution, has been established in India. It consists of a Chief Justice and two Judges, who will hold office until the age of sixty-five, subject to removal by the king by sign-manual warrant in case of infirmity or misbehaviour if

the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council so recommends. The Judges will hold office during good behaviour, and not, as is at present the case with Judges of the High Courts, at pleasure. The Judges will be appointed by the Crown. Among those eligible for judgeship of the Federal Court are persons who have been for at least five years High Court Judges.*

The Governor-General has been empowered with the "discretion" to refer to the Federal Court for consideration "a question of law which is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Court upon it."

Cases to be referred to the Federal Court

The Federal Court has an Original as well as an Appellate Jurisdiction. It has an original jurisdiction in (i) any matter involving the interpretation of the Constitution Act or the determination of any rights or obligations arising thereunder, where the parties to the dispute are (a) the Federation and either a Province or a State, or (b) two Provinces or two States, or a Province and a State ; (ii) any matter involving the interpretation of, or arising under, any agreement entered into after the commencement of the Constitution Act between the Federation and a Federal Unit or between Federal Units, unless the agreement otherwise provides. In such cases it can only give a declaratory judgment.

Jurisdiction of the Court

The Federal Court can hear an appeal, on certificate by any High Court that any matter involving the interpretation of the Act or an Order-in-Council under it is involved, causes from such courts ; no direct appeal then lies to the Privy Council. Appeal also lies to the Federal Court from the High Court of a Federated State, if it is alleged that a question of law regarding the interpretation of the Act or an Order-in-Council under the Act has been wrongly decided ; the procedure is by way of case stated either on the initiative of the High Court or the Federal Court. Provision may also be made by Federal Act to extend the Appellate Jurisdiction in civil cases from Provincial High Courts.

Appellate Jurisdiction of the Federal Court

The appeal to the Privy Council is preserved. From any decision of the Federal Court appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may be made by the leave of that body or of the Court itself.

Appeal to the Privy Council

* The Chief Justice of the Federal Court is Sir W. P. Spens, K.C., (salary Rs. 7,000 p. m.), and the two other Judges are Sir Zufrulla Khan and Sir Srinivasa Varadachariar both drawing Rs. 5,000 p. m. Sir B. L. Mitter has been appointed Advocate-General of India.

Amendments to the Government of India Act, 1935

The second reading of the Government of India and Burma Miscellaneous Amendment Bill was passed in the House of Lords on the 7th December, 1939. Lord Zetland observed in moving the second reading of the Bill : It was proposed to place beyond doubt a distinction, which was always intended and should be drawn, between taxes on income on the one hand and taxes on professions, trades, callings, and employments on the other. Taxes on income, other than agricultural incomes, were the Federal source of revenue, whereas taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments were the provincial source of revenue. It was never intended that taxes under these provincial heads should be imposed as to constitute income tax and to trespass upon the central field of revenue. The main purpose in view, when these headings were included in the Provincial list, was to keep alive the right which the Provincial Governments exercised, after empowering local authorities, such as municipalities and district boards, to levy rates for local purposes which were commonly described as taxes. It was of course characteristic of these taxes that their incidence upon an individual tax-payer was a very small one. Experience has shown, however, that it is impossible to levy taxes under these heads which in fact was nothing less than income tax in disguise, for some time ago the legislature of the United Provinces enacted a taxing Bill under heading 'Employments Tax', which was in fact nothing more than income tax. It would be imposed upon income concerned of all those who derived their income from employments, as a substantial graduated tax, which in respect of a large part of incomes concerned would have amounted as much as 10%. It was quite clear that this would have constituted a serious invasion on one of the most important sources of revenue assigned to the Federal Government, and it was equally clear that if it were to be permitted on a large scale it would have the effect of seriously upsetting the balance between the Federal and Provincial fields of taxation. The effect of clause 2 would therefore be, by limiting the amount which might be levied upon any individual, in any one year under heading 'tax upon trades, professions, callings or employment' to a specified sum—which in the Bill was placed at Rs. 50 to restrict the tax to the character which it originally possessed and from where it was never intended that it should depart. While clause 2 of the Bill thus protected the central sources of revenue against invasion by the provinces, the clause performed a similar service for the provinces against the centre, for it secured to the Provincial Governments, taxes in motor vehicles, and also on the sale of consumption on the electricity, which there was a danger

of the Central Government regarding as excise and therefore claiming it as a sort of general revenue.

The Bill reintroduced in the House of Lords was for the insertion of the following new clause :—

142A. (1)—Notwithstanding anything in section 100 of this Act, no provincial law relating to taxes for the benefit of a province or of a municipality, district board, local board or other local authority therein in respect of professions, trades, callings or employments shall be invalid on the ground that it relates to a tax on income. (2) The total amount payable in respect of any one person to the province or to any one municipality, district board, local board, or other local authority in the province by way of taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments shall not, after the 31st day of March, 1939 exceed Rs. 50 per annum : Provided that if in the financial year ending with that date there was in force in the case of any province or any such municipality, board or authority a tax on possessions, trades, callings or employments the rate, or the maximum rate, of which exceeds Rs. 50 per annum, the proceeding provisions of this sub-section shall, unless for the time being provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Federal Legislature, have effect in relation to that province, municipality, board or authority as if for the reference to fifty rupees per annum, there was substituted a reference to that rate or maximum rate, or such lower rate, if any (being a rate greater than Rs. 50 per annum) as may for the time being be fixed by a law of the Federal Legislature and any law of the Federal Legislature may for any of the purposes of this proviso be made either generally or in relation to any specified provinces, municipalities, boards or authorities. (3) The fact that the provincial legislature has power to make laws as aforesaid with respect to taxes or professions, trades, callings and employments shall not be construed as limiting, in relation to professions, trades, callings and employments, the generality of the entry in the Federal Legislative List relating to taxes on income.

The Bill also provides for the insertion in the Federal Legislative List of the following :—“54A. The matters specified in the proviso to sub-section (2) of section 142A of this Act as matters with respect to which provision may be made by laws of the Federal Legislature.” For paragraph 46 of the Provincial Legislative List, there shall be substituted the following :—“46. Taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments subject, however, to the provisions of section 142A of this Act.” The existing entry reads as follows : “46. Taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments.”

In June, 1940, the Parliament passed another Amendment,

according to which the Governor-General is empowered to take final decision in all matters, which under the Act require the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, in case a state of emergency is declared. By another amendment in 1941 elections to provincial Assemblies have been postponed for such period as might be considered necessary up to twelve months after the end of the war. But the discretionary power of the Governor to dissolve legislatures at any time remains intact. By an Amendment of 1942 the Proclamation of assumption of all powers by the Governor on the break-down of the constitution (section 93) may continue in force, not for three years only but till the expiration of twelve months after the end of the war, unless revoked earlier.

In 1946 an amendment of the Government of India Act 1935 has been passed repealing the statutory provision requiring that three of the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be persons with ten years in the service of the Crown in India and one of them a lawyer. It has also extended temporarily the Central Government's power to maintain certain economic controls in the provinces.

XII. The Cabinet Mission Plan

1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words :—

“My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her attain her freedom as steadily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide ; but our desire is to help her to get up forthwith the machinery for making that decision.”

“I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so.”

“But if she does so elect, it must be her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of the free peoples. If, on other hand, she elects for independence, in our view, she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.”

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India.

After prolonged discussion in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concession in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no argument could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what, we consider, are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the New Constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of H. M. G. in the U. K.

3. We have, accordingly, decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a New Constitution can be brought into being.

We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of people ; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in the statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission ; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India ; since we are greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

We, therefore, examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas ; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, North-West Frontier and British Baluchistan ; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League

were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate state of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures (latest census of 1941) show :—

North-Western Area :—

		Muslim	Non-Muslim
Non-Muslim minorities	Punjab :—	16 217,242	12,201,577
	N.-W. P. Prov. :—	2,788,797	219,270
	Sind :—	3,208,325	1,326,683
	Br. Baluchistan :—	438,930	62,701
	Total	22,653,294 (62.07%)	13,810,231 (37.93%)

North-Eastern Area :

	Muslim	Non-muslim
Bengal :—	34,005,434	27,301,091
Assam :—	3,442,470	6,762,254
Total	36,447,913 (51.69%)	34,063,345 (48.31%)

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million, dispersed amongst total population of 188 million. These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem, nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally, in our view, be used in favour of the exclusion of non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We, therefore, consider whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of, (a) the whole of Ambala and Jullundur divisions in the Punjab ; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet ; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6 % of the population. We

Bengal and Punjab

ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have, therefore, been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and Postal and Telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a United India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for United defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

Points
against
Pakistan

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some 700 miles and the communications between them both in War and Peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are, therefore, unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

12. This decision does not, however, blind us to a very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely Unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which provinces would have full autonomy subject only to be a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. Under this scheme, provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could

Congress
Plan

cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects were responsible to the whole of India, while other ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their provinces were not concerned were under discussion. Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India.

Indian States It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiations during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not, therefore, dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of Constitution for All-India. We recommend that the Constitution should take the following basic form :—

(i) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects :—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications :
The Solution and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(ii) The Union should have an Executive, and a Legislature constituted from the British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(iii) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(iv) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(v) Provinces should be free to form Groups with Executives and Legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(vi) The Constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians. It has been necessary, however, for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution, because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any assembly to decide a new constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise ; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make these difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members while Bengal with a population 6 times as large has an assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial

Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in Province. Thus, the number of seats reserved for the Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48% of the total, although they form 55% of the Provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of 1 to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population.

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India—General, Muslim and Sikh, the “General” community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs.

As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We, therefore, propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote :—

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

Section A

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
U. P.	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Orissa	9	0	9
C. P.	16	1	17
	<hr/> 167	<hr/> 20	<hr/> 187

Section B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
N.-W. F. P.	0	3	0	3
Punjab	8	16	4	28
Sind	1	3	0	4
	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 19	<hr/> 4	<hr/> 32
		22		35

Section C

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
	34	36	70
Total for Br India		292	
Maximum for Indian States		93	
		<hr/> 385	

*Note :—*In order to represent the Chief Commissioner's Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer, Marwar in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council. To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constitutional Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of calculation adapted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at **Immediate Meeting** New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of Business will be decided, a chairman and other officers elected and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the Provincial representatives will be divided up into three sections shown under A, B and C in the table of Representation in the sub-para (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any group Constitution shall be set up for those provinces and if so with what Provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall re-assemble for the purpose of settling the Indian Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major **Communal Issue** communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major Communal issue and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new Constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new Legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of
Fundamental Rights. Fundamental Rights the clause for the protection of the minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union Constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of Constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the Interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the Constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance, therefore, to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the Interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India.

Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered ; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of Post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future ; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary.

The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people.

The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this : We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours we have shared with the Indian parties and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all this has not been possible.

We, therefore, now lay before you proposals which after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust, will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must ^{Appeal to People} state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen ; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We, therefore, lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world and to a future even more glorious than your past.

XIII. A Critical Examination of the Cabinet Mission Plan

The long term plan of the Cabinet Mission that is, the proposal for holding the constituent Assembly has been accepted by the two major political parties in India. But they could not agree amongst themselves to the personnel of the Interim Government. The atmosphere is thick with communal suspicions. In such an atmosphere it is difficult to examine the Cabinet Mission Plan dispassionately from the standpoint of larger interests of the nation.

The plan is unique in the history of the world for more than one reason. First, it is unique in the sense that no imperial power in the past has ever proposed such a voluntary liquidation of its empire. Secondly, it is unique in the sense that no other country in the world has such a weak federal Government, as has been proposed to be set up in India. Then again, no federal constitution in the world does contain intermediate or Group Unions as are proposed to be established here. Fourthly, the Constitution for the Union Centre is to be framed not only by the representatives of British India, elected on communal basis by the Legislative Assemblies of the Provinces but also by the nominees of more or less autocratic princes of the Indian States. If the prevailing atmosphere of jealousy and suspicion continues, nothing short of a miracle can bring about a settled agreement on the future governance of India. The proposals of the Cabinet Mission are, in a sense, binding upon the constituent Assembly, because any resolution varying its recommendations will require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

From the point of view of Political Science, the gravest defect of the Mission Plan is that it will Balkanise the Indian Political arena, setting up Province against Province and States against Provinces, with a feeble federal government looking helplessly at the interminable quarrels amongst its units. The Union Centre is to be entrusted only with defence, foreign affairs, communications and the powers necessary to raise the finances required for these purposes. It will have no control over currency, coinage and legal tender, and the consequence will be the absence of a common structure of prices. It will have no power over import and export, customs, tariffs, insurance, banking, factories, trade-unions, labour disputes and electricity. It will be impossible to take up any planning for the country as a whole, and in the absence of a country-wide plan the prevailing low standard of living cannot be raised. The distribution of the essential mineral and industrial resources in India is such that no provincial or zonal planning can achieve any success. In the absence of federal control over

Unique
features of
the Plan

An econo-
mically
weak coun-
try will
ever remain
dependent

tariff and customs each Group, Province or State may hamper free movement of raw materials, manufactured goods, capital and labour from one part of the country to another. Each Province or Group will be free to have its own company, banking and insurance laws, and impose restrictions on firms registered outside its area. There can be hardly any uniformity in labour legislation or rates of wages and the economic rivalry between one Group and another will be disastrous for the country as a whole.

A weak and divided India will remain economically backward and the economic backwardness will keep it politically dependent even though she might be technically inde- Danger to
defencependent. It will not be possible for the Union Centre to adopt a vigorous foreign policy or strengthen the defensive forces. The second world war has demonstrated that in modern warfare the entire resources of the country have to be mobilised. This can be done only when the central or federal government has control over industrial and agricultural production and distribution.

The manifold problems before the country can be settled satisfactorily if there is a perfect spirit of harmony and concord between the communities and the Provinces in Need of
harmonyIndia. Let us hope that the opportunity opened up by Providence will not be lost by our mutual bickerings.

XIV. Place of India in the Future World Order

India occupies a pivotal position in the link between the Atlantic and the Pacific and between Europe, Asia and Africa. She is the second largest country in the world in point of population and her economic resources at present are much greater than those of China, which has been devastated by war since 1937. Nature has placed her almost at the centre of the continent of Asia and it may well be her destiny to play a co-ordinating role in the clash of races, cultures and economic interests between the Asiatic and European nations.

Whether India would be able to fulfil this destiny will depend, in the first instance on her own political status. To play her role in the evolution of a global order effectively India must have the right of self-determination. She must have the power to express herself in her genuine personality ; she must no longer echo her Master's Voice, as the so-called representatives of India had done in the League of Nations and the Imperial Conferences. "By shameful submission," wrote Leibnitz, in the last half of the seventeenth century, "men's minds will be progressively intimidated and crushed till they become at last incapable of all feeling. Inured to ill-treatment and habituated to bear it patiently they

will end by regarding it as a fatality which they can do nothing but endure. All will go together down the broad high road to slavery." The slavery of India will be a standing menace to the peace of the world. If Mr. Anthony Eden says, "England shall remain a great world-dominating power," and if Mr. Churchill says, "everything that England gained in China and Asia in the days of their weakness shall be regarded as our eternal and natural properties," then nothing but absurdities, self-contradictions and perpetual conflicts will ensue. Russia is avowedly anti-imperialist. The U. S. A. has no imperial ambitions; she refused to join the League of Nations because, as the Senate said, "We cannot enter the League which has to guarantee the present frontiers of the different Empires." Consistently with her policy of allowing the right of self-determination to the different peoples of the world, she could not guarantee European imperialism in Africa and in Asia. There is no reason to think that she would give up her historic policy of championing the cause of nationalism after the present war. Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek addressing the Chinese Assembly has said: "China is the largest and the most ancient of Asiatic countries but it is not for us positively to talk of a right to a position of leadership among these countries. We have been fighting this war of resistance with a purity of motive and consistency of principle, not for any selfish purpose but for the salvation of the world, through first saving ourselves. Towards Asia and towards the whole world we wish only to do our duty to the exclusion for any lust for power or other desire incompatible with the moral victory of love and benevolence that are characteristics of the Chinese national spirit." The one solid foundation of world peace is the freedom of nation. Java, Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Siam would be freed from Japanese domination no doubt, but if they are again put under the mercy of the imperialist Powers, the world will not derive any benefit from the tremendous sacrifice of the present war. No world order can survive the iniquity of exploitation of one country by another.

Nationalism is said to be an out-worn and discredited creed. The absolute sovereignty of nation-states has been held responsible for the outbreak of wars. There is much truth in this criticism no doubt, but this does not mean that the cause of world-peace can be promoted by holding one nation in subjection to another. The solution of the problem seems to lie in erecting federations of multi-national states of the pattern of the U. S. S. R.; in which the different nationalities enjoy complete cultural and religious autonomy with right to secede from the union. The alternatives to such federations are (1) the Balance of Power, (2) the Concert of big Powers, (3) a world Federation, (4) and a League of Nations. The history of Europe in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries has demonstrated the futility of Balance of Power as a means of preserving peace. The concert of big Powers can for a time dominate over the weaker states, but the mutual jealousy and conflicting interests of the Big Powers ultimately give rise to war. A world-federation is desirable on theoretical grounds, but it is useless to make proposals which the governing forces of contemporary life are not yet ready to accept. The League of Nations is an institution of great promise provided the members of the League are somewhat equal in political and economic strength. Such equality can be achieved only when a number of multi-national Federations are established. These Federations may become members of the League, which can do the work of integrating and developing international human activities.

The vastness of the country and the numerical strength of her population are factors which warrant the foundation of a multi-national state in India. But in the cross-currents of world politics such a state cannot stand alone. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his latest book, "The Unity of India," has written; "The day of small countries is past. It is also patent that the day of even big countries standing by themselves is past. Huge countries like the Soviet Union or the United States of America may be capable of standing by themselves, but even then they are likely to join themselves with other countries or groups. The only solution is a world federation of free countries. In Europe people talk of a European Federation or Union, sometimes they include the U. S. A. and the British Dominions in their group. They leave out always China and India, imagining that these two great countries can be ignored. There can be no world-arrangement which is based on ignoring India or China. If there are to be federations, India will not fit into a European federation where it can only be a hanger-on of semi-colonial states." Neither India, nor China has any aggressive ambition; and both these countries desire to see the peoples of Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Java and Malaya free. These peoples have been associated with India and China for centuries by cultural and economic ties. If India, China and a federation of these peoples combine together they can neutralise the threat from potential aggressors. Such a combination may be kept in view for the future. But at present China is so weak that an alliance with her will not give much strength to a Free India in the near future.

In a remarkable book, entitled 'whither China', Scott Nearing wrote in 1927 that Soviet Russia, China and Japan, comprising one third of the world's population might form a 'Eurasian bloc' in opposition to 'the arrogance and predatory ruthlessness of the last two of the great Empires—Great Britain and the

U. S. A.' He further prophesised that 'the Soviet Union will continue to be the spiritual father of the new social order. But the Chinese will be its business manager'. But the trend of affairs since 1927 has demonstrated the impossibility of reconciling China with Japan. There is hardly any chance of forming such a group in the near future.

At the beginning of the present century many Indians looked upon Japan as the leader of an Asian Unity. But their dreams have been shattered to pieces by the ruthless imperialistic policy followed by the Japanese. The Tanaka Memorandum, drawn up in 1927, laid down a time-table of conquest of Asiatic countries one by one, and it is being followed by the Japanese, as far as it is possible for them to follow it. The *Nichi Nichi* has published a map of the 'Greater East Asia', to be dominated by Japan and it includes the whole of China, Indo-China, Siam, Burma, India and Ceylon. The Japanese poet Yone Noguchi came to India in September, 1938 to enlist the sympathy of Rabindra Nath Tagore in Japan's aggressive war on China, which was represented as the war of 'Asia for Asia'. But our poet frankly told him : "I can no longer point out with pride to the example of a great Japan". The Japanese propaganda for 'co-prosperity sphere' has turned out in practice to be nothing better than enslavement of the whole of Eastern Asia. If India joins any kind of alliance in which Japan is a member, she will simply fall under the domination of Japan.

The other federal groups or alliances which might be formed in the post-war world are (1) Central European, (2) Slavonic, (3) American and (4) the British Commonwealth. India has very little in common with the first three blocs. India occupies a key position along the lines of naval communication between Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain. So long as she is not able to build up a strong navy of her own, she would require the protection of the greatest sea-power of the world. Apart from this strategic consideration, association with the British Commonwealth of Nations would be of inestimable cultural, economic and political value to her, provided of course, she gets the position of an equal partner in it. The British Commonwealth of Nations is a unique organisation in history in as much as it provides for sufficient community of action between the members, allowing each the maximum of liberty. A free India would find it more profitable to be associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations than with any other group.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE WORLD ORDER

I. Origin of the League

1 The League of Nations formally came into existence on January 10, 1920 through the coming into force at that date of the Treaty of Versailles. The aims of the League are : (i) to preserve peace and to seek a settlement of international disputes, and (ii) to organise in the most varied spheres the co-operation of peoples with a view to the material and moral welfare of humanity. The members of the League have pledged themselves not to go to war before submitting their disputes with each other or States, not members of the League, to arbitration or enquiry and a delay of from three to nine months. Any State violating this pledge is automatically in a state of outlawry with the other States, which are bound to sever all economic and political relations with the defaulting member.

Aims of the League

• The ideal of a League of Nations was not of course a new one. It has been calculated that no less than 222 attempts have been made in the past to organize world-peace. Pierre du Bois in the fourteenth century wished to unite Christendom under the French king. Sully, in his "Grand Design", planned a redistribution of European countries into fifteen states carved out of various kingdoms, each of which would be ready to furnish a quota for collective action under the control of a General Council. Kant, in his "Perpetual Peace" (1795), laid down a scheme for removing the conditions which lead to war.

The ideal is an old one

3 The next stage in the development of International peace was reached when the conception of inter-state organization was taken up by the statesmen of Europe in the nineteenth century. Czar Alexander I inaugurated the Holy Alliance and Metternich formed the Concert of Europe.

The Concert of Europe

Both these organizations failed to achieve anything substantial. In 1856, the Congress of Paris laid down certain rules for avoiding international conflicts. Eminent men like John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Victor Hugo, Garibaldi and Michael Bakunin formed an association, called the League of Peace in 1867 with the object of maintaining "liberty, justice and peace" and establishing a United States of Europe.

1 In 1898, the Russian government proposed a conference to discuss the restriction of armaments, and this was held in 1899.

6) Twenty-six states were represented in it. The conference led to the foundation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to prevent war. Nothing however could be done to restrict armaments. In 1907, a second conference was held at the Hague, where forty-four states met together. The Convention which resulted, established the mediation of a third party as a method of ending war.

The Hague Convention

7) This history of international conferences shows that the League organization differs from those conferences in three fundamental aspects. First, President Wilson's ideal of the League included not only Christian or European nations, but also non-Christians and non-European nations, and the vanquished as well as victors and neutrals. Such an all-embracing scheme has never been formulated before.

The League is more comprehensive than the conferences

8) Secondly, statesmen have seldom, prior to the formation of the League, supported an organization for world-peace, although they professed as much fondness for peace as philosophers like Kant did. The causes that led them to do so at Versailles were partly idealistic and partly selfish. They had suffered from the shocks of the worst of world wars and were, therefore, anxious to stop the recurrence of such an event. But at the same time they thought that with France, Britain, and the U.S.A. all on one side, they would be able to keep the vanquished nations in subjection and retain their conquests.

The Statesmen supported it for two reasons

9) Thirdly, none of the international conferences or concerts had reached the point of having a permanent headquarters and secretariat, which give special value of the present League.

Permanent organization of the League

II. Constitution of the League of Nations

The character of the League has been fully explained by Sir Samuel Hoare in a speech at Geneva in September, 1935.

✓ Character of the League He said that the League "is not a super-state, nor even a separate entity existing of itself independent of or transcending the states which make up its membership.

The member-states have not abandoned the sovereignty that resides in each of them, nor does the Covenant require that they should, without their consent in any matter touching their sovereignty, accept decisions of other members of the League. Members of the League by the fact of their membership are bound by the obligations that they themselves have assumed in the Covenant, by nothing more." The League was thus like a club, where discussions on

The member-states retain their sovereignty

matters of international interest were held regularly. But it had no power of coercion.

At the time of the first Assembly of the League in 1920, there were forty-two member-states. The Central Powers were not admitted for some years. Hungary was admitted in 1922 and at the Locarno Conference in 1925 it was ^{Members of the League} agreed that Germany should seek admission to the League. Russia was not allowed to become a member before 1934. The United States of America did not join the League because the Congress thought that Article 10 of the League Covenant might involve America in non-American wars in future. Japan announced her intention to withdraw from the League on March 27, 1933, after having flouted successfully her obligations under the Covenant in her dispute with China. Germany resigned from the League on October 21, 1933 with a view to proceed with rearmament free of all restraint. Italy practically ceased to be a member, when in October, 1935 the Sanctions were applied against her.

The Covenant is the Charter or Constitution of the League. The League operates through an Assembly, a Council and a permanent Secretariat, which may be compared respectively to the Legislature, the Cabinet and the Civil ^{Its organs} Service of a state. Besides these, there is the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Assembly consists of representatives of all member-states. It generally meets once a year in September, and it deals with any matter within the sphere of action of the League. It works normally through six committees dealing mainly with constitutional, legal, financial, social and political questions.

The council is composed of four permanent members who are representatives of such great Powers as are within the League, together with ten non-permanent members who are representatives of the smaller Powers and are elected ^{The League Council} for a period of three years. It meets normally three or four times a year and as often as an emergency would require. It deals specially with infringements of territorial integrity and political independence of members, with the reduction of armaments and with military matters in general, with the investigation of disputes between members, with the execution of arbitral awards, with recommendations regarding the military support of sanctions, and the exclusion of members for violation of the Covenant. Decisions of the Council as well as of the Assembly must be unanimous, except in cases provided for in the Covenant.

The Permanent Secretariat comprises 637 men and women of 44 nationalities, all appointed by the Secretary-General

with the approval of the Council. The officials of the Secretariat are exclusively international officials and they cannot seek or receive instructions from any Government or other authority outside the Secretariat. The Secretary-General, Avenol, is a Frenchman. The Secretariat consists of the offices of the Secretary-General, the Deputy Secretaries-General, and Under-Secretaries-General, fourteen sections, various administrative services, auxiliary offices in different countries and a Library. Members of the League contribute to its expenses by a scale of allocation, according to which out of the total of 1011 units the U. K. contributes 105 units, France 79, India 55 and China 46 units.

The Secretariat

Contribution of members

III. The Permanent Court of International Justice

The Permanent Court of International Justice, which was established in accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant, has its seat at the Peace Palace at the Hague. The Court consists of fifteen Judges, who are elected by the Council and Assembly for nine years. Sir Cecil Hurst of the U. K. is the President of the Court.

The Hague Court

The Court deals with disputes of international nature submitted to it by the states concerned; and it may also give advisory opinions on any questions submitted to it by the Council. In the performance of its judicial duties, the court applies international conventions, together with the rules of law which it deduces from international custom from the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations, and from the judicial decisions and the teachings of eminent publicists.

Functions of the Court

In contentious matters, the Court's jurisdiction is always conditional upon the consent of the parties. Such jurisdiction is said to be compulsory when the parties' consent has been given once for all in a treaty or convention relating either to all or to certain categories of disputes. The court's advisory opinions, given to the Assembly or Council at their request, do not possess the force of Judicial decisions.

An advisory body

Range of Settlement of International Disputes

The Covenant of the League contains two kinds of provisions concerning the pacific settlement of disputes. The first, Article 11, makes it the business of the League to take prompt steps to safeguard peace in the event of war, or threat of war or of any matters likely to disturb international relations.

Measures to safeguard peace

On the other hand, the provisions of the second class are

mainly designed for the purpose of seeking or finding a solution of disputes between States which are likely to lead to a rupture. The members are required to submit any dispute among them, which are liable to lead to rupture, either to arbitration, to judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council. They shall not resort to war until three months after the award of the courts or the report of the Council shall have been issued.

Solving disputed questions

Article 17 allows non-members, in dispute with members, to accept the obligations and privileges of membership for the settlement of the dispute. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared by the Covenant (Art. 13) to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement. Lastly, the prevention of war is sought by the deterrent effect of the threat of Sanctions and expulsion from the League (Art. 16).

Threats of sanctions and expulsion

Besides settling minor affairs, the League has settled thirteen political disputes during twenty-two years of its existence. Of these the Graeco-Bulgarian dispute of 1924 and the Graeco-Italian incident of 1923 were the most important. When Greece and Bulgaria were thinking of taking recourse to war over a quarrel regarding the Demir Kapu frontier incident, the Council of the League reminded both the Governments of their obligations under the Covenant and invited them to withdraw their troops to their respective frontiers within sixty hours. The two Governments conformed, an enquiry was made, and, on the basis of the recommendation resulting therefrom, the matter was settled. In 1923 occurred the bombardment of Corfu (Under Greece) by Italy. The matter was discussed by the Council, but it was actually settled by the Conference of Ambassadors. Besides these two most important disputes, the League handled with skill and discretion the difficult situation that arose between Yugoslavia and Hungary out of the murder of King Alexander.

Achievements of the League

Three great disputes were settled

V. Failure of the League to prevent war and its causes

The League has succeeded in settling political disputes between second and third rate powers. But when a first rate power like Japan, Italy or Germany was bent on aggrandisement, the League met with colossal failure.

The League is powerless against big States

In 1932 the League gave the most shocking demonstration of

its weakness in the Manchurian affair. Japan occupied Manchuria in September, 1931 and the League sent a Commission headed by Lord Lytton to report on the situation in the Far East. The Commission reported that Japan's occupation of Manchuria was not justified by reasons of self-defence and recommended that the Powers should not recognise Manchukuo. Japan meanwhile conquered Jehol and brought Inner Mongolia under the Manchukuan rule. The League adopted the Lytton report in February, 1933 and Japan's reply was to give notice of withdrawal from the League.

The Manchurian affair

The next colossal failure of the League was in the case of Italy's annexation of Abyssinia, which was and is a member of the League. The League invoked article 16 of the Covenant on October 6, 1935 and the Sanctions against Italy were put into motion. For the first time, a major Power was formally condemned by a unanimous vote of the Council and Italy was declared an outlaw state. But the Sanctions failed. On June, 1936 the dispossessed Abyssinian emperor appeared before the Assembly to plead the cause of the country and said pathetically "God and history will remember your judgment."

The Abyssinian affair

In the case of the Spanish Civil War, the League decided upon enforcing a policy of non-intervention, though the proper business of the League is to intervene in order to secure and maintain peace. Japan attacked China without declaring any war. There is a major war in the East now, yet the League failed to do anything regarding it.

The Spanish Civil War and the Sino-Japanese War

In October, 1938 Germany put an end to the life of one of its members, viz, Czecho-Slovakia and the League failed to take any active step against the aggressor. By September 1938 the totalitarian states had definitely worsted the League. The stages which marked the League's decadence and final destruction were the German re-occupation of the Rhineland and the Italian war on Ethiopia in 1935, the war in Spain, the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Neville Chamberlain's experimentation in European Settlement outside the framework of the Covenant, Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938, the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia and Italy's seizure of Albania in 1939.

The League of Nations, so long as it is based on the retention of complete national sovereignty by its members, is subject to five fatal limitations. (1) A league of sovereign nations can never compel universal membership nor proceed by majority decision. (2) It has no power in itself to alter the status quo, and thereby remove some of the main causes of conflict. One writer observed that the League "has become the instrument to perpetuate

Five great limitations of the League

wrongs, always available to the beneficiaries of such wrongs, but never within the grasp of those who seek to escape." A proposal, therefore, has been made of separating the Covenant from the Peace Treaties, which would remove from the League the onus of its questionable birth and give it a fresh start in life. (3) The League has no power to limit or control economic nationalism, which is the principal cause of unemployment, dictatorship and international tension to-day. (4) It has no power to limit armament. (5) If the League attempts coercion by applying sanctions its members must be ready for war or actually go to war. The most important cause of the collapse of the League was the deliberate design of the totalitarian states—Germany, Italy and Japan—to divide and weaken the peace-forces in the world and thus to open the door to domination of the world. The dictators scorn the independence of states just as they scorn the liberty of individuals. They do not believe in the equality of states. They repudiate any and every form of collective security because it would make them vulnerable.

VI. League's efforts to reduce National Armaments

Article 8 of the Covenant defines the obligations of the League and of its members with regard to the reduction and limitation of armaments. It laid down amongst other things that the Council shall formulate plans for reduction of armaments for the consideration and action of the several governments, and that the limits of armaments thus fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council. A permanent Advisory Committee on disarmament was appointed in 1920 and a Preparatory Commission was set up in 1925 to do the preliminary work for a world conference for the reduction and limitation of Armaments. The Preparatory Commission held six sessions and finally dissolved in December 1930 after preparing a draft Convention. Throughout the greater part of 1932, 1933 and 1934 the Disarmament Conference was in session at Geneva under the Presidency of Mr. Arthur Henderson. Sixty-one states, seven of which were not members of the League, sent representatives to it. In July, 1932 the Conference took a decision in favour of a substantial reduction of world armaments. Under this decision, all attacks from the air on civilian population and all bombings from the air were to be forbidden, maximum limits were to be set to heavy land artillery and the tonnage of tanks. The chemical, incendiary and bacterial warfares were to be proscribed. Recent events in Abyssinia, Spain and China show, however, that these have been prescribed instead of being proscribed.

The first effort to reduce armaments in 1920

Recommendation of the Disarmament Conference

The Russians proposed an all-round reduction of armaments by 50 per cent and the U. S. A. by 33½ per cent. But Britain objected to it. France proposed to put an armed force under the control of the League of Nations, to be used to punish any power whom the League Council—by a majority vote, not necessarily by unanimity—should proclaim an aggressor. This meant in practice, that the League force would be used to enforce the Versailles settlement and to maintain the ascendancy of France in Europe. Such a proposal could not be acceptable to the vanquished nations.

In the reduction of naval arms the League attained some measure of success. The Washington Conference of 1921-22 led to an agreement between Great Britain, the U. S. A. and Japan to destroy seventy of their warships in agreed proportion and to build no more for ten years. A Second Conference on naval disarmament met at Geneva in 1927 to discuss a similar limitation on cruisers; but owing to the objection of Great Britain the proposal fell through. In the Third Conference held in 1930 Great Britain accepted the principle of cruiserparity with the United States.

The result of the Disarmament Conferences may be illustrated by the case of Great Britain. In February, 1937 Neville Chamberlain announced new defence expenditure of £400,000,000 to be spent over the next five years, in addition to the £200,000,000 now being annually spent in Britain. It tripled the normal expenditure on defence.

VII. The Mandates

The African and Pacific possessions of Germany and certain territories of the Ottoman Empire were put, by Article 22 of the Covenant, under the tutelage of "advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility." These nations should act as mandatories of the League, and exercise their powers on behalf of the League. They should act on the principle that the well-being and development of the peoples under their tutelage formed a "sacred trust of civilisation," and should render the Council an annual report on the territory committed to their charge.

The Mandated territories are divided into three classes according to the degree of civilisation of their inhabitants, economic and geographic circumstances and so forth. Thus Palestine and Syria were put under 'A' class and placed in charge of Great Britain and France respectively. Both these territories have acquired independence recently. Class 'B' Mandates including Togoland and Came-

room were attributed in part to Great Britain and in part to France. The former German East Africa, now called Tanganyika Colony, is under the British administration. The 'C' class Mandates have been attributed mostly to Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa. Japan has got the former German North Pacific possessions.

The problem of the Mandates has become an acute one in recent years. Germany is demanding back her colonies. It is one of the reasons why Germany is bent upon destroying the Peace Treaties. Five countries in the world, namely Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Portugal, possess about seventy-five per cent of the total of the world's key products. Germany, Italy and Japan are dissatisfied with their colonial position and this dissatisfaction is one of the most important potential cause of war.

The three
dissatisfied
Powers

VIII. Non-political work of the League

The League of Nations was created primarily for preventing the recurrence of war. It has failed to a large extent to achieve this purpose. But its non-political work is a valuable asset to the modern world.

The Health-Committee of the League directed its attention to Malaria. In 1932, the Malaria Commission summed up the results of its investigations in a report entitled "The Therapeutics of Malaria". Similar efforts have been instituted with a view to combating tuberculosis, cancer, syphilis, etc. Several international conferences convened under the auspices of the Health Organisation have resulted in the adoption of international standards for certain sera, biological products and the principal vitamins. These are entrusted for safekeeping to an official laboratory.

The Health
Committee

The League of Nations began its work for the suppression of the traffic in women and children in 1921. In October, 1933 a new convention was adopted prohibiting the international traffic in women of full age to be employed, even with their consent, for immoral purposes in another country. The Child Welfare Committee has done much to raise the age for marriage. It has improved the position of illegitimate children. The Geneva Agreement of 1925 provides that the retail sale, import and distribution of prepared opium shall constitute a State monopoly. India government has given up a valuable source of revenue from Opium trade in pursuance of this agreement.

Welfare of
women and
children

The Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters has adopted two methods of work—viz., that of conservations and that of open letters with a view to promoting intellectual co-operation.

Intellectual
co-opera-
tion

The International Labour Organisation

The International Labour Organisation was constituted by the Treaties of Peace as an autonomous organisation of the League of Nations. It aims at the establishment of social justice and specifically at securing humane conditions of labour. The Organisation consists of the International Labour Conference, which meets at least once a year, and the International Labour Office, controlled by a Governing Body. Both these bodies are composed of representatives of Governments, employers and workers, all nominated by the respective Governments. The decisions of the Conference take the form of Draft Conventions or recommendations to the different

Aim of the Labour Organisation Governments, who may make laws to carry out the convention. The Members report annually to the International Labour Office on the measures which they have taken to give effect to Conventions which they have ratified. The functions of the International Labour Office are the preparation of the agenda of the Conference, the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of industrial life and labour, the publication of periodicals and reports dealing with problems of industry and employment and any other duties assigned to it by the Conferences. The founders of the International Labour Office specified in the Charter the following examples of improvements, which they deemed urgently necessary. "The regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures".

The International Labour Conference has adopted sixty Conventions relating to highly important subjects such as limiting hours of work in industrial undertakings; employment of women during the night, minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment; workmen's compensation for accidents, creation of minimum wage-fixing-machinery, forced labour, compulsory old age insurance, etc. India has ratified fifteen out of these sixty Conventions. The revision of the Factories Act in 1922 and 1934, the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 with two amending Acts passed in 1926 and 1929, the Trade Unions Act of 1926, the Payment of Wages Act of 1936 are the

Achievements of the Labour Organisation

results of ratification of these Conventions. In the western countries, however, the 48 hour week and in France 40 hour week (since Sept. 1936) have been attained, whereas in India the hours of work are still 54 per week.

IX. Genesis of the United Nations Organisation

With the outbreak of the second world war, if not much earlier, it was quite clear to everybody that the League of Nations had failed totally in maintaining peace in the world. It failed to root out the three underlying causes of war, namely, the territorial ambitions of nations, race for armaments and secret treaties. It failed to restrain its own members from taking recourse to arms. The aggressors did not care to submit their dispute to arbitration, judicial examination or enquiry by the League Council. The powerful members of the League did not care or dare to apply the sanctions—economic or military—against the aggressors. The dissatisfaction of the world with the work of the League of Nations prompted President Roosevelt to look forward to a better world organisation, which would guarantee to mankind the Four Freedoms. In his annual message to the Congress on January 6, 1941, he declared: "In future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms: The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour—anywhere in the world."

Failure of
the League
of Nations
and the an-
nouncement
of the four
freedoms

On August 14, 1941, the President of United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain drew up a momentous eight-point declaration of joint peace of aims of their respective states. These points were: "First, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other. Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all states,

The
Atlantic
Charter

great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity. Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security. Sixth, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see establish a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want. Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance. Eighth, they believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament." On January, 1, 1942, representatives of 26 Governments signed the United Nations' Declaration, subscribing to the principles of the Atlantic Charter ; but the Atlantic Charter has never been ratified by the Governments. In October, 1943, the Foreign Secretaries of U. S. S. R., U. S. A., U. K. and China met in Moscow and made, among others, the following declarations :

The Moscow Declaration October, 1943

"They recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Hot Springs and Atlantic City Conferences

The first attempt towards an international organization was made to provide machinery for the supply of food and other indispensable articles for the distressed peoples of the world. Such an organization was set up at the conference of the United Nations at Hot Springs in May and June, 1943. In November, 1943, another Conference was held in Atlantic City on post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation and an association was founded with the object of improving agriculture.

The next move to promote international peace was taken at the Bretton Woods Conference in July, 1944. Delegates of 44 nations met here at the International Monetary and Financial

Conference and recommended proposals for an International Monetary Fund to modernize the system of foreign exchange and for an International Bank for Reconstructions and Development. The fund would act as a central agency where currency of one nation may be exchanged, at fair rates, for currency of another. To enable it to function successfully, the fund would have resources of 8,800,000 dollar subscribed by the participating nations. With a view to eradicate poverty in every part of the world it was decided to set up the International Bank, which would provide capital for restoring productive wealth destroyed by war and for assisting less industrialized nations to make full use of their resources. The Bank would also promote private foreign investment by guaranteeing, supplementing or participating in private loans and other investments; stimulate long-range, balanced growth of international trade, arrange the loans it makes or guarantee in relation to loans from other channels; consider, in its operations, the effect of international investment on business conditions; and assist in bringing about a smooth transition from war-time to peace-time economy. The Bank's capital of 9100 million dollar, subscribed by members, would be available to make and guarantee long-term loans at reasonable rates of interest. Managers of the Bank, representing all participating nations, would give special consideration to the needs of countries which have suffered from enemy occupation and hostilities. But the Soviet Government signified its intention in January, 1946, not to sign the Bretton Woods Agreement.

The Bretton
Woods
Conference

From 24th August to 7th October, 1944, the representatives of England, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. met at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and worked out a plan for international organization for world security. The United Nations Conference met at San Francisco on April 25, 1945, and prepared a charter of an organization to maintain peace and security along the lines proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

X. Constitution of the United Nations Organization

The chief organs of the U. N. O. are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the International Court and the Social and Economic Council.

The General Assembly is the policy-making and supervisory body of the United Nations. Each nation, affiliated with the U. N. O., has one vote, though it may be represented by five representatives. The following 51 nations are so far affiliated—Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelo-Russia (Soviet White Russia), Canada, Chile, China, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon,

Liberia, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Soviet Ukraine, Union of South Africa, U. S. S. R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. Germany, Italy and Japan are not members of the U. N. O., but they can be admitted to membership at such time as, in the opinion of the General Assembly, they as 'peace-loving states' are able and ready to accept the obligations contained in the charter.

The functions of the General Assembly are to lay down general policy of world co-operation, to consider questions of world peace and international problems without limit and to make recommendations to the Security Council, to elect non-permanent members of the latter and members of some U. N. O. agencies and U. N. O. officials, to receive reports from all agencies and departments and to control finances. The Assembly, however, cannot pass binding laws, nor can it interfere, uninvited, in any question then under consideration by the Security Council.

The General Assembly meets at least once a year, but it may meet oftener, if necessary. The Assembly met for the first time on 10th January, 1946, in London, and will meet again in the Autumn in New York. It elects its presiding officer every session. There is one important point of difference in the procedure adopted by the U. N. O. from that followed in the League of Nations. In the League Assembly unanimity of votes was necessary, especially in regard to measure involving sanctions against any nation. But in the U. N. O. Assembly a two-third majority will be considered effective for all purposes—election to the council, admission and expulsion of members, recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security etc.

Seven basic permanent committees have been set up to operate within the General Assembly. These are a General or Steering Committee, Political and Security Committee, Economic and Financial Committee, Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, Trusteeship Committee, Legal Committee and Administrative and Budgetary Committee. The Trusteeship and Committee will handle U.N.O. affairs relating to dependent peoples in such colonies, defeated states and other non-independent territories as are put under its control. Its members will be the U. S. A., U. S. S. R., China, Britain and France and any other nations administering colonial areas.

The Security Council consists of eleven members, of whom China, France, Great Britain, Russia and the U. S. A. have permanent seats, while the other six are elected by the Assembly for a period of two years. Egypt,

Mexico and the Netherlands have been elected this year to serve until 1947 and Australia, Brazil and Poland to serve until 1948. The Council is charged with the maintenance of the peace and security of the world. It discusses and investigates any dispute or situation which may lead to international friction and tries to bring about peaceful settlement. Four stages have been suggested for this purpose. First, the two parties to the dispute will be called upon to settle it peacefully between themselves. Secondly, if they fail to do so, the Council will suggest methods and measures by which a settlement can be brought about. If this also fails, the Security Council will adopt the third stage—which is to apply economic sanctions. Lastly, if these too fail, the Council will declare war against the nation which refuses to agree to arbitration or other methods suggested.

But the procedure of voting in the Security Council is such as to make it very difficult to take any effective step. Each of the eleven members has one vote and seven votes decide routine matters. When peaceful settlement of a dispute is involved, the majority of seven must include the votes of all five permanent members, but no member can vote if it is party to the dispute. When use of sanctions or military action is involved, the majority of seven must include the vote of all five permanent members even if one of them is party to the dispute. In serious issues, each of the Big Five, having permanent seats in the Council, has the power of veto.

The U. N. O. Secretariat consists of the working staff of the Organisation. It will eventually consist of 2500 employees. On February 1, 1946, the General Assembly elected M. Trygve Lie of Norway as Secretary-General. ^{The Secretariat} The Secretariat is now functioning at four places in New York and to a small extent in London. It includes administrative and research stuffs which will be under the joint control of the Assembly and the Council. The Secretariat is at present divided into eight departments, namely, Administrative and Financial Services, Public Information, Trusteeship and Information from non-self-governing territories, Legal Affairs, Social Affairs, Conferences and General Services, Security Council Affairs, and Economic Affairs.

The International Court of Justice, designed as an improvement on the World Court of the League of Nations, was set up at the London meeting of the General Assembly. It consists of 15 Judges, elected by the General Assembly. At present it includes one Judge each from France, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador and Great Britain for 9 years, from U. S. A., U. S. S. R., Belgium, Mexico, and Norway for 6 years, and from Canada, China, Egypt, Yugoslavia and ^{Inter-national Court}

Poland for 3 years. The chief function of the Court is to make peaceful settlement of disputes between nations.

The Social and Economic Council is charged with the duty of co-ordinating the work of international agencies and to eliminate the economic and social roots of war. It is composed of 18 members elected by the General Assembly. The Chairman of this Council is an eminent Indian, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. The International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Civil Aviation Organization, and the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, known as the UNESCO, are working under this Council.

**The Social
and
Economic
Council**

XI. A Critical Estimate of U.N.O.

The very name, United Nations Organisation, carries with it the memory of the Second World War when the nations were organised against Germany, Italy and Japan. An organisation which aims at securing stable order and permanent peace in the world should obliterate the distinction between the victors and the vanquished. The history of the world shows that peace cannot be secured for any length of time by ostracising some important nations of the world. A lasting peace must be based on equity, justice and fair play. In spite of the high-sounding principles of the Atlantic Charter, the victorious Powers, U. S. A., U. S. S. R., and Great Britain, have adopted the policy of impairing the industrial potentialities of Germany and Japan. They have decided to remove physically the surplus industrial equipment of Germany and Japan so that these nations should never be able to regain their war potential. This will mean the loss of technical skill and ability of the Japanese and Germans to the world. It is doubtful whether these defeated nations would remain contented with their status as economically backward nations.

**Defective
name**

The chief object of the U.N.O. is to maintain the world peace. But nothing in the provisions of the U.N.O. shows that an

**Liberum
veto of
Big Powers**

International authority with power to curb the aggressive tendency of a Big Power has been created.

There is hardly any proper emphasis on disarmament of the members of the U.N.O., nor has the Organisation been given a strong army, navy and air force to subdue the recalcitrant Power. The Security Council will not find it easy to declare military sanctions against an offending nation for two reasons. First, it will be difficult to collect and lead the squadrons from different nations; and secondly, because the Council will be powerless against a Big Power. Under its rules of business each of the Five Big Powers possesses a veto power. When

one of these Five is a party to a dispute, it will not allow the Council to take any action against itself. It has been said that "this organization will be one for keeping small boys in order by prefects who themselves are exempt from the rules that they will administer."

The cardinal defect of the U.N.O. is that it is based on the principle of *sovereign equality* of the member-states. But in the real politics of the present day, only three out of the 51 member-states are really powerful. Problem of equal sovereign states These three are U. S. S. R., U. S. A., and Great Britain, the other 48 States are satellites of these three. Even Great Britain is much weaker than the other two. She is heavily indebted and her man power and economic resources are negligible in comparison to the other two. The Czechs, Poles, Yugoslavs and Bulgarians are, as far as power politics go, under the Russian sphere of influence. The equal sovereignty of the member-states is a myth and this myth of sovereignty is the stumbling block to the organisation of a really efficient Security Council.

One solution of the problem of peace is in the transfer of the control of atomic energy to the U.N.O. If this is done with proper safeguards, the whole difficulty of getting a sufficient balance of power against any offending, Problem of atomic energy threatening or aggressive power, would disappear. The U. S. A. has offered to transfer the atomic energy secrets to an international controlling authority. But what does such an authority really mean? If it is to be one above the nations, the problem is how to guarantee that it would be absolutely impartial? If, however, 'international' merely means a body formed out of delegates of U. S. A., Russia, Britain, France, China and Mexico, it might be very dangerous to give it absolute possession of the knowledge of Atomic Bomb.

APPENDIX I

Political Speculations in Ancient India

Political Science was assigned a high place in the cultural system in ancient India. Usanas, a predecessor of Kautilya, regarded Politics as the only science, but according to Kautilya the welfare of all other sciences depended on the well-being of Politics. Sukra says that a ruler who neglects the study of Dandaniti, or science of government, sinks like a leaky vessel.

There were two different schools of thought in ancient India regarding the origin of the State. Both of these schools are represented in the Mahabharata. According to the Vanaparvam of the epic, there was at first perfect peace and happiness among men ; but later on errors crept into their mind, the distinction between right and wrong vanished, and wrath began to disturb human relations. The people approached Visnu for the redress of this state of lawlessness. The Lord created out of his own energy a son named Virajas on whom sovereignty was bestowed. This story points to the divine origin of the state. But the Santiparvam states that when the Golden Age degenerated in course of time into a period of lawless anarchy the people made a compact among themselves by which they provided that any one who was harsh in speech, or violent in temper or who robbed others of their wealth or wife would be out-lawed and excommunicated. Later on, Brahma nominated Manu as the King. This story refers to the contractual origin of the State and divine origin of Kingship.

All the ancient writers on Polity, from Kautilya to Sukra hold that the State consists of seven elements, namely :—(1) the Swamin or Lord, usually the King ; (2) the Amatya or minister ; (3) The Janapada or territory ; (4) The Durga or fort ; (5) Kosa or treasury ; (6) Danda or army ; and (7) Mitra or ally. Sukra compares the King to the head, the minister to eye, the ally to ear, the treasure to mouth, the army to mind, the fort to arms and the territory and the people to two legs of human body. According to Sukra, the King should like a father endow his subjects with good qualities, like a mother pardon offences and nourish the subjects like children ; like teacher guide his subjects, like a brother take only his legal share of property, like a friend be the keeper of the subjects, lives, families, property and interests ; like Kuvera bestow wealth and like Yama punish the wicked.

The King in ancient Indian theory had no absolute power. Arbitrary government was checked by the popular control over the selection of the King. Dasaratha called the chief persons

of cities and villages within his kingdom to an assembly and asked them whether they approved of the selection of Rama as heir-apparent. In the Mahabharata we find that the Bramhanas and the village elders prevented King Pratipa from designating Devapi as successor because the latter suffered from skin-disease. Jajati had to take the consent of the people in nominating Puru as his successor. Sometimes the people deposed an evil-minded despotic King, as the story of deposition of Bena shows. Moreover, the sanctity of the Dharma or Rule of Law and the moral influence of the Bramhanas were regarded as safeguards against the exercise of arbitrary power of the king.

In the Arthashastra of Kautilya we notice some form of State Socialism. The State owns a very large portion of land of the country ; the State has monopoly over forests, mines, salt, pearls and precious stones. The State is the largest employer of artisans. The textile factories of the State are enjoyed to furnish employment to widows, crippled women and reclaimed prostitutes. The State regulates the rate of interest ; and the Superintendent of Commerce regulates the rate of profit by fixing the price of different commodities with reference to the outlay of capital, the interest thereon, the quantity manufactured, the amount of toll and the wages of labourers. Wholesale traders were allowed a five per cent profit on home-grown commodities and ten per cent profit on foreign goods.

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Singh, Raghubir	.	Indian States and new regime
Singh Roy, B. P. Sir	.	Parliamentary Government in India
Sircar, B. K.	...	Political philosophies since 1905
Spenceman, Diana	...	Modern Dictatorship
Spencer	...	Government and Politics of Italy
Strong	...	Modern Political Institutions
Tagore, Rabindranath	.	Nationalism
Thomas P. J.	...	Growth of Federal finance in India
Vakil, C. V.	...	Financial development of India
Vincent, J. M.	...	Government in Switzerland
Wade, C. G.	...	Australia
Wajid, Khan	...	Financial Problems of Indian States under Federation
Webb, S. & B.	...	Soviet Communism, a new Civilization
Willoughby, W. W.	.	The nature of the State American Constitutional System Political theories of the ancient world A study of Political Philosophy
Wilson, W.	.	The State Constitutional Government in the United States Congressional Government
Zimmern, A. E.	.	Nationality and Government The Third Empire

SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS

INTRODUCTION (PAGE 1)

1. "Politics is an observational and not an experimental science." Examine the proposition and discuss, in this connection, how far Politics is a science. (Dac. '44)
2. (a) "Political Science without history is hollow and baseless." (Seeley). (Pat. '40)
(b) 'You may have a political theory which is a good theory without being rooted in historical study' (Barker). Comment on these two statements. (Dac. '48)
3. Define 'Political Science' and distinguish it from 'Politics' and Political Philosophy'. Is Political Science really a Science? (Punjab '87)
4. What is the relation of Political Science with (a) History, (b) Economics and (c) Ethics? (Bombay 1941)
5. What do you understand by the term, 'Historical Method'? State briefly the chief contributions of at least one writer of the Historical School. (Alld. 1934, Andhra 1943)
6. Bring out clearly the close relation between Political Science and Economics. (Mysore 1944)
7. "Though the experimental method as applied to Physics and Chemistry is inapplicable nevertheless there is a wide field of experimentation of a definite kind in Political Science". Examine this statement. (Dacca 1943)
8. Discuss the extent to which a study of Ethics, Economics and Psychology can be of value to a student of Political Science. (Mysore '40)

CHAPTER I (PAGE 12)

1. 'The State is natural'. 'The State comes into being for the sake of life, it continues for the sake of good life'. Describe, in the light of these statements, Aristotle's theory of the origin and nature of the State. (Alld. '43)

✓ 2. What do you understand by the Organic theory of the state? Has it any value for us to-day? Illustrate your answer by reference to the writers whom you have studied. (Andhra '42)

State briefly the Organismic theory of the state and assess its value.

(Nagpur '44)

3. Critically examine the view that the state represents and contains within itself all the individual's social aspirations and at the same time fulfils all his social needs. (Andhra '43)

4. 'The safety of the state is its first law, and to realise this end it must be above morality'. Amplify. (Cal. '42)

5. 'Government rests on force'. "Government rests on opinion". Discuss these statements carefully. (Cal. '44)

✓ 6. 'The organismic theory of the state is neither a satisfactory explanation of the nature of the state nor a trustworthy guide to state activity'. Examine this proposition. (Dac. '40)

✓ 7. 'Will, not force, is the basis of the State'. Discuss this statement. (Dac. '40)

8. 'The State is the very image of the human organism', and 'no mere artificial lifeless machine'. Examine this statement. (Dac. '44)
9. What are the essential characteristics of a State? How far are they found in (a) the British Empire, (b) the States of the U. S. A., and (c) Indian States? (Madras 1943)
10. Describe the bonds of unity in a state. Are any of them indispensable? How far are they present in India? (Mysore 1941)

CHAPTER II (PAGE 18)

1. Discuss the Social Contract theory of the State as expounded by Rousseau. Did the theory succeed in solving the problem it set out to solve? (Utkal '45)
2. Critically examine the Social Contract theory of the origin of the State. (Nagpur '46)
3. Examine Rousseau's Social Contract theory with special reference to his doctrine of 'General will'. (Nagpur '44)
4. Explain clearly the part played by the different factors in the origin of the State. (Nagpur '45)
5. Discuss the evolutionary theory of the origin of the State. (Nagpur '43)
6. Critically examine the main features of the Social Contract theory of Hobbes and Locke. (Nagpur '43)
7. Discuss the Social Contract theories of the origin of the State. (Cal. '45)
8. Compare and contrast the theories of Hobbes and Locke in regard to sovereignty. (Alld. '41)
9. Compare the views of Hobbes and Locke regarding the right to revolution. (Alld. '42)
10. 'Rousseau has drawn something from Hobbes and something from Locke.' Explain. (Alld. '43)
11. 'Hobbes's sovereignty is *de facto* sovereignty; Rousseau's *de jure* sovereignty.' Discuss this distinction. (Alld. '44)
12. Estimate the value to political theory of the conception of a social contract. (Alld. '44)
13. Examine the theory of the social contract as an explanation of the origin of the State. Is there anything of permanent value in this theory? (Andhra '42)
14. Describe the part played by force in the origin and evolution of the State. What steps would you advocate for the "taming" of power in politics? (Andhra '42)
15. State and criticise the contract theory of the origin of the State. (Andhra '44)
16. "The State is neither the handiwork of God, nor the result of superior physical force, nor the creation of resolution on convention, nor a mere expansion of the family." Explain what you consider to be the true theory of the origin of the State. (Andhra '44)
17. 'Government is based on force'. Carefully examine this statement. (Cal. '42)
18. 'Rousseau unites the absolute sovereignty of Hobbes and the 'popular consent' of Locke into the philosophic doctrine of popular Sovereignty. Examine. (Dac. '44)

19. How is the doctrine of consent used by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau in the construction of their political theories ? (Madras '40)
20. Estimate the influence of war on the development of the early State. (Madras 1940)
21. State and criticise the Patriarchal theory. (Mysore '41)

CHAPTER III (PAGE 45)

1. Consider the view that the boundaries of states should coincide with those of nations. (Cal. '45)
2. What are the factors which create a nationality ? How does a nation come into being in a country of diverse nationalities ? (Andhra '42)
3. Do you agree with the view that the doctrine of national sovereignty is the chief enemy of mankind to day ? Give reasons for your answer. (Andhra '42)
4. 'One Nation, one State'. Discuss the underlying principle of the slogan and part played by it in the formation of modern states. Point out its limitations, if any. (Nagpur '44)
5. 'The nation of an independent sovereign state, on the international side, is fatal to the well-being of humanity.' In the light of this statement, criticise the Austinian view of sovereignty. (Andhra 1944)
6. What are the factors that create a nationality ? How does a nation come into being in a country of diverse nationalities ? (Dac. '40)
7. Examine the merits and defects of Nationalism as a political force. (Madras '43)
8. What factors contribute to the development of Nationhood in a country ? Discuss with illustrations. (Mysore '40)
9. Describe the soundness of the doctrine 'one nation, one state' in the light of present world conditions. (Mysore '41)

CHAPTER IV (PAGE 62)

1. Define 'Sovereignty', and point out its main attributes. Examine the validity of the concept of sovereignty in the light of criticism levelled against it by the protagonists of the doctrine of political pluralism. (Pat. '45)
2. State and examine Austin's theory of sovereignty. (Cal. '45)
3. Discuss the pluralistic theory of sovereignty. (Nagpur '43)
Discuss the pluralistic criticism of the classical theory of sovereignty. (Nagpur '46)
4. "Pluralistic doctrines are in the long run anarchistic doctrines". Explain and discuss. (Nagpur '44)
5. "To divide sovereignty is to destroy it". Discuss. (Nagpur '45)
6. Critically examine the Austinian conception of sovereignty. (Alld. '42, '44)
7. What do you know of the monistic and pluralistic theories of sovereignty ? Which of them is nearer the truth ? (Andhra '43)
8. 'Sovereignty is the supreme will of the State'. Explain as clearly as you can the meaning of the term Sovereignty. What attacks have been made on the theory of sovereignty in recent times ? (Andhra '44)
9. Explain carefully what you understand by sovereignty. How far can sovereignty be said properly to belong to the people ? (Cal. '42, '44)

10. Discuss the statement that absolute State-sovereignty is a menace to civilization, and evaluate, in this connection, the recent attacks on the doctrine of absolute State-sovereignty. (Dacca '44)

11. What do you understand by sovereignty? Where would you locate it in the case of Great Britain? (Madras '41)

12. State and criticise the Pluralist view of the position of the State. (Madras '48)

13. Show why it is difficult to locate the seat of sovereign power in the federation of U. S. A., and discuss where it will be located in the proposed Indian federation. (Mysore '41)

CHAPTER V (PAGE 82)

1. What is meant by the term 'law'? Discuss the relation between Law and Morality. (Andhra '42)

2. What exactly is the relation between Law and Liberty. (Andhra '44)

3. Discuss the various sources of law and distinguish between Statute Law and Constitutional Law. (Nagpur '45)

4. Distinguish between Statute Law and Constitutional Law. What, in your opinion, are the essential requisites of a good written constitution? (Nagpur '44)

5. 'Law is the command of the sovereign.' Examine this proposition. When and how does a custom become law? (Dacca '44)

6. Discuss the relation between law and public opinion. (Madras '42)

7. Discuss the merits and demerits of the Rule of Law and Administrative Law. (Mysore '41)

8. What are the sources of law? Explain the meaning of (a) bye-law, (b) administrative law, (c) Rule of Law, and (d) international conventions. (Mysore '41)

9. Explain the merits and demerits of the Rule of Law and Administrative Law in the light of English and French experience. (Mysore '48)

10. What is meant by the term 'law'? How far is it correct to use such expressions as 'the laws of nature', 'the laws of God,' and 'the laws of morality'? (Dacca '41)

11. (a) 'In the development of law, custom is the conservative element, legislative enactment the radical.'

(b) 'The Legislature should not invent law, but only write it.' Comment on these two statements. (Dacca '41)

CHAPTER VI (PAGE 99)

1. What do you understand by Natural Rights? Discuss Bentham's views on Natural Rights. (Allahabad '41)

2. Compare the conceptions of Locke, Green and Spencer in regard to Natural Right. Which view do you think is the most correct? (Allahabad '48)

3. On what grounds does J. S. Mill justify liberty of speech and action? (Allahabad '42)

4. What do you understand by the terms 'liberty' and 'equality'. Are they necessarily incompatible? (Allahabad '42; Mysore '40, '42; Andhra '48)

5. 'Liberty in society' has both a positive and a negative side (Gettell). Discuss. (Andhra '42; Dacca '40)

6. What are the various forms of liberty and equality with which you are acquainted ? Which of these should the state provide and how ? (Andhra '42 H)
7. 'Recognition of political authority is the indispensable condition of liberty'. Explain and discuss. (Andhra '44)
8. Distinguish between a citizen and an alien. What are the different methods of acquiring citizenship ? (Cal. '42, '43)
9. Distinguish between civil and political rights. How are civil rights guaranteed in England ? (Cal. '43) and in the U. S. A ? (Cal. '45)
10. What is meant by the term 'liberty' ? How far is it true to say that law is the condition of liberty ? (Dacca '41)
11. 'Sovereignty and liberty are not contradictory terms'. Examine. (Dacca '42)
12. Discuss the theory of Natural Rights. (Dacca '41 H)
13. Discuss the statement that rights are the creation of the State and cannot exist apart from it. (Madras '40)
14. 'Freedom consists in a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying' (Green). Discuss the problem of the liberty of the individual in the light of this statement. (Madras '43)
15. 'A right against society is a contradiction in terms'. 'Rights and duties are correlatives'. Explain and illustrate. (Mysore '41)
16. Discuss the extent to which the State can interfere with (a) freedom of conscience, (b) education and (c) the right of association. (Mysore '43)
17. Expand the statement, 'Rights are the groundwork of the State'. (Mysore '41)
18. 'Freedom exists not only in the absence of restraint but also in the presence of opportunity'. Explain and illustrate. (Mysore '43)
19. 'Rights are creations of the State'. 'Rights are prior to the State'. Discuss with a view to explaining the nature and purpose of rights. (Nagpur '44)
20. 'The obligations of the citizen do not manifestly rest on a contractual basis'. Critically examine the statement, and discuss the grounds of political obligation. (Patna '45)
21. Discuss the nature of Rights as a political conception. Can there be natural rights in the sense of rights apart from society and independent of it ? (Patna '45)
22. Describe the various meanings of the term 'liberty'. How can the liberty of the individual in your opinion be reconciled with the coercive power of Government. (Punjab '43)

CHAPTER VII (PAGE 128)

1. What do you mean by the term 'constitution' ? How far do you agree with the dictum of de Tocqueville that 'the British Constitution has no existence' ? (Andhra '42)
2. How are amendments to the federal constitution made in the U. S. A., Canada and Australia ? (Andhra '42 H)
3. Elucidate Lowell's dictum that the distinction between Rigid and Flexible constitutions is one of degree rather than of kind. (Andhra '41, '43)
Are the constitutions of (a) the U. S. A., (b) England and (c) India rigid or flexible ? Give your reasons. (Cal. '43, '45)
4. Explain how constitutions are framed and amended ? (Dacca '41)

5. A constituent assembly of a country beginning its work with a clean state has to make its decisions according to a certain procedure. What subjects should such an assembly deal with and in what order ? (Dacca '44)

6. Discuss the value of fundamental rights in modern constitutions with illustrations. (Madras '44)

7. Distinguish between 'rigid' and 'flexible' constitutions. Give examples and describe the merits and demerits of each. (Nagpur '44)

8. Distinguish between statute law and constitutional law. What, in your opinion, are the essential requisites of a good written constitution ? (Nagpur '44)

9. Carefully examine the meaning of the term 'constitution'. What are the chief types of constitutions which we find in modern times ? (Punjab '44)

CHAPTER VIII (PAGE 135)

1. What principles would you adopt in classifying governments ? Illustrate your answer by referring to existing governments. (Dacca '40)

2. Every government, whatever be the form, is essentially an oligarchy. Examine. (Dacca '41)

3. Explain the different ways in which forms of government are classified. To which category would you assign the government of Bengal ? (Dacca '43)

4. Describe the chief differences between military and federal constitutions with special reference to England and Canada. (Punjab '42)

CHAPTER IX (PAGE 145)

1. 'Democracy is the cult of incompetence' (Faguet). Comment. (Allahabad '41)

2. 'The greatest danger now facing democratic forms of government comes from those democrats whose narrowness of political outline prevents them from understanding the system and knowing where its limits lie'. Examine this statement, mentioning what you would consider to be the limits of democratic government. (Andhra '44 H)

3. Write a short essay on 'democracy,' showing its merits and defects. (Cal. '43)

4. 'Democracy is the best form of government'. 'Democracy means government by the ignorant and unfit.' Comment on these statements. (Dacca '40)

5. 'The value of popular government is that it provides the means through which the wishes of the people may be known and felt, and that thus the conduct of a state may be brought into conformity thereto'. Explain this proposition. (Dacca '40 H)

6. 'Democracy is the cult of incompetence. Democracy is the enemy of liberty'. Discuss. (Dacca '44)

7. Are you prepared to accept the following criticism of Democracy ? 'Democracy ensures neither better government nor greater liberty.' Give reasons for your answer. (Dacca '44)

8. What have been the major defects of modern democracies ? Suggest measures for remedying them. (Dacca '44)

9. 'All government is a method of education, but the best education is self-education ; therefore, the best government is self-government which is democracy' (C. D. Burns). Examine the soundness of this argument. (Madras '48)

10. 'Democracy is based on the assumption that men can agree on common action which yet leaves each to live his own life' (Lindsay). Discuss this statement with special reference to the prospects of democracy in India.

(Madras '44)

11. Estimate the chief lines of criticism levelled against (a) the principle of democracy and (b) the working of the democratic government. (Mysore '40)

12. Estimate the value of Referendum, Initiative and Recall as safeguards of democracy.

(Mysore '42, '44)

13. What are the essential conditions for the successful working of democratic government? How far are these conditions present in modern times? (Mysore '42). How far are these conditions present in India?

(Mysore '43)

14. Mention some of the difficulties which have been experienced in the practical working of democracy. Are they capable of removal? (Mysore '44)

15. What do you understand by the term Democratic Ideal? Have the events of the last thirty years shaken your belief in the ideal? Give reasons.

(Patna '45)

CHAPTER X (PAGE 158)

1. Discuss the importance of Judiciary in a Federal State.

(Allahabad '41; Utkal '45)

2. Compare and contrast the salient features of the federation of Canada and Switzerland.

(Allahabad '43)

3. 'A federal state is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights'. Discuss the definition.

(Allahabad '43)

4. What are the conditions essential to the success of a federal nation? How far do they exist in India?

(Andhra '42, '44)

5. Explain what do you consider to be the virtues of federation.

(Andhra '44 H)

6. Explain the principles and methods of the distribution of powers between a federation and its units in a federal form of government.

(Cal. '42; Utkal '45)

7. 'In the process of unification, the alliance, the confederation, the federation and the unitary state represent successive stages'. Examine.

(Dacca '40)

8. How does a federal union differ from a confederation? Does the 'doctrine of unification' apply to a federal union? Give reasons for your answer.

(Dacca '40 H)

9. What are the conditions essential to the success of a federal union? How far do they exist in India?

(Dacca '41, '42, '43 H, '44)

10. 'Federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of co-ordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution'. Explain.

(Dacca '41 H)

11. Discuss the merits and defects of a Federal Government.

(Dacca '43; Mysore '43)

12. What are the factors conducive to the formation of a federation? Illustrate your answer with reference to either Canada or Australia. (Madras '41)

13. Explain with reference to India the essential factors that make Federation possible.

(Mysore '40)

14. 'Federal Government is a sort of compromise between unitary and confederate government.' Explain with examples. Which of these three types of government do you advocate as the best for India ? (Nagpur '44)

15. Compare and contrast the position of the States in the U. S. A. Federation with those of the provinces in the Canadian Federation. Account for any difference you may notice. (Nagpur '44)

16. 'In all federations, there is the manifest tendency to interest the central or national government with a wider and wider sphere of activity' (Leacock). Explain the reasons for this tendency. (Punjab '41)

17. Carefully explain the principles on which the modern federal governments are organised. What are the chief reasons for the popularity of federalism in these days ? (Punjab '43)

18. Discuss the fundamental features of modern federations with special reference to the following : distribution of powers between the federal government and the state, procedure for constitutional amendments, functions of the judiciary as the guardian of the constitution. (Punjab '44)

CHAPTER XI (PAGE 169)

1. State and criticize the theory of separation of Powers. (Allahabad '41 ; Madras '41 ; Mysore '40)

2. In what sense and with what limitations is the theory of separation of powers true ? (Andhra '44 H)

3. What is meant by 'Separation of Powers' ? How far is this separation found in India ? (Cal. '43)

How is this doctrine applied to England and the United States ? (Cal. '45)

4. Discuss the relation between the executive and the legislative organs of the state. (Cal. '42)

5. Explain the theory of Separation of Powers. How far has it been applied in England, the U. S. A., and with what results ? (Dacca '41)

6. State and explain the theory of 'separation of powers', and discuss its application in the constitutions of Great Britain, the U. S. A. and India. (Patna '45)

7. 'In the actual conduct of public affairs, a certain degree of separation of powers marks towards efficient government'. Indicate briefly the advantage of separation of powers, illustrating your answer from Indian examples. (Punjab '42)

8. Examine the doctrine of Separation of Powers and show how far such a separation is desirable and practicable. (Utkal '45)

CHAPTER XII (PAGE 176)

1. Compare and contrast the Senate of pre-war France with the Senate of the U. S. A. as regards (a) their composition, (b) their powers and functions and (c) their political importance. (Allahabad '41)

2. What is the utility of a 'Second Chamber' ? What are the essentials of a good Second Chamber ? How would you reform the British House of Lords ? (Allahabad '41)

3. Compare the advantages of the Referendum and Initiative as applied to ordinary legislation and to constitutional amendment. (Allahabad '43)

4. Compare and contrast the composition, powers and functions of the British House of Lords and the American Senate. (Andhra '42)

5. Examine the uses of a Second Chamber under modern conditions.
(Andhra '43)
6. Which of the Second Chambers you have studied do you regard as the most successful? Briefly describe its working.
(Andhra '48 H)
7. What reforms in parliamentary procedure do you suggest to counteract the post-war decline of legislatures in power and prestige?
(Andhra '48 H)
8. Critically examine the advantages and disadvantages of a second chamber.
(Cal. '48)
9. Is a second chamber indispensable in a federal constitution? Examine the advantages and disadvantages of second chambers in any constitution.
(Cal. '44)
10. How will you distinguish a non-sovereign law-making body from a sovereign law-making body? Illustrate your answer.
(Dacca '40)
11. Examine the arguments usually advanced in support of a bicameral legislature. Are you in favour of the bicameral system as introduced into Bengal?
(Dacca '40)
12. Discuss the various functions performed by modern legislatures.
(Dacca '43)
13. What are the functions of legislatures in modern democratic states? To what extent should judicial and administrative powers be entrusted to them?
(Madras '41)
14. 'Upper Chambers serve under the same form different functions in different constitutions'. Explain and illustrate.
(Madras '42)
15. 'Of all the means that have been used to secure, in the work of legislation a due amount of caution and reflection, the most important is the division of the legislature into two chambers' (Leacock). Explain and discuss.
(Punjab '43)
16. Briefly describe the arguments that have been put forward against the existence of second chambers. How should the upper chambers be composed and what powers would you allot to it?
(Punjab '44)
17. What is the position and utility of Second Chambers in modern states? Discuss the best method of constructing a Second Chamber.
(Utkal '45)

CHAPTER XIII (PAGE 194)

1. 'The difficulties of representation have led, among other things, to the demand that parliamentary and party government shall be at least mitigated, if not displaced by the direct action of the people' (Finer). What are these direct democratic devices? How do they work in the U.S.A. and Switzerland?
(Allahabad '41)
2. Explain the essential features of Proportional Representation. What are the main arguments for and against it?
(Allahabad '44; Andhra '44)
3. Discuss the question of the representation of minorities in the various legislatures of India.
(Cal. '42)
4. To what extent, if any, should a member of a legislature be bound by the instructions of his constituents?
(Dacca '40 H; Andhra '42)
5. What are the devices of direct democracy that prevail in Switzerland? How do you account for the fact that they have not worked successfully in other countries?
(Andhra '48 H)
6. Describe the various methods by which the representation of minorities may be secured.
(Dacca '41; Madras '40)

7. Institute a comparison between mediaeval and modern theories of political representation. (Madras '44)
8. Describe the means adopted in modern states to protect the interests of minorities. (Mysore '40)
9. State the case for and against communal representation in India. How has this been sought to be secured (a) in the legislatures and (b) in the administrative services? (Mysore '42)
10. Describe the problem of adequate representation of minorities. What schemes have been invented to deal with the problem? (Punjab '42)
11. Describe in detail any scheme of minority representation known to you. Are you in favour of a communal electorate as a method of minority representation? (Utkal '45)
12. Discuss the arguments for and against direct democracy with special reference to its devices of Initiative and Referendum. (Nagpur '44)

CHAPTER XIV (PAGE 218)

1. Bring out clearly the differences between (a) Parliamentary, (b) Presidential and (c) Collegiate types of executive. (Nagpur '45)
2. Compare and contrast the position and powers of the President of the U. S. A. with those of the British Prime Minister. (Nagpur '44)
3. What is meant by 'Plural Executive'? How does it differ from 'Cabinet Government'? Discuss with illustrations from Switzerland and Canada. (Nagpur '44)
4. Bring out the salient features of the Swiss Executive. (Mysore '43)
5. Bring out the essential characteristics of the Presidential form of Executive stressing the part played by the American Presidency in recent times. (Mysore '42)
6. Clearly bring out the differences between parliamentary, presidential, collegiate and dictatorial forms of executive in the modern state. (Madras '44)
7. Explain the differences between the systems of the Parliamentary and the Presidential Executive with reference to France and the U. S. A. (Dacca '42)

CHAPTER XV (PAGE 232)

1. 'Liberty depends more upon administration than upon constitution'. Comment. (Mysore '44)
2. What are the principles upon which the functions of the departments of government are determined? (Mysore '44)
3. Discuss the problems relating to recruitment and promotion of public servants. (Mysore '44)
4. Define 'administrative morale'. How would you promote morale in public service?
5. Discuss the composition and functions of Advisory Bodies. How far are they being utilised in India?
6. Are you in favour of the municipalisation of public utilities?
7. Account for the importance of Public Administration in the modern state. (Mysore '43)
8. Explain with reference to England or U. S. A. the working of Integration and point out its limitations.

9. Describe the forms of centralisation that are commonly found in modern states.

10. Examine critically the role of the Civil Service in India or England and show how far it would be right to charge it with despotism.

11. What are the objects of judicial control and what are the means employed to achieve them ?

12. Examine the relative merits and defects of the different types of Personnel.

13. Explain the basis on which individuals are to be promoted to higher posts.

14. Does the following definition adequately bring out the meaning and the scope of public administration ?—"Public Administration is the management of men and materials in the accomplishment of the purposes of the state".

15. Write an essay on the functions of the Collector in the administrative system of British India. In what respects have they altered since 1920 ?

16. Describe the methods in vogue as regards the recruitment and training of public servants in England, the U. S. A. and India.

17. How do you explain the unsatisfactory character of local government in India ? What remedies would you suggest ?

18. What are the advantages and dangers of the system of administrative justice ? Explain the meaning of the remark that administrative law as it has developed in England is really 'administrative lawlessness'.

19. Discuss the principles of financial administration adopted by modern states with special reference to Britain and the U. S. A.

20. Bring out clearly the points of resemblance and difference between public administration and business administration. Illustrate your answer.

21. Briefly describe the control exercised by judiciary over administration in England and India.

22. Describe the merits and demerits of a system of grants-in-aid in (a) a federal constitution and (b) a unitary constitution.

23. What are the arguments for and against the municipalisation of public utilities ?

24. Give an account of the types of departmental management in regard to the administration of the U. S. A. and England.

25. Estimate the role of the expert and the amateur in public administration.

26. What part does the Civil Service play in the Government of a democratic state ? Why has its sphere of influence increased in the present century ?
(Nagpur '48)

CHAPTER XVI (PAGE 244)

1. What do you understand by the term 'Independents' of the Judiciary ? Why is it necessary in a state that the judiciary should be independent ?

(Andhra '44)

2. Compare the judiciary of the U. S. A. with that of England. (Cal. '32)

3. Discuss the merits and demerits of the Rule of Law and Administrative Law in the light of English and French experience. (Mysore '45)

4. State exactly the difference between the position of the American Judiciary in respect of the interpretation of laws. How far has the judiciary proved to be a good protector of the constitution in the United States ?

(Nagpur '37)

CHAPTER XVII (PAGE 251)

1. Compare and contrast the party system in Canada, France and the U. S. A. (Punjab '48)
2. Discuss the strength and weakness of political parties in the modern democratic states. What differences do you observe in this regard in dictatorial states ?
3. Examine the merits and defects of the party system. Discuss in the light of your answer the operation of the party system in Great Britain. (Cal. '42)
4. Compare and contrast the organisation and working of political parties in England and India. Is the party system indispensable for the successful working of democracy ? (Andhra '42)
5. Describe the formation and organisation of parties in India in recent years. Examine the growth of these parties from the point of view of successful working of Parliamentary Government in India. Do you think the Indian system will approximate to the British type or the continental type ? Give reasons. (Pat. '39)
6. Discuss the use, abuse and true role of the party system in a democracy. What do you think to be the future of the party system ? (Pat. '44)

CHAPTER XVIII (PAGE 269)

1. Discuss the final basis of local government in India to-day and suggest improvements. (Mysore '40)
2. Describe the main features of the City Manager type of Municipal Government in the U.S. A., and discuss the extent to which they may be made applicable to Indian cities. (Mysore '40)
3. Describe the principal sources of income of local bodies in India and discuss their adequacy. (Mysore '41)
4. How do you explain the unsatisfactory character of local government in India ? What remedies would you suggest ?
5. Describe the composition and powers of local bodies (rural) in India. (Mysore '43)
6. Discuss the main features of the municipal system of an Indian Province. What improvements would you suggest to make it more useful for the citizens. (Punjab '42)
7. "The true foundations of national freedom must always rest on a democratic system of local self-government." Explain and discuss. (Punjab '44)
8. Compare the types of local government prevalent in England, France and Germany. (Utkal '45)
9. Compare the main features of the systems of local administration in the U. S. A., Great Britain and the continental countries. Are you in favour of local government being run on non-party lines ? Discuss fully. (Pat. '45)

CHAPTER XIX (PAGE 282)

1. How do modern systems of colonial administration compare with the Roman Provincial System ? (Madras '43)
2. Give a brief account of the relation between Great Britain and the Dominions since 1921. Show the extent to which the 'Cripp's proposals' of 1942 were in conformity with the Dominion Status ideal for India. (Madras '43)

3. In what important respects does the Irish Free State Constitution to-day differ from the constitutions of other Dominions in the British Commonwealth ? (Madras '44)

4. Bring out clearly the implications of the Statute of Westminster. To what extent has the Statute brought about a legal equality of status as between a Dominion and the United Kingdom ? (Dacca '40)

5. How far is it correct to state that the relations of the units of the British Empire *inter se* 'are international, not constitutional, and are governed by international, not municipal, law' ? (Dacca '40)

6. Discuss the nature and extent of the autonomy enjoyed by British Dominions at the present day. Does it include the right to secede from the British Commonwealth. (Dacca '42)

CHAPTER XX (PAGE 292)

1. 'We are all socialists now'. Comment with reference to the activities of the modern State. (Madras '40)

2. State and criticise the idealistic theory of State action, comparing and contrasting it with the individualistic theory on the subject. (Madras '44)

3. Where would you put a limit to the sphere of the State ? (Dacca '40)

4. (a) The State is simply a policeman, and its duty is neither more nor less than to prevent robbery and murder and enforce contracts'.

(b) 'We cannot lay down a definite line restricting the functions of the State'. Examine these statements. (Dacca '40)

5. Examine the essential postulates upon which the individualistic philosophy rests. How far is it correct to state that 'the best government is that which governs least' ? (Dacca '42)

6. How far do you agree with the view that the purpose, or ends, of the State cannot be stated in any exact or absolute form for all times and peoples ? (Dacca '43)

7. 'The laissez-fairist and the socialist quarrel over the adequacy of political methods rather than over the legitimacy of ends.' Examine this proposition. (Dacca '43)

8. Examine the functions of government, carefully distinguishing between those which are essential and those which are optional. (Cal. '43)

9. Discuss the idealist view of the ends and functions of the State. (Alld. '43)

10. Examine critically the socialistic theory of the function of the State. (Nagpur '46)

CHAPTER XXI (PAGE 309)

1. What is Communism ? What can be said for and against it ? (Madras '41)

2. Explain the differences between Socialism and Fascism. What do you regard as their merits and defects ? (Madras '42)

3. 'The movement of socialists is no longer from status to contract but from contract to relation.' Examine. (Madras '42)

4. How far is the Fascist theory of the State akin to the Idealist theory ? (Dacca '42)

5. How far do you agree with the proposition that the basic difference

between the Socialistic and Fascist theories is that while the former are rationalistic, the latter anti-intellectualist ? (Andhra '43)

6. 'The Modern Dictatorship is essentially one-party despotism.' Comment. (Andhra '43)

7. Distinguish between Socialism and Communism. (Alld. '44)

8. Describe the main features of Guild Socialism. (Alld. '42)

9. Discuss the Marxian conception of Society and State. (Alld. '41)

10. What is the Marxist conception of the State ? What are the assumptions on which 'the withering away' of the State is premised ? (Nagpur '46)

11. Give a brief account of the main features of Fascism. (Nagpur '43)

CHAPTER XXII (PAGE 332)

1. 'The direct power of the King of England is very considerable. His indirect and far more certain power is great indeed' (Burke). To what extent are these remarks true to-day ? (Alld. '41)

2. In Great Britain, 'the permanent official like the King can do no wrong. Both are shielded by the responsibility of the minister (Lowell). How far are these remarks true ? (Alld. '42)

3. Trace the growth of the Cabinet system in Great Britain, and analyse its salient features. (Alld. '43)

4. 'The Prime Minister, in relation to the ministers generally, is often described by the phrase *'primus inter pares'*'. Explain. (Alld. '44)

5. Discuss the position of the Crown by England. (Andhra '42 ; Cal. '44 ; Dac. '41 ; Dac. '44)

6. Comment on the dictum that the English Constitution is a bundle of illegalities and incongruities from which the robust political sense of the Anglo-Saxon race extracted magnificent results. (Andhra '43 H)

7. Examine the following statements with regard to the British Constitution : (a) The King never dies. (b) The King can do no wrong. (Cal. '43)

8. Discuss the position of the Cabinet in England. To what extent has the Cabinet usurped the functions of Parliament ? (Cal. '42)

9. Explain the underlying principles of the Cabinet system of Government as it obtains in England. (Dacca '40)

10. Why does the institution of Kingship still survive in England ? (Dacca '40)

11. Discuss the relation between the law and conventions of the Constitution of England. (Dacca '40 H ; '41). Discuss Dicey's views on the nature of the sanctions behind them. (Dacca '41 H ; '43 ; '43 H)

12. The sovereign (in England) has under a Constitutional Monarchy such as ours, three rights—the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn. (Bagehot). Examine the statement. (Dacca '41 H)

13. 'The Prerogative appears to be both historically and as a matter of actual fact nothing less than the residue of discretionary or arbitrary authority which at any given time is legally left in the hands of the Crown (Dicey). Discuss this statement. Explain, in this connection, the difference between the prerogative and the statutory powers of the Crown. (Dacca '41 H)

14. 'The office of Prime Minister is what its holder chooses to make it'—(Asquith). Examine this statement and estimate the position of the Prime Minister in the English Constitution. (Dacca '41 H)

15. Describe the position and functions of the Civil Service in Great Britain. (Dacca '42)
16. Explain fully the nature and extent of the influence exercised by the King to-day in the formation and the working of the Ministry in England. Discuss, in this connection, the part played by him in the choice of the Prime Minister. (Dacca '42 H)
17. How would you define a civil servant? Discuss the relation between a minister and a civil servant in England. (Dacca '42 H)
18. Give a critical estimate of Dicey's conception of the 'Rule of Law'. (Dacca '43 H)
19. 'Cabinet dictatorship is the bulwork behind which the power of bureaucracy has grown.' Discuss this proposition. (Dacca '43 H)
20. 'The ministry decides policy, subject not to royal power but to the exercise of the influence which is derived from the unique advantages possessed by the Crown.' Discuss. (Dacca '43 H)
21. What, in your opinion, are the main factors which explain the success of the British Parliamentary system? (Dacca '44 H)

CHAPTER XXIII (PAGE 365)

1. Examine the relationship between the British Cabinet and the House of Commons. (Dacca '43)
2. Compare the position and functions of the speaker of the British House of Commons with those of the speaker of the American House of Representatives. (Dacca '43, '44)
3. Point out the similarities and differences between the Committee system in the British House of Commons and that in the House of Representatives in the U. S. A. Account for the differences. (Dacca '44)
4. To what extent does the House of Commons control the Cabinet and the Finances in England in the 20th Century? (Nagpur '44)
5. 'It is really the House of Commons and the King in Parliament that exercises legislative supremacy.' Examine this statement. (Punjab '43)
6. What is meant by the term Parliamentary sovereignty? Are there any limitations on this sovereignty? (Punjab '44)
7. Describe the composition and functions of the House of Lords. Do you agree with the view that 'the House of Lords will pass in a storm'? (Pat. '45)
8. Explain fully the role of the parties under the English Parliamentary system. How has the party system worked since 1921? (Pat. '45)
9. Describe the machinery of Parliamentary control over finance in Britain, and discuss the extent to which it is effective. (Dacca '44)
10. 'The right to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus, strengthened as that right is by statute, determines the whole relation of the judicial body to the Executive in England'. How far does this right secure (a) the freedom of the individual, and (b) the judicial control of the administrative conduct of the executive in England? (Dacca '44)
11. 'A House of Commons gives the Cabinet life; but, normally, it can itself live only so long as it is prepared to go on giving life to the Cabinet.' Examine the extent to which this statement holds good in (a) normal times, and (b) in crisis. (Dacca '44)

CHAPTER XXIV (PAGE 338)

1. What is the utility of a 'Second Chamber'? What are the essentials

of a good Second Chamber? How would you reform the British House of Lords? (Alld. '41)

2. In Great Britain 'the permanent official, like the King, can do no wrong. Both are shielded by the responsibility of the minister.' How far are these remarks true? (Alld. '42)

3. What is meant by delegated legislation? Account for its growth in Great Britain in modern times and discuss its merits and demerits. (Alld. '43)

4. What plans have been suggested for the reform of the House of Lords? (Alld. '44)

5. What are the advantages and dangers of system of administrative justice? Explain the meaning of the remark that administrative law as it has developed in England is really 'administrative lawlessness.' (Mysore '42, '43)

6. 'Parliament—chiefly the House of Commons—has lost power not only to the electorate; it has also yielded heavily to the Cabinet.' Comment on this statement. (Dacca '41)

7. 'Parliament is not, and ought not to be, a governing body.'

'The problem of modern Government is a problem of time; this is the basic reason why the initiative in legislation has passed from the private member'. Would you accept or repudiate the above two statements? Give reasons for your answer. (Dacca '42)

8. 'His Majesty's Opposition is no idle phrase'. Fully explain this proposition. (Dacca '42)

9. Examine the factors that have produced an increase, both in the scope and in the importance, of delegated legislation in Britain. (Dacca '44)

CHAPTER XXV (PAGE 408)

1. To what extent is the doctrine correct in theory and practice that 'the Governor-General of a Dominion is the representative of the King and holds in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as the latter does in England'? (Dacca '42)

2. Compare the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units in the Dominion of Canada and Commonwealth of Australia. (Dacca '42)

3. Discuss the position of the Central Executive in Canada and Australia in relation to their Second Chambers. (Dacca '42)

4. 'The Dominion of Canada is a thinly-veiled legislative union.'

5. The Canadian Constitution is the first experiment of 'combining a responsible executive with a federal form'. Describe the factors which brought about this combination. (Dacca '44)

6. 'The British North America Act, 1867, is note-worthy as being a Federal Constitution to a great extent drafted by men who were in favour of a legislative union.' Discuss the statement with reference to (a) the circumstances that preceded the Act, and (b) the distribution of legislative powers under it. (Dacca '43)

CHAPTER XXVI (PAGE 425)

1. Discuss the characteristic features of Australian Federation both in theory and in practice. (Dacca '44)

2. Give a comparative survey of the Constitution of the Dominion of Canada and of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Dacca '48)

3. Explain the method of amending the Constitution in Canada and

in Australia. What bearing, if any, has the Statute of Westminster, 1931, on this matter. (Dacca '43)

4. Set forth a comparison between Indian federation and American and Australian federations. (Mysore '41)

CHAPTER XXIX (PAGE 441)

1. The frame-work of the French Constitution of the Third Republic bears a superficial resemblance to that of the U. S. A. Elucidate the above statement and bring out the fundamental differences between the two systems. (Pat. '43)

2. Account for the development of administrative jurisprudence in France. Discuss the merits and defects of this system of jurisprudence. (Dacca '42)

3. 'Three powers rule France : the Deputies, the Ministers, and the Local Party Committees'. Explain and discuss this statement with reference to the French Governmental system before 1940. (Dacca '43)

4. Analyse the powers and functions of the French Senate. (Mysore '44)

5. Discuss in brief the causes of the failure of the Parliamentary System of Government in France. (Alld. '42)

6. 'The election to the Presidency (of France) has been to the man chosen, the coronation of an honourable but effaced political life, the supreme recompense of his honest mediocrity, a golden retirement.' (Alld. '44)

CHAPTER XXX (PAGE 460)

1. How far are you prepared to admit that in Switzerland alone real democracy has been successful ? (Pat. '44)

2. Point out the distinctive features which have contributed to the successful working of the Swiss Constitution. Do you consider that these features could be successfully introduced elsewhere ? (Pat. '43)

3. 'A system of Government which falls in a class by itself, which differs fundamentally from the Presidential and Cabinet types, but which combines certain features of both, is that of Switzerland.' Discuss. (Dacca '43)

4. Examine the nature of the Swiss Federation, and discuss in this connection the following statement :—

'The Swiss Constitution really erects the confederation in some measure into a tutor and inspector of the Cantons.' (Dacca '44)

5. Describe the working of the Referendum and the initiative in Switzerland. Would you advocate their adoption in India ? (Mysore '43)

6. Bring out the salient features of the Swiss Executive. (Mysore '43)

7. What is meant by "Plural Executive" ? How does it differ from 'Cabinet Government' ? Discuss with illustrations from Switzerland and Canada. (Mysore '44)

8. Account for the smooth working of democratic institutions in Switzerland. (Alld. '44)

9. 'The advantages of direct democratic devices are more apparent than real.' Discuss this statement with reference to the working of democracy in Switzerland. (Alld. '44)

CHAPTER XXXI (PAGE 469)

1. How far is it justifiable to regard the Senate of the U. S. A. as the most powerful Second Chamber of the World ? (Pat. '44)

2. What are the powers of the Congress in the U. S. A. ? How does the President influence the legislation. (Punjab '43)
3. Discuss the relative merits of the system of constitutional amendments existing in the U. S. A. and France under the third Republic. (Punjab '43)
4. Indicate how far, if at all, the Government of the U. S. A. is Government by Judges. (Dacca '42)
5. How far was the principle of the Separation of Powers incorporated in the Constitution of the U. S. A. in 1787 ? How have subsequent events modified the intentions of the 'fathers' of the constitution ? (Dacca '42)
6. Examine the extent to which the American President fulfils the function of leadership in national as well as in international affairs at the present day. (Dacca '43)
7. Illustrate how the power of judicial Review has expanded the Constitution of the U. S. A. (Dacca '44)
8. Compare and contrast the constitutional relation between the two Houses of Legislature in the U. S. A. and Great Britain. (Madras '43)
9. Compare and contrast the position and powers of the President of the U. S. A. with those of the British Prime Minister. (Nagpur '44)
10. Compare and contrast the position of the States in the U. S. A. Federation with those of the Provinces in the Canadian Federation. Account for any differences you may notice. (Nagpur '44)
11. Contrast the jurisdiction and organization of the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. with those of the Federal Court in Switzerland. (Alld. '42)
12. 'The personalities and issues of parties rather than the principles and forms of Government, constitute the staples of American politics' (Beard). Examine the statement and analyse the roots and sources of party strength in the U. S. A. (Alld. '42)
13. Explain the process of Presidential election in the United States of America. (Alld. '44)

CHAPTER XXXII (PAGE 483)

1. Describe the chief features of the Fascist Organization of the State, and account for its emergence. (Pat. '44)
2. Discuss the aims and ideals of Totalitarian States. How far do these ideals differ from those of democratic States ? (Cal. '44)
3. Explain the chief features of the German Constitution of Weimar, 1919. To what extent has it been changed since Hitler's advent to power ? (Mysore '43)
4. Give a brief outline of the political structure of Fascist Italy, and show the implications of the Fascist conception of the State. (Pat. '43)

CHAPTER XXXIV (PAGE 515)

1. Discuss the nature and functions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. (Dacca '42, '43)
2. What type of Federal Union, whether that of the U. S. A., of the U. S. S. R., or that of Switzerland, would you prefer ? Give reasons for your answer. (Dacca '42)
3. Show to what extent the principle of nationality has been respected, in the framing of the constitutional system of the U. S. S. R. (Dacca '42)

4. 'In theory, the U. S. S. R. is a federation of federations on democratic principles. In practice, it is a unitary dictatorship.' Discuss this statement.

(Dacca '43)

5. Do you accept the view that the Government of the U. S. S. R. is more democratic than that of the U. S. A. ? Give reasons for your answer.

(Dacca '44)

6. Discuss the nature of the rights secured to the citizens by the constitution of the U. S. S. R.

(Dacca '44)

7. From the standpoint of an advocate of Communism, how would you justify the existing one-party system in the U. S. S. R. ? Point out in this connection the role played by the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R.

(Dacca '44)

8. Describe the chief features of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. What are the basic principles underlying the Soviet conception of the State ?

(Pat. '45)

9. Give a brief outline of the Soviet constitution of 1936 and examine the claim of Stalin that it is 'the only democratic constitution in the world.'

(Madras '43)

CHAPTER XXXV (PAGE 528)

1. 'In all vital matters the policy for India is formulated not at Delhi nor at Simla but at White Hall.' Discuss this and describe the relation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

(Pat. '43)

2. 'India is an autoeracy without the autocrat'. How far is this picture of the present Government of India correct ? What change do you think, will be made in it by the full operation of the Government of India Act of 1935 ?

(Pat. '43)

3. Describe the position of the Crown Representative and the Governor General under the present transitional constitution and the proposed federation. Note the important differences in their powers under the two systems.

(Pat. '41)

4. Describe in detail the power of the British Parliament over the Indian Central and Provincial Governments under the present constitution and the machinery by which it exercises this power. What structural alterations will be necessary in this machinery if Dominion Status is granted ?

(Pat. '41)

5. Discuss the present position and powers of the Secretary of State for India in relation to the Central Government of India.

(Dacca '41)

6. 'The Indian legislatures are non-sovereign law-making bodies.' Explain this statement. What are the chief limitations on the law-making powers of the existing Central Legislature of India ?

(Dacca '41)

7. Discuss the peculiar features of the Indian electoral system, with special reference to its effect on the working of the Provincial Governments in India.

(Dacca '41)

8. What is a Finance Bill ? Describe the procedure adopted in the Central Legislature of India for the passing of a Finance Bill.

(Dacca '41)

9. Discuss the nature and extent of the control exercised over Central finance by the existing Indian Legislature.

(Dacca '41)

10. What do you mean by the 'Government of India' to-day ? To what extent, if any, is it amenable to the control or influence of the Central Legislature ?

(Dacca '42)

11. Discuss the position and powers of the Secretary of State in relation to the Administration of both federal and provincial affairs, as contemplated by the Government of India Act, 1935.

12. Discuss the position and powers of the Governor-General of India in relation to his Executive Council. (Dacca '43)

13. Discuss some of the difficulties produced by the working of what is popularly known as Dyarchy. (Dacca '44)

14. To what extent was the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms an advance upon the Morley-Minto Reforms? (Dacca '44)

CHAPTER XXXVI (PAGE 555)

1. 'The Act of 1935 does not introduce in the Provinces a system of limited monarchy but a system of limited ministry'. Elucidate this. (Pat. '43)

2. Discuss, with special reference to Bihar or Orissa, the measures which have been adopted to reorganize village self-governing institutions in India. What success has attended these measures? (Pat. '43)

3. In what matters is the Governor of a province bound to accept the advice of his ministers? Describe the special responsibilities of the Governor and examine, in the light of actual experience, how far they are consistent with the scheme of ministerial responsibility. (Pat. '42)

4. 'The constitutional key to the Government of India Act (1935) is to be found not in the Act itself but in the Instrument of Instructions which has been issued to the Governors'. Discuss this statement and examine the part that the Instrument of Instructions is likely to play in the development of the Indian Constitution. (Pat. '42)

5. Describe and discuss the powers and functions of Upper Chambers in the provincial legislatures. Why have not the provinces been treated alike in this respect? (Pat. '41)

6. Discuss the constitutional position of the Governor of an Indian Province to-day. Can he be called a 'Constitutional Governor'? (Dacca '41)

7. What is meant by 'Provincial Autonomy'? Discuss the working of Provincial Autonomy in your Province since 1937.

8. Discuss the merits and defects of the existing electoral system in respect of provincial legislatures.

9. What principle has been followed in the Government of India Act, 1935, in distributing powers and functions between the Federal Government and the Governments of the Federal Units? (Dacca '42)

10. What do you mean by the Governor acting in his individual judgment and acting in his discretion? Illustrate your answer. (Dacca '42)

11. To what extent, if any, do the special responsibilities of the Governor interfere with the provincial legislature? Illustrate your answer.

12. Discuss the powers and responsibilities of the Ministers in a Governor's Province in India. (Dacca '43)

13. Discuss the relationship between the Ministers and the Civil Services in a Governor's Province in India to-day. To what extent does such a relationship differ from that subsisting between the Ministers and Civil Servants in England? (Dacca '43)

14. Describe the role of Political Parties in any Provincial Legislature in India since the introduction of what is known as Provincial Autonomy. (Dacca '44)

CHAPTER XXXVII (PAGE 601)

1. Describe the nature of the relation existing between the Paramount Power and the Indian States. How far will Paramountcy be affected by the entry of the States into the Federation? (Pat. '43)

2. Examine the grounds on which the proposed scheme of Federation in India has been opposed by the different Parties. How far is this scheme 'a unique piece of architecture' ? To what extent was it attempted to be modified by the Cripps Mission ? (Pat. '43)

3. A federal constitution is in essence a constitution of enumerated powers'. Does the federal government, proposed to be set up by the Government of India Act of 1935, answer that test ? How is the question of residual power solved in the Indian constitution ? (Pat. '42)

4. What are the powers and functions of the Upper House in the proposed Indian Federation ? Examine its composition, and give your considered opinion whether it will be a serious rival to the Lower House. (Pat. '42)

5. Describe the present division of financial resources between the federating units and the centre. What will be the resources of the provinces and the States when the federation is completed ? (Pat. '41)

6. Discuss the present position of the Indian States. Will there be any change in this position if the Indian States join the All-India Federation as provided for in the Government of India Act, 1935 ? (Dacca '41)

7. 'Federation is the only solution of the Indian Problem'. Do you agree with this view ? How far are the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, in this regard satisfactory ? (Dacca '41)

8. Discuss the nature and extent of the 'special responsibilities' of the Governor-General under the Government of India Act, 1935. Distinguish between the powers to be exercised by the Governor-General 'in his discretion' and these to be exercised by him 'in his individual judgment'.

9. Discuss the existing distribution of the financial resources between the the Centre and the Provinces in India. Can you suggest any modification of the system from the point of view of the Provinces ? (Dacca '41)

10. Describe the constitution and functions of the Federal Court of India. Should the Federal Court be also the Supreme Court of India ? (Dacca '41)

11. Discuss the objections (a) of the people of British India and (b) of the Indian Princes to the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935.

12. If you are asked to frame a constitution for India, how will you do it ? (Dacca '42)

13. 'Paramountcy must remain paramount' Discuss this statement. Through whom does the Crown exercise its paramountcy in India today ? (Dacca '43)

14. Discuss the position of a Federated State in the Federation of India as contemplated by the Government of India Act, 1935. (Dacca '44)

INDEX

Arranged alphabetically ; figures refer to pages

Abdication Act	365	Biological method	8
Abdication crisis	290-91	Biology on democracy	153
Absolute monarchy	142	Bloc National	455
Absolute veto	228	Bluntschli, on classification	
Abstract method	7	of government	136
Act of Settlement	344, 365	Bodin, on sovereignty	67
Adjudication	90	Bolsheviks	515
Administration		Bonar Law	341
and government	232-33	British Commonwealth	
principles of		of Nations	284-85
organisation	233-34	British North America Act	410
theory of	235-37	Bryce Committee Report	371
Administrative courts	88-89	Buddha on democracy	145
Administrative law	86	Budget	382-84
Adult franchise	194-97	Bundesrat	484
Age and franchise	196	Bureaucracy	141, 237-38
Aliens	100	Bureaucratic tendency	
Alsace-Lorraine	58	in England	396
Alternative vote	401-02	Burgess, on classification	
Althusias	31	of government	137
on sovereignty	70	Burke, on nature of State	1
Amendment of constitution	132-34	Bushell's case	334
Germany	490-91	Cabal Ministry	343
Japan	510	Cabinet Dictatorship	393
American Declaration		Cabinet Mission Plan	624-32
of Independence	38, 469	Cabinet	
Anarchism	310	and Commons	394-95
Andrae scheme	211	English and French	221-22
Appropriation Act	382-83	Formation	351-53
Argyll, Duke of	416	French and German	222-23
Aristocracy	143-44	in Canada	416-18
Aristotle, on origin of State	1	in Japan	511-12
Arrondissement	280	in the U.S.A.	477
Assizes	386	nature and functions	350-51
Association	2, 19	Secretariat	346-47
Austrian theory of sovereignty	69-70	Canada	
Australia		Act	408
amendment		Amendment	
of constitution	133, 426	of Constitution	412
cabinet	427	and political experiments	5
federation	425	area	408
Governor-General	426-27	Cabinet	416-17
judiciary	428	Crown	415
Legislature	427-28	Division of subjects	413-15
Party system	427, 430-31	Dominion Status	411
States and Federal		Durham Report	409
Government	429-30	Evolution	
units	425	of self-government	283-84
Bacon, on Cabinet	343	Federal finance	422-24
Bagehot, on powers of the king	341	Federation	410
Baldwin	352	Governor-General	415-16
Bentham, on natural rights	112	House of Commons	418-19
Better life	3	Judiciary	421
Bicameral legislature	178-85	landmarks	
individual liberty	179	in development	408-09
need of	178-79	Money Bills	419
origin	178	Party system	420
Bill of Rights	393	population	408

Privy Council	416	Community	18
Provincial government	421-22	and government	1
residuary power	411	Communities in Canada	408
responsible government	410	Comparative method	6
Senate	182-83, 419-20	Comptroller and Auditor	
Capitalism	319-22	General	384
Capitalistic planning	303	Comte, on political science	4
Cassation Court	455	Concurrent functions	269
Chamber of Deputies	451	Concurrent jurisdiction	167-68
Chamber of Princes	602	Congress of Vienna	48
Chamberlain	349	Constitution	
Charles II	338	amendment	132-34
Charter Acts	530-31	classification	128-30
Charter of labour	499-500	definition	128
Checks and balances	176	principles	128
Chemical method	7	Constitutions, study of,	
Chief Minister's Department	241	by Aristotle, Montesquieu	6
Chief Secretary's Office	241-42	Constitutional law	85, 366
Churchill	349, 360	and sovereignty	66
Citizen		Contract theory	30-39
acquisition of	101-04	Conventions	335
and alien	100	Co-ordination	235
and naturalization	102-04	Corporative State	498-500
definition	99	Council of Nationalities	519-21
duties of	107-09	Council of Peoples'	
in a federal state	104-05	Commissars	522-23
looks of	105	Council of State	543
Citizens in Athens	46	Council of the Union	519-21
Citizenship		Counsellors	557
its existence in Rome	46	County Council	275
Civil liberty	115-18	County Court	386
Civil Service	175, 361-64	County Plan	277
and ministers	397	Coup d'état	310
growth of	238-40	Court of Quarter Sessions	386
in Germany	494-95	Crown in Canada	415
in India	580-82	in England	338
Clarendon	343	Crowned Republic	337
Climate	15	Cumulative vote	21-11
Closure by compartment	188	Curzon	341
Coalition government	257	Custom	90
Code making power	475	and sovereignty	69-70
Colony	282-85	Czechoslovakia	
Collective responsibility	348-49	minority	207
Collectivism	303-04, 306-07	Danby's case	389
Collegiate type of Executive	226	Deadlocks	185-86
Command and sovereignty	69	Declaration of Rights	122
Commercial Courts	455	Decline of liberty	120
Commissions	449	Deductive method	7
Commissions in France	453	Defacto sovereign	63
Commission of Soviet Control	523	Defence ministers in England	358
Committee system	234	Dejure sovereign	63
Committees		Delegate	205
functions of	187	Delegated legislation	398-99
in France	453	Democracy	151
of House of Commons	374-75	and society	151
of Privy Council	365-66	and War	151-52
Common law	85, 86, 334	attacks on	152-54
Common will	98	conditions of success	149
Communal electorate	215-17	defence of	154-57
Communes	280	direct	148
in Italy	506	ideal	150-52
Communism	322-24	in ancient India	145
in Russia	516-17	in Greece	146
Communist party in India	266	in Rome	147
Communist views on State	313-14	incompetence and	155

tradition	149-50
Democratic ideal	152-54
Democratic Party	259-60
Democratic tradition	149-50
Denization	103
Departments	
increase of powers of	396-97
their judicial powers	399
Deputies in France	451-52
Dharma	29
Dicey on conventions	335-36
Dictatorship	231, 310-12
Direct Democracy	146
Direct Election	202
Discretionary powers of Governor	569
District plan	201
Divine Origin of State	28-30
Divine Right of Kings	29-30, 338-39
Doctrine of Implied Powers	167-68
Dominions	285-86
Dominion Status	287-90
Double nationality	411
Double party	255-58
Droit Administratif	86
Double Government	529
Duma	515
Durham	5
Report	409
Duty and freedom	107
Dyarchy	537-38
East India Company	528
Ecclesia	146
Economic basis of parties	251-52
Economic Council	400
German	203
Economic order under Fascism	
	330-31
Economic Planning	302-03
Economics and Political Science	10
Eden, Anthony	349
Education and franchise	195
Education in Canada	414
Edward VIII	342, 348
Elig	
Amendment of	
constitution	439-40
Crown	437
President	438
Prime Minister	439
Status	437
Elected executive	219-21
Elected second chambers	183
Election and parties	252-53
Election of U. S. President	474
Electorate in India	593
Electors as sovereign	65
Elgin, Lord	410
England	
Cabinet	342-53
Cabinet Dictatorship	393-95
Civil Service	238-39, 361-64
committees	374-75
conventions of	335-37
Crown	339
Delegated legislation	397-99

Departments	356-60
elements of	334-35
finance	384-85
form of government	337-38
House of Commons	372-74
House of Lords	366-72
income of local bodies	272-73
influence of	
Bureaucracy	395-97
Judicial system	247-48, 385-87
king	338-42
mandate of electors	390
Money bills	381
nature of	332-33
Opposition	363-61
organisation of local	
bodies	272-73
Parties	402-03
Party system	258-59
Premier	235-36
Prime Minister	353-54
Private members	388-89
Privileges of	
Parliament	377-78
Privy Council	354-56
Procedure of	
Parliament	377-78
reform of Parliament	399-402
Rule of Law	123
Separation of Powers	173
Sovereignty of	
Parliament	365-66
Speaker	187, 375-77
War and Parliament	390-98
Epicurus	31
Equal Franchise Act	334
Equity	90
Essential functions of State	296
Estimates	382
Ethics and Political Science	10
Evolutionary theory	37
Exclusiveness	53
Executive	
and party system	254-55
causes of increase	
of power	229-30
classification	219-21
Dictatorial State	231
meaning	218
permanent executive	232-43
powers	218-19, 227
relation with Judiciary	249-50
types of	221-26
veto power	228-29
Executive Council of	
Governor-General	539-40
Experimental method	7
Experiments in politics	4-5
Facultative Referendum	189
Family and State	27
Fascism	324-31
Fascist party	263
growth of	327-28
Fascist theory of basis of State	25

Federal court	620-21	Germany, constitution of	
Federal Government	137	Civil Service	494-95
and confederation	160-61	constitution in 1934	486
and distribution of		Federalism in 1914	485
powers	161	genesis of dictatorship	488
and judiciary	159	Imperial Germany	484-85
and union	160	Individual rights	487-88
and the U.S.A.	163-64	Judiciary	493
conditions of formation	159-60	Labour	495-97
nature	158	Legislature	490
strength of	166	liberty of subjects	493-94
tendencies in	167-68	local government	495
types of Federation	163-66	Ministry	489
weakness of	167	President	488-89
Federal Railway Authority	619-20	Referendum	490-91
Federal State and Sovereignty	76-78	Reichsraat	490
Federal subjects		third Reich	491-93
Australian	429	Weimer constitution	487
Germany	485-86	Government	12-13, 17
Finance		Governmental compact	31
central and local	271-72	Governor's Act	572
Act	383-84	Governor-General	
and French Senate	449-50	Australia	426-27
Bill	545	Canada	415-16
Fixed Executive	139	India	540-42, 605-08
Flexible Constitution	129, 132	Great Charter	393
Force and law	93-94	Gregariousness	53
Force as the basis of State	25-26, 43-44	Greek-city States	46
Force theory	25-26, 40-41	colonies	282
France, Government of		democracy	146-47
amendment	133	Green, on basis of State	26-27
Chamber of Deputies	450-52	on natural rights	113
Constitution of 1875	441	Grotius, on sovereignty	67
income of local bodies	273	Group Mind	52
judicial system	454-55	Group System	447
Ministerial instability	447-48	Guild in Building Trade	318
Ministry	444-46	Guild Socialism	309, 317-22
Organisation of local		Guillotine	188
bodies	278-80	Habeas Corpus Act	122, 393
Parliamentary		Haldane Committee	345-46
procedure	452-54	Harc Scheme	212
Party system	261-62, 455-57	Henderson	352
Pétain government	457-59	Hereditary Executive	219-20
President of Chamber	187	High commissioner for India	551
President of		Hindu Mahasabha	267
Republic	223-25, 442-44	Historical-method	7
Senate	184, 448-50	tradition	51-52
Franchise	195-99	History of Political Science	5, 9
in Canada	418	Hitler and Nation-State	58-59
Freedom of press	117	Hoare, Sir Samuel	395
Freedom of speech	116-17	Hobbes on Social Contract	32-33
French Republic	441	on Sovereignty	67
French Senate	184	Holy Alliance	29
Functional representation	203-04	Holy Roman Empire	47
Functions of government		Home Department	242
expansion of	229	Home Government	551
Functions of State		Home Office, England	369
limits of	294-95	House of Commons	
Fyrol's theory of administration	236	and Executive	374
Ganas	145	and Finance	373
Geometrical method	7	Committees	374-375
General will	68	Franchise	372
Gens	39	Functions	373
George III	348	Privileges	377-78
German minority	207	House of Lords	182

Composition	366-69	Governor	569
Merits and Defects	369-70	Individual liberty	811
Reform of	370-72	and Fascism	329
House of Peers	512	and Law	87, 89
House of Representatives	428	in England	406
Japan	518	in Germany	487-88
Howell's case	334	Individual rights	
Hundred	47	U. S. S. R.	517
Impeachment	343	Individual self-restraint	111
Imperial War Cabinet *	346	Individualism	298
Imperialism and State	3	and organismic theory	23
Implied Powers	157-68	Indolence	107, 110
Income of local bodies	272-74	Indulgent spirit	110
Incompetence and Democracy	155	Initiative	189
India, Constitution of		Inner Cabinet	345
Act of 1772	528	Institution	20
and War	552-54	Interpellations	446, 448
Cabinet Mission Plan	624-35	International Conference	96
Central Executive	539-40	International Labour	
Control by Parliament	547-49	Organisation	648
Control by Secretary		International Law and	
of State	549-51	Political Science	11
Division of subjects	611-13	International Law and	
Dyarchy	533-38	Sovereignty	66, 73
Electorate	593-95	Italy, Constitution of	
Features of the		Constitution of 1848	497
constitution	558-60	Corporative State	498-500
Federal Court	620-21	Fasci and Corporations	503-04
Federal Finance	613-15	Fascist Government	498
Federal Legislature	608-11	Grand Council	505
Federal Railway		Judicial system	506-07
Authority	619-20	Local Government	505-06
Federal scheme	603-05	Senate	504
Finance Bill	545	Japan	509-14
Franchise	195	Amendment	510
Governor	565-74	Cabinet	511-12
Governor-General	540-42	Constitution	509
under Federation	605-08	Diet	512-13
Growth of legislative		Emperor	510
Councils	530-33	House of Peers	183
High Commissioner	551-52	Parties	513-14
Income of local bodies	274	Privy Council	510
Indian States	601-03	Jews	207
Legislative Assembly	542-44	Joad, on Democracy	156
Making of the		Joint Corporations	500
Constitution of 1935	555	Judicial functions of House	
Ministers	574-80	of Lords	368
Objection to Federal		Judiciary	
Finance	615-19	Australian	428
Parties in Provinces	591-92	functions	244-45
Pitt's India Act	529	independence of	246
Provincial autonomy	560-65	organisation of	246
Provincial Finance	595-97	relation to Executive	249-50
Provincial legislature	584-91	relation to Legislature	249
Public Services		types of	246-48
Commission	582-84	Juristic sovereignty	62, 65-66
Separation of Powers	1741	Jury	386
Services	580-82	Jus Civile	84
India Council	549-50	Jus Gentium	84, 92
Indian Councils	581	Jus Sanguinis	101
Indian National Congress	265-66	Jus Soli	101
Indian States	601	Kant, on Social Contract	37
Indirect Election	202-03	King	
Individual and Law	95-96	and Cabinet	347
Individual judgment of		in England	338-42

Kinship	42	and equality	124-25
Kurus	145	and Political Science	3
Labour in Germany	495-97	and sovereignty	123-24
Labour Ministry	404	decline	120-21
Labour Party	258	guarantee of	121-22
plan of reform of House		in action	117
of Lords	371-72	its nature	117-18
Laissez-faire policy	297-302	limits of	119-20
Laski, on Double Party		use of	118-19
system	257-58	Lichchavis	145
on natural rights	113	Lieutenant Governors in	
on sovereignty	80-81	Canada	421
Law		Limited monarchy	142-43
administrative	86	Limited vote	210
and custom	90	List system	213
and equity	90	Lobby	188
and individual	95	Local Committees	275
and individual liberty	87	Local Government	
and international law	96-98	Germany	495
and legislation	90-91	Locke, on Social Contract	33-34
and majority	95	on Sovereignty	68
and morality	93-94	Lloyd George	345
and outward conduct	83	Lot	148
and social condition	88	Lowell, on conventions	336-37
and State	94-96	Macdonald, Ramsay	341, 352
definition	82	Magic	42-43
Droit Administratif	88	Mahabharata, on origin of	
evolution of	89-91, 91-93	States	28-29
growth of	83	Mallakas	145
nature	83	Mandates	646
organs making it	172-73	Mandate of electors	206
public and private	86	Mandated territories	287
Roman Law	91-93	Manu	28
Source of	83	Marsiglio, on sovereignty	70
various types	83, 85-86	Marx, on withering away	
Law Lords	387	of State	309-10
Law of Nature	66-67, 83-85	Master Rolls	387
League of Nations	25, 639-49	Matrarchal theory	39-40
Legal rights	115	Mauvryas	145
Legal sovereignty	63	Mayor	280-81
Legislative Assembly	435, 542-43	Member of Parliament	378-79
Legislature		Mensheviks	515
and direct legislation	192	Militarism	315
Bicameral form	178-85	Ministers	
Checks and balances	176	in Indian Provinces	574-80
Composition	177	salary of, in England	847
Deadlocks	185-86	Ministry	
Direct legislation	188-93	in England	222, 356
functions	176	in France	222, 444-46
lowered prestige	177	life of, in Italy	325-26
procedure of	186-88	Minority	
proportional represen-		and communal	
tation	211-14	representation	215-17
relation with judiciary	249	and League of Nations	207-08
representation	194-201, 202-204	as a community	215
size of electoral districts	201-02	classification	206
Lenin, on origin of State	41	in Europe	207
on withering away		Methods of	
of State	824	representation	210-17
Leviathan	82	racial	207
Liberty		Minseito party	513
and democracy	123	Mixed Constitution	397
and distribution of		Mixed Plan	277
wealth	118	Mixed States	135-36
		Monarchy	141-43

- Monistic theory of Sovereignty 78-79
 Money Bills 381-84
 in Canada 419
 Mono-national State 56-57
 Montesquieu, on classification
 of government 136
 on Separation of
 Powers 170-71
 Moral force and State 25
 Morality and law 93-94
 Morley-Minto Act 532
 Municipal Corporation Act 334
 Municipal law 97
 Muslim League 267
 Mussolini 503
 on concept of State 293
 on State 312-13
 Multi-national State and free
 institutions 57
 Multi-party system 255-58
 Napoleon III 341
 Nation 21
 National Assembly 452
 National Defence Council 553
 National Government 404-05
 National Industrial Recovery
 Act 475
 National Planning 307
 National Sovereignty 74-75
 National States
 history 46-49
 45
 Nationalism 52-53
 and communities 3
 and Ethical Code 60-61
 in India 525-26
 Nationalities in U.S.S.R. 21
 Nationality 49-53
 its marks 1
 Nature of man 112-13
 Natural Rights 102-04
 Naturalization 436
 Natives in South Africa 264
 Nazi party 313
 State 603
 Nehru Committee Report 472, 475, 480
 New Deal 339
 New Despotism 286
 Newfoundland 595
 Niemeyer Award 221
 Nominated executive 528
 North's Regulating Act
 Norway
 Second chamber 181
 Obedience, grounds of 105-07
 Obligatory Referendum 189
 Oligarchy 144
 Omnipotent State 329
 One party system 262-64
 Opposition 360-61
 Optional functions of State 296
 Orders in council 339
 Ordinances 564, 572-73
 Ordre du Jour 446
 Organic theory of State 22-24
 Origin of State 28-44
 Palmerstone 341
 Panchalas 145
 Papacy 29
 Parliament Act 367
 Parliamentary government 138, 140
 Parliamentary sovereignty 365-66
 Party caucus 262
 Party spirit 111
 Party system 139-40, 251-68
 in England and
 cabinet 343-44
 in the U. S. A. 473
 Patria Potestas 40
 Patriarchal 29
 Patriarchal theory 39-40
 People 21
 Pericles 146
 Permanent court at Hague 209
 Personal law 92
 Petain government 457-58
 Petition of Right 393
 Petty Sessions 386
 Philosophical method 7
 Philippines 56
 Physical environment 14-16
 Physical method 7
 Pitt's India Act 529
 Planning under Totalitarian
 State 314-15
 Plato 31
 Plebiscite 190-91
 Plural voting 199-201
 Pluralistic theory of
 sovereignty 78-81
 Pluralism and representation 204
 Poland, minority 207-09
 Police State 297
 Polis 3
 Political consciousness 44
 Political rights 115
 Political Science
 its relation to Social
 Sciences 8-11
 nature 3-6
 nature of study 2
 object 1
 scope 3
 Political sovereignty 64
 Popular sovereignty 70-72
 Population 12
 Positive law 73
 President
 American and French 223-25
 French Republic 442-44
 Germany 448-90
 U. S. A. 473-77
 Presidential government 139, 140, 41
 Presidium 520
 Previous question 138
 Primaries 260
 Primary meetings 260
 Prime Minister 353-54
 Private Bills 380-81
 Private law 86, 92
 Private members 188, 388-89

Privy Council	343, 354-56, 421	Secession from British Empire	432
Prohibition	304-05	rights of	289-90
Property and franchise	196	Second chambers, utility of	178-80
Proportional Representation	211-14	Secret Ballot Act	334
Provincial autonomy	560-63	Secretary of State for India	547-51
Provincial finance in Canada	422-24	Select Committee	391
Provincial Parliaments	400	on National	
Protectorate	287	Expenditure	385
Provisional Twelfths	454	Self-determination	54-56
Prussianism	483	Senate	504
Psychology and Political Science	11	Australian	428
and democracy	153	in Canada	419-20
Public Bills	379-80	in South Africa	435
Public laws	86	in the U.S.A.	478-79
Public Opinion	125-27	Separate 'Interests'	215
and Conventions	337	Separation of powers	
Public Service Commission	582-84	in Athens	148
Publicists	97	Montesquieu's theory	170-71
Qualified Veto	229	need of	169
Quarter Sessions	275	origin of	169-70
Quebec Act	408	Septennial Act	64, 365
Quorum in Canada	418-19	Simon Commission	555
Racial discrimination	103	Singh Roy, B.K.	535
Radical Democratic Party	266	Single-chamber legislature	181-82
Recall	190	Single-Transferrable system	212
Referendum	189	Sinha, Lord	537
in Germany	490	Size of legislature	177
Reich	484	Slaves in Athens	46
Reichsrat	184, 490	Social contract	31-39
Reichstag	222, 23, 484	Social Democratic Party	515
Religion	43	Social Sciences	8
Representation of the		Socialistic Functions of State	303-06
People Act	334	Sociological method	8
Representative democracy	147-49	Sociology	8
Republican party	259-60	Soviet Control of Commission	240
Reservoir of Cabinet ministers	368	Soviet Russia	
Residuary powers	559	Bolshevik Party	515
Restoration of grants	545	Communism	516-17
Reversion of nationality	105	Communist Party	524-25
Revolution, its technique	316	Decentralization	526-27
Rights, theory of	113-15	Electoral system	521
relation to duties	114	Federal structure	517-19
Rights of States in U.S.A.	470-71	Judiciary	523-24
Rights of subjects under		Nationalities	525-26
social contract	32-35	Peoples' Commissars	522-23
Rigid constitution	129, 132	Provisional government	515
Rockingham	344, 348	Sovereignty	13, 62-82
Roman		American view	76
democracy	147	and International Law	66
Empire	46	dual location	76-77
Law	91	English view	75
Roosevelt and supreme Court	481	French view	74
Rousseau	7	German view	75-76
on social contract	34-35	in British Empire	75
on sovereignty	68-69	its attributes	65-66
Rowlands Committee	241-43	Monistic view	65
Rule of Law	87-89, 123	moral and legal	
Saionzi, Prince	509	limitations	72-73
Salisbury Plan of reform of		Pluralistic theory	78-81
House of Lords	371	theory of Austin	69
Sanction, international law	97	Spanish colony	262
Scientific commentaries	90	Speaker	187-88, 375-77, 587
Scientific management	236	Special Powers of Governor	570
Scrutin de Arrondissement	201	Special Responsibility of Governor	569
Liste	201	Spengler, on Democracy	154

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Spoils system | 255, 259 | Ullswater conference | 401-02 |
| Stalin | 524-25 | Unicameral system | 180-82 |
| on Power State | 314 | Unification of Italy | 324-25 |
| State | | Union of South Africa | 290 |
| an association | 19-20 | and wai | 439 |
| and aggressiveness | 3 | Governor-General | 434 |
| and conquest | 40 | judiciary | 436 |
| and government | 17 | legislative Assembly | 435 |
| and human organism | 23 | Native problem | 436 |
| and individual | 148-49 | Secession | 435 |
| and other associations | 81 | Senate | 183, 435-36 |
| and people | 21 | Status | 432 |
| and society | 18-19 | type of government | 433 |
| classification of | 135 | unitary government | 433 |
| definitions | 13 | units | 432 |
| ends of | 293-94 | Unitary government | 138 |
| in communist theory | 323-24 | United Nations Organisation | 649-55 |
| its ideal and concept | 24-25 | Unities' in Nationalism | 50-51 |
| its juristic concept | 20 | Unity of race | 50-51 |
| its nature | 1, 12-27 | Unreality of English constitution | 393 |
| its Organic theory | 22-24 | Unwritten constitution | 130-31 |
| Hegelian concept of | 292 | in England | 392-93 |
| State of Nature | 31, 32, 33 | U.S.A., government of | |
| Status and contract | 36 | amendment | 133 |
| Statute of Westminster | 289-90, 342 | Cabinet | 477 |
| Statutory orders | 398 | checks and balances | 472 |
| Stoics and law | 84 | Civil Service | 239 |
| Study of constitutions | 6 | Federal government | 469-70 |
| Sunderland | 343 | House | |
| Supreme Council, Russia | 519 | of Representatives | 477-78 |
| Supreme court | 162 | income of local bodies | 273-74 |
| of Judicature, | | increase of power of | |
| England | 386-87 | Federal government | 473 |
| Suspensive veto | 229 | individual rights | 470-71 |
| Suyukan party | 513 | judicial system | 247-48 |
| Sweden | | judiciary | 479 |
| Second chamber | 184 | nature of the | |
| Swiss confederation | 164 | constitution | 469-72 |
| Switzerland | | organisation | |
| amendment | 460 | of local bodies | 276-77 |
| Civil Service | 465-66 | Party system | 259-61 |
| concurrent jurisdiction | 461 | Powers of Federal | |
| council of States | 184 | government | 163-64 |
| Direct Democracy | 466-68 | President | 223-26, 230, 473-77 |
| Federal constitution | 460 | Senate | 473-79 |
| Federal executive | 463 | Separation of Powers | 171, 174 |
| Federal judiciary | 464 | Speaker | 187 |
| Federal jurisdiction | 461 | Supremacy of | |
| Federal legislature | 462 | judiciary | 471-72, 480-81 |
| Federal subjects | 461 | States | 479-80 |
| Parties | 464-65 | U.S.S.R. | |
| Syndicalism | 315-17 | Civil Service | 239-40 |
| Tambe | 537 | Vajjis | 145 |
| Territorial law | 92 | Veto power | 228-29, 542 |
| Territorial representation | 203-04 | Vichy government | 459 |
| Territory | 12 | Victoria | 341-42 |
| Tithing | 47 | Volk | 21 |
| Titular sovereign | 62 | Walpole | 339, 348 |
| Totalitarian State | 309, 312-15 | War and cabinet | 344-45, 349 |
| Treasury | 357 | War and capitalism | 321 |
| Treaty of Versailles | 58-59 | War and Civil Service | 364 |
| Treitschke, on aims of | | War and functions of | |
| Political Science | 2 | government | 307-08 |
| Trentino | 58 | Webb, on Second chamber | 185 |
| Tyrol | 207 | Weighted voting | 200 |

Weimar constitution	483	Disarmament	645-46
Welfare State	297	its failure,	648-45
Westminster, Statute of	289 90	League of Nations	639-42
Whips	188, 393	Mandates	646-47
Wilhelm II	339	United Nations	
Will as the basis of State	25 26	Organisation	649-55
William III	339, 348	World State	24
Withering away of State	324	Written constitution	130
Women's franchise	197 99	Yugoslavia	
World Order achievements	647-49	minority	207
		Zionist Movement	12
